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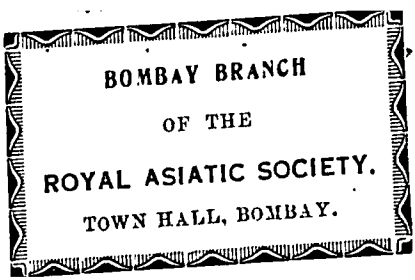

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THE LIFE

OF

JOHN MILTON,

AND

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

THE LIFE

OF

JOHN MILTON:

NARRATED IN CONNEXION WITH

THE POLITICAL, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND LITERARY

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

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PREFACE TO VOL. II.

WHEN I first undertook this Work, it was my deliberate purpose to make it not only a complete Biography of Milton, but also, in a certain studied connexion therewith, the channel of which might widen or narrow itself on occasion, a continuous Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of England through Milton's whole Time. This I announced in the title of the Work, and in my Preface to the First Volume; but I am not sure that the announcement made way fast enough to adjust that Volume at once to preconceived ideas of literary form. Now, while it is the right of the public to say what they want in the shape of a book, it is equally the right of an author to say what he means to offer; and, accordingly, I repeat that this Work is not a Biography only, but a Biography together with a History. As regards the extent and minuteness of the included Biography, I do not anticipate that there will be much complaint. Of brief Lives of Milton the number is already past counting; I have been guilty of more than one such myself: if anything more is wanted, it certainly seems to be some such larger and more particular Biography as that which I am now prosecuting. What may be less according to precedent and expectation is the combination of such a Biography with a contemporary History. The reason for the combination, however, lies deeper than my own mere pleasure in the toil of a complex enterprise. Whatever may be thought by a hasty person looking in on the subject from

the outside, no one can study the Life of Milton as it ought to be studied without being obliged to study, extensively and intimately, the contemporary History of England, and even, incidentally, of Scotland and Ireland too. Experience has confirmed my previous conviction that it must be so. Again and again, in order to understand Milton, his position, his motives, his thoughts by himself, his public words to his countrymen, and the probable effects of those words, I have had to stop in the mere Biography, and range round, largely and windingly, in the History of his Time, not only as it is presented in well-known books, but as it had to be rediscovered by express and laborious investigation in original and forgotten records. Thus, on the very compulsion, or at least by the suasion, of the Biography, a History grew on my hands. It was not in human nature to confine the historical inquiries, once they were in progress, within the precise limits of their demonstrable bearing on the Biography, even had it been possible to determine these limits beforehand; and so the History assumed a co-ordinate importance with me, was pursued often for its own sake, and became, though always with a sense of organic relation to the Biography, continuous in itself. I venture to think that this incessant connexion of the History and the Biography in my own thoughts through many years, the History always sending me back more fully informed for the Biography, and the Biography again suggesting new tracks for the History, is a sufficient warrant for the form of the publication. In the present volume, however, I have adopted an arrangement which may suit most readers. A glance at the Table of Contents will show what the reader is to expect throughout, and will enable him to select or to omit. Only I should wish it to be distinctly understood that the History is not offered as a mere popular compilation, to serve as stuffing or setting for the Biography, but as a work of independent search and method from first to last, which has

cost more labour by far than the Biography, and for which I accept equal responsibility.

It was my wish to publish Volumes II. and III. together; and, though Volume II. now appears by itself, Volume III. is ready for the press, and will follow speedily. Even so, in recognition of much friendliness towards Volume I., the interval between that Volume and this continuation may seem to need an apology. Well, I will not say but that, if there had been any extraordinary or universal avidity for the continuation, it might have been forthcoming somewhat sooner. Frankly, however, I can aver that I have always been faithful in secret to my undertaking, and have devoted to it as much time as other indispensable duties would permit, and more than is likely ever to be recompensed by anything added to the pure love of the labour. Of the multiplicity and extent of the researches that were required any general account would be tedious here. There are indications of my authorities, at the proper points, in the foot-notes; where also I have made various acknowledgments of private help and kindness. Perhaps, however, I may advert specially to my obligations to the State Paper Office in London. Where there are printed calendars of the State Papers, the task of consulting them is easy; one knows from the calendar what each paper is about, and asks for the original of any particular paper one wants to see. Unfortunately, when I began my readings in the great national Repository, the Domestic Papers for the period of most interest to me were utterly uncalendared. They had, therefore, to be brought to me in bundles (sometimes several thick bundles for one month), and inspected carefully paper by paper, each on chance, lest anything useful should be skipped. In this way I had to persevere at a slow rate in my readings and note-takings; but I believe I can now say that, for much the greater part of the time embraced in the present Volume, there is not a single domestic document extant of those that used

to be in the State Paper Office which I have not passed through my hands and scrutinized. Apart from the information derived for my immediate purposes, it was a valuable education. It is rather long ago now; and, as I write, the memory rises of old summer-days passed in a room in the State Paper Office, then located in St. James's Park, and of the faces of a few others I used then to see constantly in the same room, quietly busy, like myself, among the handwritings of the dead. Alas! and of the kindly officials who were then so ready with their aid, there was one, among the kindliest of all and the fullest of knowledge, whom I shall never more see, to interrogate or to thank. How much of learning in English History through the reigns of James and Charles and the Time of the Commonwealth died with the gentle and accurate Mr. John Bruce! With his name, if with any, I may appropriately connect one closing remark, addressed especially to those few readers who may bring to these pages something of his practice in records and strict eye for truth. Accuracy in History is everything; without accuracy, all else is but as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. This I have tried to make my canon throughout; and yet I will here confess that I never can pass a sheet of the historical kind for the press without a dread lest, from inadvertence or from sheer ignorance, some error, some blunder even, may have escaped me. That there are errors in this Volume, some of which will be detected soon, and others never, I have no doubt. Let me hope that those who agree with me most strongly in the main canon will be the readiest to admit also that, when the range of inquiry is widened, when the beaten tracks are left and one explores the thickets on both sides for facts worthy of resuscitation, the risk of error is necessarily increased.

EDINBURGH, *March* 1871.

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BOOK I.

APRIL 1638—NOVEMBER 1640.

HISTORY:—The Scottish Presbyterian Revolt, and its Effects on England.

BIOGRAPHY:—Milton back in England: His *Epitaphium Damonis*, and Literary Projects.

THE LIFE OF JOHN MILTON,

WITH THE

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

CHAPTER I.

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS—THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON'S MISSION—THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY OF 1638—THE FIRST *BELLUM EPISCOPALE*, OR "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS.

MILTON'S return to England, after his fifteen months, more or less, of Continental travel, took place, as he himself tells us, "almost exactly at that time when Charles, the Peace with "the Scots having been broken, was commencing with them "the *Second Bishops' War*, as they call it: in which when the "Royal forces had been routed in the first conflict, and the "King saw all the English likewise, and that deservedly, "most ill-disposed towards him, he, on the compulsion of "misfortune, and not spontaneously, not very long afterwards "called a Parliament."[1] The date, more precisely, was July or August 1639.

Before resuming our narrative at this date, it is necessary, for the general purposes of our History, that we should take a retrospect of the course of British events during that *First Bishops' War*, or first war between the Scots and Charles concerning Bishops, to which Milton's words point back as having been begun and concluded during his absence abroad.

[1] *Defensio Secunda:* Works, VI. 289.

For the general purposes of our History, I say, such a retrospect is necessary. As it was in Scotland that the policy of despotism which Charles had been pursuing in all the three kingdoms first sustained any efficient check, so, in the general revolution of the three kingdoms which was approaching, much was to depend on the fact that the initiative of revolt had come from Scotland. Much was to depend on the fact that it was on the impulse of a movement completed by the northern part of the island for itself, and then let loose southwards, that the great English people, or the Puritans among them, began, and for some time continued, the larger movement of which England was the theatre. I do not consider that this portion of Scottish History has been adequately represented in its English connexions.

THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS.

By the end of April 1638 all Scotland, with some fast-waning exceptions, was pledged to the Covenant. The exceptions may be enumerated. First, there were the Lords of the Privy Council and other officials, whose position obliged them to hold out for the King's measures as long as they could; next, there were the actual adherents of Episcopacy, of whom, in addition to the Bishops themselves, and several powerful Lowland houses, there was a sprinkling in some of the chief towns, and a mass in the town and shire of Aberdeen; next, there were some of the Highland clans of the Aberdeenshire borders, and the remoter north, not much exercised in theological controversy, but ready to go with their chiefs; and, lastly, there were the Scottish Papists, to the number of about six hundred persons in all, lodged also principally in Aberdeenshire and the adjacent Highlands, under the protection of the Marquis of Huntley.[1] With the fullest allowance, however, for these outstanding elements, there can be no

[1] For a more detailed enumeration of the elements in Scottish society then opposed to the Covenant, see "*Hist. of Scots Affairs from* 1637 *to* 1641, by James Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay" (Spalding Club), vol. 1. 61, 62. Gordon was an Anti-covenanter, and writes in that interest.

doubt that the Scots, as a nation, had not only accepted the Covenant, but accepted it with the fervour of a simultaneous outburst. For many years they had seen measures of ecclesiastical polity which they disliked thrust upon them, through the medium of their own Parliaments, by a King whom they had given to their English neighbours, and who, as sovereign then of a larger nation, was able to act upon the smaller with greater force than when he had lived within it. More recently, under Charles, a persevering English Archbishop had further offended them, by pressing upon them a set of "innovations," the effect of which would have been to make Scotland the experimental nursery-ground for an Episcopacy more extreme than was established in England itself. And now, in final protest against such violence and wrong, virtually the entire nation had bound itself, by a solemn oath before God and the whole world, to renew the struggle against Popery begun by their forefathers, and to resist conjointly to the death the said "late innovations," while preserving their allegiance to the King in whose name they were enforced. So, at last, matters were now understood at the English Court itself. During the months of March and April, posts and messengers from Scotland had been arriving there in rapid succession. There had been messengers from the Scottish Privy Council, followed by some of the chief Councillors themselves; there had been messengers from the Scottish Bishops, followed by some of the Bishops themselves; there had been private letters to Laud; and there had been letters from the Covenanting Chiefs to their countrymen and acquaintances at Court, begging them to support a new "Supplication" to the King which had been sent up by the Covenanters as a body. Whatever may have been the surprise in Laud's mind, and in that of the King, as to the fact of the commotion, they could be under no mistake now as to its extent. "Whae's fule, noo?" asked Archie Armstrong, the King's Fool, of Laud, as he was going to the Council-meeting at Whitehall that had been summoned on the first news of the Covenant; and the jibe so nettled his Grace that he had Archie brought before the Council there and then, and sentenced to lose his place

and his Fool's coat.[1] In short, in April 1638, when Milton departed on his foreign tour, he left his countrymen intent, with various feelings, on the "Scottish business," as on something that was likely to task the statesmanship of the ruling powers for many months to come.

It was difficult for Charles to know how to act. The quarrel was one between himself and his Scottish subjects, with which England was not constitutionally concerned. Hitherto, while seeking to rule Scotland, as well as England, in a despotic manner, and while delegating to the English Archbishop by his side the consideration of Scottish ecclesiastical affairs, he had, like his father before him, been studious to maintain the forms of distinction between the two Crowns, and had always withheld the business of his Scottish realm from the ordinary cognizance of his English Council. To the thorough-going Wentworth, watching from Dublin the progress of the Scottish confusion, this very fact had seemed the real cause why it had gone so far. Not long afterwards, when he sent over to his English correspondents the results of his private ruminations on the subject, he did not hesitate to hint that the confusion might be worth its cost, if only it disposed his Majesty to adhere less firmly to "that unhappy principle of state practised as well by his blessed father," and led him nearer to the arrangement which would ultimately be found necessary for the efficient government of the whole island. That arrangement, as Wentworth thought, required the concentration of the legislative for the whole under his Majesty's palace-roof, and the breaking-up of the separate apparatus of nationality which a beggarly Caledonian tradition had preserved so long in Edinburgh.[2] So theorized Wentworth; but meanwhile the difficulty had to be met in its existing shape. The Scottish revolt, being

[1] Record of Council, of date March 11, 1637-8, in Rushworth, II. 470, 471; and a Letter of Garrard's to Wentworth, of date March 20, among the *Strafford Letters*. Archie, after having his Fool's coat pulled over his ears, was kicked out of the precincts of the Court; and, but for his privilege as Court-Fool, he would have been Star-chambered. He had grown rich in his office; and, after his dismissal, he still loafed about Westminster, revenging himself with jests against Laud and the Scottish Bishops. His successor was a certain Fool called "Muckle John."

[2] See, in *Strafford Letters*, a letter of Wentworth to the Earl of Northumberland, of date July 30, 1638.

the revolt of a nation nominally independent, could not be treated as a rising in Yorkshire or in Lancashire might have been. English forces could hardly be marched north, at a short notice, to trample it out. To this pass, indeed, things might come; and to this pass Charles was resolved that, if necessary, they should be brought. But the method was not practicable at the moment, if for no other reason than that the requisite English forces did not exist. For the moment, and until the English conscience, or the official organs of it, could be reconciled to such a stroke of imperialism, there was but a choice of two alternatives. Either means must be found within Scotland itself to crush the Covenanters, or else they must be pacified by suitable concessions. The harsher alternative was at least thought of. It was reported that Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, and the Chancellor Spotswood, had advised the armed organization, under the King's orders, and with a display of English force in reserve, of the Non-Covenanting elements in Scotland. The Mackenzies, Mackays, Macdonalds, and other extreme northern clans, following the Earl of Seaforth, might unite formidably with the Aberdeenshire Gordons, Grants, Irvings, and others, under the Marquis of Huntley; and, in the south, there might be help from the retainers of the houses of Hamilton, Douglas, Annandale, and Nithsdale. But the diligence of the Covenanters had "prevened" this plan. In whatever districts of the country, remote from Edinburgh, the dubious material was most rife, there their agents and commissioners had been busy. They had been so successful that, when they returned to Edinburgh, they not only brought with them the signatures of "most of "the name of Hamilton, Douglas, Gordon, and all the Camp-"bells without exception," to the national Covenant, but were able also to report that even the northern shires of Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Cromarty, Nairn, and Inverness had also "for the most part subscrivit."[1] Unless, therefore, the Aberdeen burgesses, a few Aberdeenshire and Banffshire lairds, and a remnant of the wilder Highlanders, could stand in civil war against the Covenanters, a Scottish civil war;

[1] Baillie's Letters (Laing's edition), I. 70, and Spalding, I. 87, 88.

with England merely looking on and threatening, seemed out of the question. All this being reported at Court, and the majority of the English Councillors being in favour of moderation, it was resolved, "after many tos and fros," to send the Marquis of Hamilton north, as a special Commissioner from the King, with powers to treat with the Covenanters. This was resolved on before the 10th of May, and the Marquis's commission bears date the 20th of that month.

THE MARQUIS OF HAMILTON'S MISSION.

In choosing the Marquis of Hamilton as his Commissioner, the King had acknowledged the importance of the occasion. The Marquis was his kinsman and trusted friend. With the exception of the young Duke of Lennox, who, though also of the blood-royal and a Scot by his title, was English by his birth and associations, he was at the head of the Scottish nobility, taking precedence of his two fellow-marquises, Huntley and Douglas; and, although Oxford-bred, and since his boyhood a resident chiefly in England, he had never ceased to attract the eyes of his countrymen, and to be credited by them with a high influence in their affairs. Nay, there was a special possibility of relation between him and them, of which the world had already heard, and of which it was to hear more. It was but eight years since a story had come out, and had even been the subject of legal inquiry, to the effect that the Marquis of Hamilton cherished a secret ambition to be one day King of Scotland. Before Charles's coronation-visit to Scotland in 1633, the Scots, it was said, resenting his long absence, and offended moreover by a proposal which he had made to have the regalia of Scotland transferred to London, so that his coronation might take place there, had begun to ask themselves whether the crown which Charles did not seem to think worth a journey might not have a fitter wearer. Aware of this state of feeling, the young Marquis of Hamilton, it was said, had shown a disposition to traffic with it, especially at the time when, as leader of a volunteer expedition of Scots and others in aid of Gustavus-

Adolphus (1631-2), he had begun to have military dreams. The story from the first had had a very apocryphal look, and the King had shown his disbelief in it. Still it slumbered in the popular memory, and the present mission of the Marquis naturally revived the recollection where it could not be uttered. If such an ambition did lurk in his mind, what an opportunity was now put into his hands! Some small speck of a suspicion of this kind seems to have been attached to the Marquis by ill-natured opinion in certain quarters, even at the date of his mission; and subsequent events in his career enlarged it into a cloud, which still hangs round his name in Royalist histories. For our part, however, we see not the least reason to doubt that Charles was right in treating the suspicion with contempt, and in showing that he did so by an act of public confidence in his cousin. The Marquis undertook his present mission, I should say, with the most sincere wish to fulfil it to the King's desire. As to his ability there might be more question. He was in his thirty-second year; he had seen some service, and had chatted with the great Gustavus and known him in his rages; he was of courtly presence and manners: but, on the whole, his ability was chiefly of that kind which might come from mingling with men personally, with the advantage of being a Marquis and of the blood-royal. In any business with the pen, I should infer, he must have been deficient. His handwriting is rather sprawling, and such letters of his as I have seen are clumsy and unsatisfactory.[1] It was on personal power of negotiation, however, rather than on letter-writing, that he was to depend in his dealings with the Covenanters. It might not be without advantage to him in this respect that his mother, the Marchioness-Dowager, a woman of spirit, and of the family of the Cunninghams, Earls of Glencairn, was

[1] Having seen abundant specimens of the handwriting of Charles, of Laud, of Strafford, of Hamilton, of Arundel, and, indeed, of almost all the statesmen and courtiers of that day, in the State-Paper Office, I may give it as my experience that, generally, the most important men wrote good and legible, if not beautiful, hands. Hamilton's, though a scrawl, is legible. Arundel's letters are short, and with little or nothing in them, in a large, pompous, flowing hand. Laud's hand is compact, good, and clear. Cottington's is a good hand. Charles's is perhaps the most elegant of all, with the exception of Strafford's, which is singularly like it, but still more beautiful.

herself a most zealous Covenanter, and that his sisters were married into the Covenanting houses of Eglintoun and Lindsay. Moreover, he was to take with him, as his chaplain and private adviser, a certain Dr. Walter Balcanquhal, a Scotchman of Cambridge training, who had risen in the English Church to the Deanery of Rochester, had many correspondents among the Scottish clergy, and was reputed a perfect nonsuch, even among Scots, for intriguing ability. Nay, that the hands of the noble Commissioner might be strengthened to the uttermost, it was ordered that all Scotchmen of rank or influence usually residing in England, or who had come up to Court to help in the consultation, should precede him into Scotland, so as to be at his service. Some of the Scottish Bishops and other ecclesiastics who had gone to London were loth to obey this command, and offered meanwhile to reside in Bath—in Bath or anywhere—rather than return to their own country while it was too hot for them. But no excuse was accepted, and go they must.[1]

Among the Scots who had come up to London to give their advice, and who now preceded the Marquis back to Scotland, was one whose name has been yet but barely mentioned in this History. This was Archibald Campbell, Lord Lorne, better known afterwards as Earl and Marquis of Argyle. During the troubles of the preceding year respecting the Service-Book and the Book of Canons, none of the Scottish Privy-Councillors, not actually in league with the Dissentients, had been more fair and courteous to the Dissentients than he; and, though he still held officially with the King, the Covenanters had conceived hopes that his meditations, which were known to be those of a very politic mind, would bring him nearer to them in the end. It was an event greatly to be wished. The circumstances of Lord Lorne, and of the whole Argyle family, at that time, were peculiar. His father, Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyle, who had held that title since 1584, was still alive, but as good as dead to the general world. For in the life of

[1] Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons (edit. 1852), 1—49; Stevenson's Hist. of the Church of Scotland (one vol. edit. 1840), 224; Baillie, I. 75, 76; and Letters of Balcanquhal in Appendix to Baillie, vols. I. and II.

this now aged peer there had been two stages. His memory could go back to the time when he was a conspicuous man in James's Scottish Court, before James had succeeded to the throne of England. Then he had maintained the Protestant reputation of his family. By his wife, Lady Anne Douglas —daughter of the 1st Earl of Morton, and celebrated as the "Aurora" of the Earl of Stirling's poetry—he had been the father of five children, all of whom had been educated as Protestants. One of these, the only son, was the Lord Lorne with whom we are now concerned—forty years of age, married, and with children; and, of the daughters, one, considerably older than Lorne, was now the Marchioness of Huntley, while another was Countess of Lothian, and a third was the widow of Viscount Kenmure. But from these members of his first family the Earl had long been estranged. As long ago as 1610, he had married, in the parish of St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, his second wife, a Roman Catholic English lady, by whom he had had a second family. Having himself become a Roman Catholic in consequence of this marriage, he had gone abroad in the Spanish service against the Hollanders; and, after his return, he had resided chiefly in or near London, in such retirement as was then possible for a Roman Catholic of his rank, and with little correspondence with Scotland, or any of his first family there, unless it might be the Marchioness of Huntley. Nay, in Scotland, it had been found necessary to incapacitate him on account of his religion, and to transfer the estates and the great hereditary power belonging to the house of Argyle to his heir, Lord Lorne. This arrangement, carried through in the Scottish Parliament of 1633, at the time of Charles's coronation-visit, and with his consent, had naturally not improved relations between the father and the son. "Sir, I must know this young man better "than you do," is Clarendon's account, as if from the King's own lips long afterwards, of what the chagrined old Earl had said to the King about this time: "you have brought me low "that you may raise him; which I doubt you will live to "repent: for he is a man of craft, subtlety, and falsehood, "and can love no man; and, if ever he finds it in his power

"to do you mischief, he will be sure to do it." About the truth of which story, though we quote it here for reasons which will appear, there are strong doubts. Certain it is, however, that the superannuated Earl saw little of his son, and led, in his old age, a life of weak and invalid dignity very much by himself. The best glimpse I have found of him is in a poem addressed to him by the Roman Catholic poet, Habington, in his *Castara*. Among other things, Habington says:

> "If your example be obeyed,
> The serious few will live i' the silent shade,
> And not endanger, by the wind
> Or sunshine, the complexion of their mind."

A very pleasant mode of life for those who can follow it, but not the mode of life by which the Campbells had become Earls of Argyle, nor that by which a real Earl of Argyle, whether a Campbell or not, could then lead in Britain. Accordingly, while this Archibald, 7th Earl of Argyle, has his place in the line of the Earls, he is of interest chiefly as the father of that Archibald, Lord Lorne, afterwards 8th Earl, who, with perhaps some of the same hereditary characteristics, was to lead so different a life, and was to transmit the name of Argyle onwards with its greatest increase of fame. Already, as Lord Lorne, a member of the Privy Council, he was so important a man in Scotland that it was a matter of anxiety with the Covenanters what part he would take. For would he not be Earl of Argyle on the death of his superannuated father, and was he not already Earl of Argyle in all but the name? To be Earl of Argyle did not yet mean all that he was to make it to mean; but it meant more than could then be well understood out of Scotland. It meant to be lord of all Argyleshire, with the Isles and West Highlands adjacent, exercising over that vast Gaelic region the power at once of a hereditary Celtic chief and of an authorized justiciary in the name of the Scottish realm; and it meant to possess in Scottish affairs generally all that weight which belonged to the brain of a Campbell, itself not originally

Celtic, wielding as it might please, for any cause or against any cause, those leagues of mountain, loch, and seabord over which such sway had been won for it by ages of past acquisitiveness. Only conceive, for example, one consequence which would have followed if Lorne had declared himself irrevocably against the Covenant. The Marquis of Huntley was his brother-in-law, and it would then have been possible for the two brothers-in-law to hold between them the whole south-west of Scotland on the one hand, and the whole north-east on the other, against the intermediate Lowlands. Little wonder that Lorne's behaviour, when he had been summoned to Court to advise on Scottish affairs, was a matter of deep interest. "We tremble for Lorne," writes Baillie, "that the "King either persuade him to go his way, or find him errands "at Court for a long time." But the news was reassuring. "The plainness of Lorne," says Baillie in a subsequent letter, "is much talked of: nothing he is said to have dissembled "of all he knew of our country's grievances, of his own full "mislike of the Books, of the Articles of Perth, of the "Bishops' misgovernment, of his resolution to leave the "kingdom rather than consent to the pressing of any other, "let be of himself and his servants, with these burdens "which were against conscience." He is said even to have come into personal conflict with Laud on these points; and there is a story that his old father, the Earl, thought it his duty to come forth once more from his "silent shade," and advise his Majesty that, if that son of his were allowed to go back, sorrow and evil would ensue. But Lorne did go back—to become, within a few months (October 1638), Earl of Argyle, by the old peer's long-expected death, and to enter on a very grave and difficult career. Let the reader, for the present, without prejudging that career, distinctly think of him as a man coming into the ascendant in Scotland. Clarendon's account of him as a person of dark and sinuous ways, against whom even his own father had forewarned the King, has been the keynote to most of the representations of him by subsequent English historians. The genius of Scott, too, has helped to stamp permanently on the minds of his own countrymen

an image of him only a shade less unlovely. Who that has read the *Legend of Montrose* can forget "Gillespie Grumach," the wily Presbyterian Marquis, with the severe visage and the sinister cast in one of his eyes at whose castle-gate in Inverary were the block and the sawdust yet wet with the blood of the Children of the Mist, and from whose meshes the valiant Ritt-master, Dugald Dalgetty, escaped so splendidly by recognizing him in his disguise, and leaving him pinned to the ground in his own dungeon? This Gillespie Grumach of the novel, contrasted so strikingly throughout it with Scott's favourite, the chivalrous Montrose, is Scott's representation of our present Lord Lorne at a later period of his life. We shall have to see both the men for ourselves in the light of their own actions. Meanwhile let neither be prejudged. Let Lorne be imagined at the age of forty, sombre and serious in appearance, as Vandyke might have painted a Calvinistic courtier, certainly with an oblique cast in the eye, and certainly with a mind of the astute order, but whether sinister or not as yet unascertained. Let it be remembered also that it was not he that was at present the Covenanter, but his future rival, Montrose. A brave young hot-head of six-and-twenty, Montrose had remained in Scotland, one of the acting chiefs of the Covenanting committee, during that very journey of Lorne's to London from which he was now returning to aid the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

The Marquis set out from London on Saturday the 26th of May. Eight days brought him to the Scottish border, and on the 5th of June he was at Dalkeith, near Edinburgh. If possible, according to his instructions, he was to avoid making Edinburgh the seat of negotiations. The Covenanters, on the other hand, had determined that at Edinburgh alone would continuous negotiation be convenient; and hence only a few of their chiefs, and they for the sake of form, attended the

[1] Douglas's Scottish Peerage, by Wood (*Argyle*); Habington's Poems, in Chalmers's collection (where see, in addition to the poem to the Earl referred to in the text, one addressed to his second Countess, and an Elegy on the death of a promising son of theirs, "the Hon. Henry Campbell"); Clarendon's Hist. (Oxford, one vol. edit. of 1843), pp. 51, 52; Baillie, I. 65—73.

Marquis either at the Border or at Dalkeith. At length, chiefly by the mediation of Lorne, the matter was arranged, and the Marquis consented to take up his residence in the palace of Holyrood. On the 9th of June he made his public entry into Edinburgh by way of Leith. The gathering to meet him was such as might have greeted Charles himself. There was an assemblage of Covenanters, 20,000 strong, in addition to magistrates and officials in procession, and a multitude of women and children defying number; and at one point of the progress, between Leith and Edinburgh, there was a body of more than 500 clergymen (more than half the clergy of the entire kingdom), posted "on a brae-side on the links," all clad in their black cloaks, and headed by "Mr. "William Livingstone, the strongest in voice and austerest in "countenance of us all," ready with a speech of welcome. This speech was declined by the Marquis, from fear of what might be in it; but his demeanour was most gracious; and the sight of all that throng of his fellow-subjects, men, women and children, doing homage to him as he passed, and crying out this and that about their liberties and their religion, moved him even to tears.[1]

And now for the great work of the negotiation. Who, in the first place, are the negotiating parties? On the one side is the Marquis himself, surrounded by those Lords of the Council and others who, not having subscribed the Covenant, might be presumed anxious to bring about whatever settlement the Marquis might propound as the King's pleasure. There was the Chancellor-Archbishop Spotswood, with other prelates more in the background; there were the Treasurer Traquair, and the Privy Seal Roxburgh; there was the Marquis of Huntley; there were the Earls of Marischal, Mar, Moray, Linlithgow, Perth, Wigton, Kinghorn, Tullibardine, Haddington, Annandale, Lauderdale, Kinnoull, Dumfries, Southesk, Angus, and Morton; there were the Lords Lorne, Belhaven, Elphinstone, Napier, Dalzell, and Almont; and, among others, there were the Treasurer-Depute Sir James Carmichael, the King's Advocate Sir Thomas Hope, the Clerk-

[1] Rushworth, II. 749, 750; Baillie, I. 82–84; and Stevenson, 226, 227.

Register Sir John Hay, the Chief Justice Sir William Elphinstone, and the Justice-Clerk Sir John Hamilton. Not that all of these were equally committed. Some, such as Lorne and Sir Thomas Hope, were almost completely with the Covenanters at heart; and others were waiting anxiously for the production of the Marquis's proposals, and hoping that they would not be too Prelatic. On the other side were the Covenanting Chiefs, lay and clerical, acting together under regular commissions for the country at large, and suffering nothing to go forth as the opinion of the body until after it had been fully determined in their four Committees, or "Tables," of the Nobles, the Barons or Lairds, the Burghs, and the Clergy, respectively or in conference. From time to time, as the negotiation goes on, the actual composition of the several Tables is changed, to avoid the inconvenience of detaining the same men so long from their homes and occupations. The leaders are, however, the same throughout. Among the Nobles are the Earls of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Sutherland, Eglintoun, and Lothian, and the Lords Loudoun, Wemyss, Home, Lindsay, Yester, Burleigh, Cranstoun, Boyd, Sinclair, and Balmerino; among the Lairds and the Commissioners from the Burghs are Johnstone of Warriston, Douglas of Cavers, Gibson of Durie, John Smith of Edinburgh, &c.; and among the Clergy are such resident ministers of Edinburgh as Mr. Andrew Ramsay and Mr. Henry Rollock, and such distinguished deputies from other Presbyteries as Mr. Alexander Henderson, Mr. David Dickson, Mr. Andrew Cant, Mr. Robert Baillie, and Mr. Samuel Rutherford. Young Mr. George Gillespie, just appointed to the parish of Wemyss in Fifeshire, and now known as the author of the anonymous book, "The English-Popish Ceremonies," which had given such offence to the Prelatists in the previous year, is beginning to be talked of as one of the "rising wits" of the clerical body, and to have some weight in the counsels of his seniors. The men named are, in fact, the real Government of Scotland, reposing on the all but universal feeling of the people: the Marquis is but the plenipotentiary sent to treat with them, and associated for that purpose with the wrecks

of the former Government or King's Council. Between the two parties move the intriguers, Balcanquhal and others. Certain pens also are permanently busy on both sides. On the side of the Covenanters it is Mr. Henderson, minister of Leuchars in Fifeshire, that is always applied to when a paper of unusual weight and ability is wanted; and it is the lawyer, Johnstone of Warriston, that registers everything, takes copies of everything, sees that all is in form, and unites the vigilance of a secretary-in-chief with the laboriousness of a clerk.

Negotiations must be on some basis. It is implied in the very word that certain demands are put forth on the one side and certain offers on the other, and that there is a trial of firmness and skill to determine in what way the offers and demands are to be made to meet. What were the demands of the Covenanters? These had already been formally made known at Court as reducible to eight—(1) the discharging of the Service-Book and the Book of Canons; (2) the abolition of the High Commission as a judicatory in any form; (3) the repeal of the Articles of Perth; (4) the limitation of the civil power of Kirkmen, if not their entire exclusion from Parliament; (5) the discontinuance of certain tests and oaths used by the Bishops to exclude or eject persons of Presbyterian views from parish-livings, schools, and the Universities; (6) the restitution of General Assemblies of the Kirk, and the speedy holding of one; (7) the speedy calling of a Parliament; (8) liberty both in the Assembly and the Parliament to discuss other reforms in detail.[1] As meeting these demands, what was the Marquis empowered to offer? We know this very exactly now from certain documents which he carried with him, bearing date before his commission, but which he did not find it convenient or indeed possible fully to divulge. One was a Royal Declaration or Proclamation, which he was to publish when he saw fit. Its purport was that his Majesty, being and always having been a sound Protestant, could not but consider the fears of his Scottish subjects as to any intended "inbringing of Popery" among them under his rule totally unreasonable; but that, to allay these fears, he

[1] See Original Paper in Stevenson, 218—220.

was willing that the Service-Book and the Canons should not be pressed except in a legal way, that the High Commission should be rectified, and that an Assembly and a Parliament should be called at a convenient time. These favours, however, were to be conditional on the immediate return of his Scottish subjects to their allegiance; and this was to be proved by their appearing before competent authorities "in burgh and land" and individually renouncing the Covenant, and by their "delivering up or continuing with their best endeavours to procure the delivering up," into the hands of the Council or their agents, all copies of the Covenant.[1] In the private instructions of the Marquis there were certain farther explanations for his own guidance. Before publishing the Royal Declaration he was to endeavour to get all the Council to sign it and swear to assist in executing it; no petitions were to be received against the Declaration or against the Articles of Perth, and, if any dared to protest against the Declaration, they were to be arrested; nevertheless, the Articles of Perth were in the meantime not to be enforced, and all acts enforcing the Service-Book were to be void. The time to be allowed for delivering up the Covenant was to be six weeks after the publishing of the Declaration; and, if necessary, it was to be announced that, should there not be sufficient power in Scotland to overcome opposition, power should come from England, and the King himself with it, "being resolved to hazard his life rather than suffer authority "to be contemned." Finally, should words be of no avail, the Marquis himself was to "command all hostile acts whatsoever," and so commence the inevitable war.[2]

The Marquis had not been two days on the Scottish side of the Border when, as if informed as to the real state of things by the very air that blew about him, he had become convinced that it would be madness to publish the King's Declaration, or even to let its contents be generally known. To this effect he must have written to the King before leaving

[1] Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons (1677), pp. 43, 46. Burnet gives two drafts of the Proclamation,—a stronger and earlier, and a milder and later.

[2] See the instructions in Rushworth, II. 746, 747; and in Stevenson, 222—224.

Dalkeith; for, in a letter dated "Greenwich June 11," Charles replies in a strain of anger and chagrin. "I expect not," he says, "anything can reduce that people to obedience but force "only; in the meantime your care must be how to dissolve "the multitude, and, if it be possible, to possess yourself of "my two castles of Edinburgh and Stirling (which I do not "expect); and, to this end, I give you leave to flatter them "with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against "my grounds, and in particular that you consent not to "the calling of Parliament nor of General Assembly until the "Covenant be disavowed and given up—your chief end "being now to win time, until I be ready to suppress them." His Majesty farther says that, should the Declaration be published, the Marquis need not observe his previous instruction to declare traitors all who should not within six weeks obey the command to renounce the Covenant, but may wait till he hears that a fleet "hath set sail for Scotland" before adopting that measure.[1] Received by the Marquis in Edinburgh on the 15th of June, this letter becomes a supplement to his original instructions.

To narrate step by step the progress of the negotiations or seeming negotiations between Hamilton and the Covenanting leaders in Edinburgh would be tedious. A sketch must suffice:—Acting on his paramount instruction "to win time," the Marquis prudently kept the Royal Declaration in his pocket, not venturing to try its effects even on the Councillors. But the Covenanters, having obtained a general knowledge of its contents, and especially of its demand of a surrender of the Covenant as conditional to even such unsatisfactory scraps of concession as it promised, were prepared, whensoever and wheresoever it might be published by the royal heralds, to meet it with as open a protest. Abroad through the land also flew the news of what the unpublished Proclamation contained, so that all the pulpits rang with preachings in defence of the Covenant and against its surrender. A powerful Paper of Reasons on the same subject from the pen of Henderson was put in circulation. Nay, it

[1] Rushworth, II. 752.

began here and there to be discussed, not quite secretly, whether, if the Parliament and the Assembly were obstinately refused by the King except on impossible conditions, the Laws of Scotland and of Nature might not permit equivalent conventions on the mere authority of the subject. Startled more by this last turn of the discussion than by anything else, Hamilton went to the utmost length of kindliness allowed him by his instructions. He conferred with Henderson; he signified that it *was* in his Commission to promise both an Assembly and a Parliament; and, as for the surrender of the Covenant—why, "surrender" was a very strong word, and the Marquis could sympathise with the Covenanters in their feelings about it, but then they also ought to be reasonable! The King was a crowned head; he had his reputation to sustain among crowned heads; this Covenant of a whole nation was an anomaly in Europe, at which all Sovereigns were looking with surprise; how could Charles but feel the matter keenly? But might not the Covenanters themselves smooth the way for him? Might they not put forth, say, some "explication" of their Covenant that would rob it of its defiant and disloyal character, and enable the King to be gracious without too evident an abatement of his kingly dignity?

Such was the tenor of Hamilton's suggestions respecting the Proclamation which he still prudently withheld. He had a kind of success. The Tables, on the 23rd of June, did agree to an "explication" of the Covenant, in which, while reiterating their claims, they professed them and the Covenant to be, in their intent, consistent with that loyalty which they owed to the Government of his Majesty, consecrated as it was "by the descent and under the reigns of 107 kings." Having obtained this explication, and regarding it as at least something that could be pointed to as a proof of his good management, Hamilton suddenly announced that it would be necessary for him to return to Court for personal conference with his Majesty. The Covenanters, though a little vexed at this resolution, were reconciled to it by the promise that none of the Bishops should accompany him. They saw the Marquis depart on Sunday the 1st of July. The very

next day, however, he was back among them. Before he had got far from Edinburgh, letters from the King had reached him in answer to previous letters of his relating to the explication of the Covenant and other matters. "As concerning "the explanation of their damnable Covenant," said his Majesty in a letter dated from Greenwich June 25, "whether "it be with or without explanation, I have no more power in "Scotland than as a Duke of Venice—which I will die rather "than suffer; yet I command the giving ear to their explana- "tion, or anything else, to win time." But the reputed intention of the Covenanters to hold an Assembly and Parliament without his leave had touched his Majesty to the quick. He could "hardly be sorry," he says, if they did go that length; "it would the more loudly declare them traitors and the "more justify my actions;" and "therefore, in my mind, my Declaration should not be long delayed." This was a bare opinion, he added, and no command. Evidently, however, the Marquis received it as a hint that it might be to his discredit at Court if he returned with the Declaration still in his pocket. Hence his reappearance in Edinburgh. During two days he was busy with the Councillors, and with such effect that he obtained the signatures of all of them to the Declaration, except Lorne and Southesk; and on the 4th of July the Declaration was in all form proclaimed at the Cross in the High Street. Not exactly the original Declaration, however—which even the Councillors would not have signed —but a modification of it, dated "Greenwich June 28," containing the same promises as the original, and similar threats, but rather implying the surrender of the Covenant than directly commanding it.[1] For the Covenanters, however, the modified Declaration was as bad as the original would have been, and they met it as they had resolved they would. The moment that the Proclamation had been made by the royal heralds at the Cross, Johnstone of Warriston, stepping forward on a wooden platform which had been erected for the purpose on the same spot, read forth, amid the cheers of the multitude, the prepared document in which he and other represen-

[1] See the Declaration in Rushworth, II. 754, 755.

tatives of the Covenanters, in their several orders as Nobles, Barons, Burgesses, and Clergy, did protest against the Royal Declaration as "miskenning, passing over, and in effect denying" all the matters at issue, as doing wrong to the motives of the nation, and as, in its offers, utterly insufficient.[1] For a day or two afterwards all was anger and turmoil. Rothes, Montrose, and Loudoun came to high words with the Marquis; and the Councillors who had been induced to sign the Declaration repented of their act as a mistake, recovered the copies they had signed, and tore them to pieces. At length ruffled spirits were somewhat calmed, and, on the same understanding as before, the Marquis on the 8th of July did set out for London.

While the Marquis is in London, conferring with the King, let us take a view of the situation for ourselves. Readers of Clarendon may remember what a glowing picture he gives, in the First Book of his History, of the singularly happy condition of the three kingdoms during that period of "Thorough," or arbitrary government by the King, which had now lasted for ten years. Full warehouses, bursting granaries, a prosperity casting the golden days of Elizabeth into the shade, "the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long a time together have been blessed with" —such is the picture. When this unexampled calm was disturbed by a rude blast from the North, when into this paradisaic condition of things there entered the Devil from Scotland, then, proceeds the historian, it was owing only to the King's exceeding clemency, to "his excellency of nature and his tenderness of blood," that the interruption was not straightway quashed, and peace and Paradise restored. It was not from lack of means! There was a "stronger fleet at sea than the nation had ever been acquainted with;" the revenue had been "so well improved and so warily managed that there was money in the Exchequer proportionable for the undertaking of any noble enterprise," much more for the putting down of a petty Presbyterian revolt; the English army had "as good and experienced officers as were to be

[1] See Protestation (a long document) in Rushworth, II. 756—761.

found at that time in Christendom!" The contrast between these assertions of Clarendon, which were but his hazy recollections of the time long after it was gone, and the authentic statements of contemporary documents, is one of the curiosities of historical literature. Charles, we have seen, had negotiated with the Scots only because he lacked means for a more imperious mode of dealing with them. Nay, while negotiating with them, as we have seen, it was still only "to win time." Before Hamilton had gone to Scotland, and while he had been there, every possible preparation had been thought of that might enable the King to break off negotiation and resort to a stronger policy. Orders had gone out respecting the mustering of the trained bands in the English counties, respecting the strengthening of the northern English towns, respecting the equipment of Admiral Pennington's fleet for service on the East Coast, and respecting the collection of ship-money. In the King's state of destitution he had even grasped at a mode of perplexing the Scots the most sly and desperate imaginable. There was then in Ireland, or going and coming between England and Ireland, a certain Randal MacDonnell, Earl of Antrim, an Irish Roman Catholic peer of broken fortunes, "notorious for nothing," according to Clarendon's character of him, "but for having married the dowager of the great Duke of Buckingham within a few years after the death of that favourite."[1] He was notorious, however, in Scotland on another account. He had a hereditary quarrel with the Campbells of Argyle, and was regarded as the chief and patron of those lawless tribes of the Clandonald, "Children of the Mist," who hovered between Ireland and the Scottish Highlands in dread of the Earl of Argyle's police and his dungeon and gibbet at Inverary. To this Irish Earl the King actually granted a secret commission to raise a force of Irishry with which to invade Argyleshire, ostensibly on his own private account, and to regain for his MacDonnells and Macdonalds the lands in those parts which they claimed as originally theirs, but with an indemnity for whatever he might do in that behalf. And yet, with all these

[1] Clar. Hist. p. 533.

preparations, no such progress had been made as that the negotiations with the Scots could be broken off. So far was there from being any concealment now of the "Scottish business" from the English Council that a Committee of the Council had been appointed expressly for Scottish affairs. It consisted of the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Cottington, Sir Henry Vane, and the two Secretaries, Coke and Windebank. Hear how one member of this committee, the Earl of Northumberland, writes to his friend Wentworth at Dublin on the 23rd of July, or after Hamilton had been back from Scotland about a fortnight: "It was expected that yesterday at Theobald's [a royal country-seat in Herts, about twelve miles from London] "the King would take his resolution of peace or war with "the Scots. Of the committee for these affairs, the Marshal "[Arundel], Cottington, and Windebank are all earnest to "put the King upon a war. . . . The Comptroller [Vane] is "for peace, and Secretary Coke rather inclines that way than "the other. . . . Nothing that I have yet heard doth per-"suade *me* to be of the Marshal's opinion. In the Exchequer "(being examined upon the occasion) there is found but "£200; nor, by all the means that can yet be devised, "the Treasurer [Bishop Juxon] and Cottington, engaging "both the King's and their own credits, are able to raise but "£110,000 towards the maintaining of the war. The King's "magazines are totally unfurnished of arms and all sorts of "ammunition; and commanders we have none, either for "advice or execution. The people through all England are "generally so discontented, by reason of the multitude of "projects daily imposed upon them, as I think there is reason "to fear that a great part of them will be readier to join the "Scots than to draw their swords in the King's service. And "your Lordship knows very well how ignorant this long "peace hath made our men in the use of arms." These words of Northumberland at the moment, it will be observed, hardly accord with Clarendon's subsequent fancy picture. The iron-handed Irish Viceroy, to whom the words were addressed, had formed an opinion of his own on the subject.

That "the gallant Gospellers" of Scots ought to be chastised and subdued he had no doubt. But, as to the policy to be pursued, he would take a middle course between the war-party and the peace-party in the English committee. On the one hand, he would make no farther concessions to the Scots than in the King's recent Declaration; he would grant them no Parliament. On the other hand, he would not, with Arundel, plunge into immediate war. He would wait over winter, pressing on all kinds of preparations; and, in the spring, if the Scots had not come to their senses, he would seize Leith, and commence a series of operations which should not end, he says, till the Scots "had received our Common "Prayer Book, used in the churches of England, without "any alteration, and the Bishops settled peaceably in their "jurisdictions; nay, perchance, till I had conformed that "kingdom all in all, as well for the temporal as ecclesiastical "affairs, wholly to the government and laws of England, "and Scotland governed by the King and Council of England, "in a great part at least, as we are here" (*i.e.* in Ireland). Whatever Wentworth says or writes has the merit, at least, of being emphatic.[1]

The more peaceful counsels of Northumberland having prevailed, though with a reserve in the King's mind of plans not unlike Wentworth's, it was resolved that Hamilton should return to Scotland.[2] By a new set of instructions, dated "London July 27," he was empowered to resume his negotiations on an advance of terms. He was to yield the Scots their General Assembly, only staving it off to as late a period of the year as possible, and employing himself on what was called its "prelimitation"—that is, on such arrangements and bargainings with the Covenanters beforehand as might make the Assembly, when it did meet, as innocuous as possible.

[1] See the letters quoted in this paragraph in the *Strafford Papers*. The last letter, in reply to Northumberland, is of date July 30.

[2] Some share in disposing the King to peaceful methods has been attributed to the young Duke of Lennox, a speech of whom at the Council-Board, strongly in favour of peace, is quoted by Stevenson (214—216) and other historians. Such a speech was in circulation in London; but, as a MS. copy of it which I have seen in the State Paper Office, of date July 15, is endorsed by Windebank "D of Lenox: his supposed speeche," I infer that it was not genuine.

It was to be pre-arranged, if possible, that the Bishops should sit in it, that a Bishop should be its Moderator or President, and that the debates should not run in very deep channels. Still, even if there should be little or no success in these efforts at "prelimitation," the Assembly was to be considered as granted. There might also be promised a Parliament, to meet soon after the Assembly. In short "you are," said the instructions, "by no means to permit a present rupture to "happen, but to yield anything, though unreasonable, rather "than now break." On that point, of the surrender of the Covenant, which had been ostensibly the reason of the Marquis's return to Court, there was a special device by which, it was hoped, difficulties would be obviated.

Thus reinstructed, the Marquis was back in Edinburgh on the 10th of August. During his absence there had been much preaching and praying all over Scotland to keep men's minds up to the mark of the emergency. Advantage of the brief leisure had also been taken to look after those parts of the country where the Covenant was weakest, or where on other grounds there was danger.

During a great part of the month of July, Lorne, I find, was away on very distinct business in his Argyleshire domain. It was the season when that romantic region of Scotland, now so well known to tourists, reclothes its wintry wildness with the annual return of beauty, and the expanses of sea and promontory, of island and channel, of winding loch and heathy mountain, are as often under the sunshine and the clear blue as enwrapped in the grey mist. Argyleshire nature was the same then as now; but man how different! Not in the spirit of a modern admirer of the picturesque was the lord of that region then surveying its various scenery, traversing its mountain-passes, sailing in his galleys down Loch Fyne, or skirting the long peninsula of Cantire, whence the gaze seeks the coast of Ireland. "My dewetie "to his sacred Majestie," we find him writing to Wentworth, as Viceroy of Ireland, on the 25th of July, "tyes me to late "your lordship know that there is zitt some few resting in "thir pairtes of the rebellious race of Clandonald, who hes

"evir" &c. In short, the astute Lorne had obtained intelligence of Antrim's intended expedition; he was now taking his precautions; and one of these was the opening of a correspondence with Wentworth with a view to clearer information. The correspondence was continued through several letters till the end of the year. In Wentworth's reply to Lorne's first letter there is great evident respect; but he takes the liberty of hinting that Lorne's conduct in such a crisis was not quite what was to be expected from a person of his lordship's "blood and abilities," of whom the world had "so great an opinion." Lorne again answers with equal politeness, in more civilized spelling than in his first letter, and with an irony and at the same time a strength of reasoning which must have made even Wentworth wince.[1]

But it was not only against the wild race of Clandonald, Children of the Mist, that precautions for the Covenant had been taken within Scotland. Quite on the opposite coast, and among a race as little Celtic in their temperament or ways as it would have been possible to find in the island, there was a block of opposition. At that point of the Scottish east coast, nearer to Norway than to London, where the gloomy Don and the sprightly Dee join their differing waters in the ocean, stands the town of Aberdeen. Partly from native tendencies, partly from the influence exercised by the "Aberdeen Doctors," this town was the fastness of Prelacy in Scotland. There were Covenanters in it; but hitherto the tide of Evangelicism, as understood by the rest of the nation, had dashed vainly in the main round the city. Accordingly, while Lorne had been away looking after the children of the mist, a deputation from the Tables, including the Earl of Montrose, Henderson, Dickson, and Cant, had been commissioned to visit Aberdeen and try what could be done with its children of the granite. Never were Henderson, Dickson, and Cant more hard beset in their capacity of debaters than in this visit to Aberdeen (July 20—28). Their preachings to the students in the yard of Marischal College,

[1] The following is the series of the letters in the *Strafford Papers*: 1. Lorne to Wentworth, July 25, 1638 (as in the text); 2. Wentworth to Lorne, Aug. 28; 3. Lorne to Wentworth, Oct. 9. The letters are worth reading.

and to the townspeople elsewhere, in behalf of the Covenant, brought out the Aberdeen Doctors—Dr. John Forbes, Dr. Robert Barron, Dr. William Leslie, Dr. James Sibbald, and Dr. Alexander Ross—to the defence of their flocks and their principles. Not content with their spoken arguments, the Aberdeen Doctors had set the local press to work; and, after the Covenanting deputies had left the town, they were pursued with printed Replies and Duplies, which it tasked their subsequent industry to answer. These pamphlets in defence of Prelacy from Aberdeen found their way at once into England.[1]

Both Lorne and the Aberdeen Deputation were back in Edinburgh in time to take part in the new negotiation with Hamilton. It lasted but a fortnight, or from August 10 to August 25. We have said that, in the matter of the Covenant, Hamilton had been provided with an ingenious contrivance which, it was supposed, would answer the purpose. It was a kind of homœopathic remedy, and seems to have been suggested by Hamilton himself. If the Scots *would* have a Covenant, might they not have a Covenant somewhat like their own, but of a quieter nature, and approved by the King,—nay, signed by him along with them? Their own Covenant consisted of a revival of a document known as the "Short Confession of Faith, or First National Covenant, of 1580," with certain subsequent additions and an attached "bond" or oath adapted to the immediate exigency. But out of the old documents of the Scottish Kirk might not a Covenant be devised less fierce in expression and yet sufficiently orthodox and Knox-like, and might not a "bond" of a loyal nature be attached to this Covenant?

[1] Baillie, I. 97; and the Pamphlets themselves as follows:—1. "General Demands concerning the late Covenant, propounded by the members and Professors of Divinity in Aberdene to some Reverend Brethren who came thither to recommend the late Covenant to them; together with the Answers of these Rev. Brethren to the said Demands; As also the Replyes of the foresaid members and Professors to their Answers: Printed by His Majestie's Printer for Scotland, *anno* 1638" (pp. 37). 2. "The Answers of some Brethren of the Ministrie to the Replyes of the members and Professors of Divinitie in Aberdene concerning the late Covenant: Printed by R. Y., his maj. Printer for Scotland, 1638" (pp. 42, and signed by Henderson and Dickson). 3. "Duplies of the members and Professors of Aberdene to the second Answers of some Reverend Brethren, &c. 1638" (pp. 133). — All these pamphlets were reprinted together at Aberdeen in 1662.

It is not worth while to describe the plan more minutely, for the Marquis seems to have found it hopeless and to have quietly dropped it. He devoted all his strength to the "prelimitation" of the promised Assembly, and this more especially on two points. He was anxious, first, that the Assembly should be in the main a clerically composed body, in the election of the members of which laymen should have no voice; and, secondly, that the scope of its deliberations should be restricted beforehand. On the first of these points he seemed likely at first to have some success; for the Table of Ministers (such is clerical human nature) were rather taken with the idea of an Assembly elected solely by themselves. Even they, however, were far from being agreed on the point; and, the Tables of the Nobles, Lairds, and Burgesses being unanimous for the electoral rights of laymen, the matter was settled, and a treatise was put forth clearing up, definitively for the future, the whole question of the place and power of lay-elders in the Presbyterian system. On the other point also Hamilton found the Tables resolute. They would have no "prelimitation" of the business of the Assembly; and, if they could not have a full and free Assembly by his Majesty's authority, they would call one without that authority. To the Marquis's alarm, this matter of an Assembly by popular authority alone began to be boldly discussed both in conference and in print. There was one incident which contributed to this boldness and to the difficulties of the Marquis in dealing with the Covenanters. The Marquis of Huntley's son, Lord Gordon, had arrived from Court (August 13) with letters from the King to the Magistrates and Doctors of Aberdeen, thanking them and the town for the loyal stand they had just made against the Covenant; and it was quickly known that Hamilton had backed these letters with others from himself to the same effect, and with a remittance to Dr. Barron of £100 to keep the press going with Aberdeen pamphlets. Suspicion of the Marquis's good faith was the natural result; and when, professing that he had again reached the limit of his instructions, he proposed once more to return to Court to have them enlarged, it was rather sternly that the Covenanters consented

to the new delay. Let him go, but let it not be for more than twenty days![1]

The second return of the Marquis to Court was still only "to win time." The same reasons against a rupture with the Scots that had led to the negotiation at first, and to its renewal after the first interruption, required that it should be renewed again at any hazard. Almost punctually, therefore, within the twenty days (Sept. 15) the Marquis was back in Edinburgh, and this time, it was announced, with all the requisite power. Indeed, the news of the great concessions which he was now authorized to grant had preceded him into Scotland, greatly to the joy of the Covenanters, but so much to the chagrin of the Scottish Prelates that, considering their cause abandoned by the King, and unwilling to await the vengeance likely to be executed upon them by the forthcoming Assembly, most of them had packed up their all, and were met by the Marquis in Yorkshire on their way to exile in English towns. It was easier for the Marquis, in a country almost wholly Presbyterian again by this flight of the Bishops, to proceed according to his new instructions. They were dated "Oatlands Sept. 9," and authorized him absolutely to revoke the Service-Book, the Canons, and the High Commission, to discontinue the Articles of Perth and promise the royal assent to their total repeal by Parliament, to call a General Assembly speedily at any place except Edinburgh, and to fix a day for the meeting of a Parliament after the Assembly. These concessions were, of course, accompanied with drawbacks, but nothing so stringent as before. As regarded the "prelimitation" of the Assembly, the Marquis was to yield to the Covenanters so far as to give his Majesty's sanction to proceedings in the Assembly having for their end a reform and restriction of Episcopacy in Scotland, and also to the trial of the Bishops and others by the Assembly as ecclesiastical delinquents. He was still to try to keep the lay element as much as possible out of the Assembly, but this rather by private management and by infusing into the minds of the clergy "a jealousy of being overruled by laics."

[1] Rushworth, II. 763, 764; Spalding, I. 98—100; and Baillie, I. 100, 10

In this matter of the "prelimitation," therefore, the chief stumbling-blocks had been removed. But there was a remaining stumbling-block. Charles could not forget the existence of the "damnable Covenant;" and the Marquis, greatly against his own will this time, was instructed to mingle with all the new concessions, and all his activity in connexion with them, an experiment in a new form of that very homœopathic remedy which he had himself suggested. According to this new form of the homœopathic remedy—concocted, apparently, by Traquair, Roxburgh, and others of the Scottish Councillors—the Scots were to be offered, in lieu of their Covenant, a document actually the same to a considerable extent, and differing only in its closing portion. So far as the repetition of the "Short Confession of 1580" was concerned, the new covenant to be proposed to the Scots in the King's name was *verbatim* the same as their own; but the rest of it was to consist of a renewal of a particular Bond or Covenant against Papists which had been annexed to the Short Confession in special circumstances by King James and his Council in 1590. Let us see what were some of the items in this proposed compound document. The Short Confession of 1580 is a vow of abhorrence of "all kind of Papistry in general and particular heads;" among which heads are enumerated the following errors and usurpations of the Pope—"his canonization of men, calling upon angels or "saints departed, worshipping of imagery, relics and crosses, "dedicating of kirks, altars and days," as well as "his holy "water, baptizing of bells, conjuring of spirits, crossing, sain-"ing, anointing, hallowing of God's creatures." In the Bond of 1590, annexed to this profession in the King's Covenant, there was less of this kind of language, and one can see why the King should prefer it to the Bond in the real Covenant, which was a solemn league of mutual defence against the "innovations" that had been enforced in his own reign and by himself. But, though preferable on this account, it was strong enough in itself. It was an oath to assemble in arms, when required by the King, "against whatsoever foreign or "intestine powers, or Papists and their partakers, should arrive

"or rise within this island or any part thereof," and also, under the same authority, to put the laws in force against "all Jesuits and seminary or mass priests." To what straits must the husband of Henrietta Maria, and the ecclesiastical disciple of Laud, have been driven when he was induced to sanction such a document as this joint Confession of 1580 and Bond of 1590![1]

Great was the popular rejoicing when, on Thursday the 22d of September, the full tenor of his Majesty's concessions was made known in several definite proclamations by the royal heralds at the Cross of Edinburgh. One proclamation was of a general or declaratory nature, absolutely revoking the Service-Book, the Canons, and the High Commission, suspending the Perth Articles, and promising their repeal and a limitation of Episcopacy. Two others were special—one a summons for a General Assembly of the Kirk to be held at Glasgow (not at Aberdeen, as had been feared) on the 21st of November; and another for a Parliament to meet in Edinburgh on the ensuing 15th of May. What could heart wish for more? Alas! there was *one* vitiating accompaniment of all this joy. "Only one thing frays us," writes Baillie—"the subscription of ane other covenant."[2] Before issuing the happy proclamations, the Marquis, in accordance with his instructions, had brought the matter of the new Covenant before the Council and some of the Covenanting chiefs. To these latter it caused perplexity. To the document in itself there was no objection; it was a very excellent document, such as they would have been glad to sign then or at any time; but, considered as a document which they were to accept from the King to the cancelling and renunciation of their own Covenant so solemnly sworn to, or even as a substitute for that Covenant, it assumed a very different complexion. Even the Lords of the Council felt this peculiarity of the case; and, though all of them who were present, to the number of twenty-nine, complied with the Marquis's request

[1] Rushworth, II. 759—761 (second paging); and Stevenson, 252, 253. The whole of the Bond of 1590 may be read in Rushworth, II. 778—780, or in Stevenson's Introd. to his History, under the year 1590.

[2] Baillie, I. 104.

that they would sign the document along with him, they did so only with an important explanation, insisted on by Lorne, that the Confession of 1580, as part of the document, was to be understood in the sense in which it had been originally drawn up, and as not implying approbation of any changes in the doctrine or discipline of the Kirk that had been introduced after that date. For those who, like Lorne, had not signed the other Covenant, this might be satisfactory: they were free from any former oath, and could take the King's with pleasure. But for the Covenanters themselves the case was different. The inducements to compliance were strong and obvious. Not the least was the sense of the prejudice that would be sure to arise against their cause in indifferent or even friendly quarters if they seemed to stand stubbornly on a mere form of words, when the substance was yielded. Still, the more they thought of the matter, the less could they comply. Very soon their minds were made up. On the 24th of September, or two days after the proclamations summoning an Assembly and a Parliament, there was a further proclamation at the Cross, by the Marquis's order, of Acts of Council commanding all His Majesty's Scottish subjects of whatever degree to subscribe the King's Covenant in the sense in which it had just been subscribed by the Council, and empowering commissioners to go into all the shires and collect the subscriptions before the 13th of November. No sooner was this proclamation made than Johnstone of Warriston stood forth, in the name of the Tables, and read a Protest which had been drawn up for the purpose. It was a long document, but is, I think, both in spirit and in expression, one of the finest to be found among the uncouth Scottish records of that period. I can hardly be mistaken in attributing it to Henderson. Was the former oath of a whole nation, it asked, to go for nothing? Were men, serious men, to "multiply oaths and covenants," or to "play with oaths as children do with their toys?" In so far as the Covenant already taken exceeded that now proposed, would there not be perjury in the substitution? "What the use is of march-"stones upon borders of land," it said, "the like use have

"Confessions of Faith in the Kirk, to determine betwixt "truth and error; and the renewing and applying of Con- "fessions of Faith to the present errors and corruptions are "not unlike riding of marches; and, therefore, to content "ourselves with the general, and to return to it from the "particular, application of the Confession necessarily made "upon the invasion or creeping in of errors within the "borders of the Kirk, if it be not a removing of the march- "stone from its own place, it is at least the hiding of the "march in the ground that it be not seen."[1]

And now, over the whole country, for about two months, there was a struggle of the two Covenants. It was not the question now whether one was a Covenanter or Non-Covenanter, but whether one would remain a Covenanter proper or be a King's Covenanter. As eager as the Covenanters had been six months before for the subscription of *their* Covenant, so eager were the Marquis and his official adherents now for the subscription of the rival Covenant in all parishes and places. Every influence was used with town-councils and presbyteries. For a time there seemed a chance of success. There were groups of Covenanters here and there who could not see the harm of accepting a Covenant so like their own, if the compliance would bring peace. Gradually, however, the counter-arguments of the Tables in their paper of Protest told on these waverers. Nay, the success of the King's Covenant in one locality brought it into discredit with the rest of the nation. It was on the 4th of October that the Marquis of Huntley, accompanied by his two sons, Lords Gordon and Aboyne, and by some Aberdeenshire and Banffshire lairds, made a grand demonstration with drum and trumpet for the King's Covenant in the market-square of Aberdeen, requiring the citizens to subscribe it. The Aberdeen Doctors led the way with their signatures; but they did so with certain characteristic explanations, to the effect that, in so doing, they were not to be considered as condemning Episcopal Government, or the Articles of Perth, or as com-

[1] See the entire Protestation in Stevenson, 256–264; and a portion of it in Rushworth, II. 772–778.

mitting themselves to the immutability of the Presbyterian model as it had existed in 1580. With this interpretation of the King's Covenant, which in fact converted the signing of it into a demonstration in behalf of Prelacy, the bulk of the Aberdonians acquiesced. *Their* acquiescence was ruinous. Here was that document, which the Privy Councillors themselves had signed carefully with one interpretation, signed by the Aberdonians—and their conduct "well likit" of the King too—in a sense totally different! Even the willing were taught to beware. On the 1st of November, when the Court of Session met in Edinburgh after the vacation, the Marquis could induce only nine of the thirteen judges to sign the new Covenant; and by the 13th, which had been the day fixed for the final return of the subscriptions, it was clear that, save among the official portions of society and in the head-quarters of Scottish Prelacy, the new Covenant was a failure. What was to be done? Were the King's promises of an Assembly and a Parliament to be retracted? Balcanquhal, in a private correspondence he was carrying on with Laud, advised something of the kind. The Marquis himself wrote to the King that there ought to be a vigorous prosecution of military and naval preparations. Still, on the whole, it was thought best to let things drift on to the Assembly according to promise. Whatever the Assembly did could be disowned when convenient, and meanwhile all sorts of legal obstructions might be accumulated to impede the Assembly when it did meet, and to furnish reasons to the King for declaring its proceedings invalid. For example, an Act of the Scottish Council was to be obtained debarring the Assembly, in the King's name, from the question of the abolition of Episcopacy, and the Marquis was to refuse his warrant for any summons of the Bishops and other accused ecclesiastics before the Assembly in the character of delinquents.[1]

Aware of all these predeterminations against the Assembly, but resolved to make the best of it, the Covenanters had been

[1] Rushworth, II. 784—787; Stevenson, 265 *et seq.*; Baillie, I. 104, *et seq.*; Spalding, I. 141; Letter of Balcanquhal, in Appendix to Baillie, I. 475-7.

for weeks busy with all the items of preparation for a national convention so important and so long disused. Since the month of August letters of direction had been out from the Tables in Edinburgh to all the fifty-three Presbyteries, and even to all the Kirk-Sessions, of the land, giving minute instructions as to the proper forms of procedure in the election of representatives. The burghs had been reminded of the ancient practice in the election of the commissioners to be sent by them. Various doubtful points as to lay-elders, &c. had been cleared up for the satisfaction of the curious. Trusty members of the several Presbyteries had been communicated with more privately; and all had been advised to study as thoroughly as possible the questions that were likely to come mainly into dispute in the Assembly—*De Episcopatu, De Senioribus, De potestate magistratûs in rebus ecclesiasticis, De Liturgiâ Anglicanâ*, &c. But how to bring the Bishops and other ecclesiastical culprits before the bar of the Assembly? To this end there was prepared a general form of complaint or "libel" against the Bishops, in the names of 12 noblemen, 32 barons or lairds, 5 ministers, and 6 burgesses, acting for the whole body of the Covenanters; which "libel," with special charges of immorality, &c., against some of the Bishops, was transmitted to the Presbyteries within whose bounds lay the cathedral-seats or residences of the Bishops, in order that either these Presbyteries might judge the accused themselves or refer their trial to the Assembly. The latter course, it is needless to say, was universally adopted. In all these proceedings there was evidence not only of the zeal and courage of the Covenanters, but also of an amount of business-talent to which there was nothing comparable on the King's side.[1]

THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY OF 1638.

On Wednesday the 21st of November 1638 the long-expected Assembly met in that High Church of Glasgow which strangers to the city still visit as one of the best remain-

[1] Stevenson, 247—252, and 267-8.

ing specimens of the old Cathedral-architecture of Scotland. It was an important day for Scotland, and not so unimportant for England as the scanty references to it now in English histories might lead one to imagine. Glasgow was not then the great city it now is, but only a thriving Scottish town of some 12,000 souls. The bustle in the place was proportionate to the occasion. All that was influential in Scotland was already gathered there. Besides the Marquis as Lord High Commissioner, all or nearly all the Privy Councillors, and the actual members of the Assembly, lay and clerical, to the number of 240, there was a great number of ministers, nobles, and lairds, from all parts of the country, some as appointed "assessors" to the members, and others attracted by curiosity. The retainers, many of them armed, whom the chief nobles had brought with them, swelled the crowd. In vain the Marquis had sought to prevent so vast and promiscuous a gathering, and to keep the city free from a larger addition to its ordinary population than might be made by those whose presence was absolutely necessary. It was with difficulty that the members could force their way through the crush to their places in the church. The magistrates had made all the arrangements. On a throne, as representing his Majesty, sat the Marquis. Immediately beneath and around him sat the Lords of the Privy Council, to the number of thirty, of whom six had been specially named by the King as "assessors" to the Commissioner. In front of the Commissioner's throne was a little table for the Moderator and the Clerk of the Assembly when they should be chosen; there was a long table in the middle, from end to end, round which sat the lay-elders who were members of the Assembly, or assessors to such; and side seats, rising in tiers, were occupied by the clerical members and their assessors. The vaults and recesses were filled with spectators of both sexes, a special place being reserved for the young nobility. Among the 144 clerical members returned by the 53 Presbyteries (three from most, but only two from some) were Henderson, Dickson, Baillie, Rutherford, Cant, and others already known to us, together with such others, then not inconsiderable, as

Adamson, Ramsay, and Rollock of Edinburgh, Bell and Zachary Boyd of Glasgow, William Guild of Aberdeen, James Bonar of Maybole, Dalgleish of Cupar, Cunningham of Cumnock, William Livingstone of Lanark, Ker of Prestonpans, Row of Carnock, and Robert Blair and John Livingstone, both recently from Ireland. The lay members were 96 in all (one from most of the Presbyteries, and one at least from each of the 48 Scottish burghs); among whom were the chief of the Scottish non-official nobility and gentry. Yes! though the Scottish aristocracy have since then, almost to a man, passed over to the English Church, there sat in that most Presbyterian of all the Assemblies of the Kirk, and most of them most intensely and patriotically Presbyterian themselves, the ancestors of most of our present well-known Scottish families! Among the Earls were Rothes, Lothian, Cassilis, Eglintoun, Montrose, Wemyss, and Home; among the Lords were Cranstoun, Yester, Johnstone, Loudoun, Sinclair, Balmerino, Lindsay, Burleigh, and Cupar; and among the lairds or lesser barons were Douglas of Cavers, Fergusson of Craigdarroch, Agnew of Lochnaw, Baillie of Lamington, Stirling of Keir, Graham of Fintray, Ramsay of Balmain, Skene of Skene, Fraser of Philorth, and Barclay of Towie. Among the ministers present, not as members, but only as spectators and assessors, were young George Gillespie of Wemyss, and old David Calderwood, the long-exiled but now rejoicing historian of the Kirk. There had been an expectation that the Aberdeen Doctors and their friends would appear and show fight; and there had been returns from some Presbyteries of men of this stamp. On the whole, however, the policy of the Anti-Covenanters had been to keep away from the Assembly, rather than figure as a small fraction in it and yet countenance it by their presence. In the main, then, the Assembly, though divisible into the more eager and the less eager in opinion, as all assemblies are, was charged with one spirit. For the difficult office of Moderator or President there was chosen, by instinctive and unanimous consent, Alexander Henderson, "incomparably the ablest man of us all," says Baillie, "for all things." As to who should sit at the same

table with the Moderator as Clerk of the Assembly there was no hesitation whatever. Johnstone of Warriston was the very man, "a nonsuch for a Clerk to us all," says Baillie. As Clerk he was not a member of Assembly, but only its officer.[1]

Obstruction of the proceedings at every possible point was the policy of the Marquis. The first seven days of the Assembly were, accordingly, one continued struggle between him and the body of the members. His method was to watch the progress of the business, and, wherever he could see a controvertible point, to challenge it and raise a debate—in the end, when the decision went against him on that point, suffering the decision to pass under protest. Thus he opposed the election of Henderson as Moderator, the election of Johnstone as Clerk; and day after day he kept on demurring, delaying, and protesting at every new stage, in a way which, while it vexed the Assembly, impressed them with a respect for his ability. "I take the man to be," says Baillie, who had been much prejudiced against him, "of a sharp, ready, solid, "clear wit, of a brave and masterlike expression, loud, distinct, "slow, full, yet concise, modest, courtly: if the King have "many such men, he is a well-served prince." It needed a Henderson for Moderator, thought Baillie, to match such a High Commissioner.

But the policy of mere obstruction was to come to an end. On the sixth and seventh days of sitting—Tuesday the 27th and Wednesday the 28th of November—there came on a discussion of certain documents striking at the powers and the very existence of the Assembly itself. There was a *Declinator* from the Bishops, *i.e.* a paper in which they jointly took exception to the Assembly, and refused to appear in it or recognize its authority;[2] and there were three allied documents, signed in all by about fifty ministers, protesting against the validity of the Assembly if laymen or commissioners from such should have votes in it. These last were speedily dis-

[1] Minute accounts of the arrangements of the Assembly are given in Baillie and Stevenson; and in Stevenson (275—277) may be seen a complete roll of the members, both lay and clerical.

[2] See the *Declinator* (a long document) in Rushworth, II. 866—872.

posed of, the slenderness of the numerical opposition which they revealed surprising the Assembly itself. But the *Declinator* of the Bishops! It was known that, in this matter, if in any, the Marquis and the Assembly would come to a rupture, and it was thought of evil omen that at this juncture of the proceedings the Bishop of Ross had arrived in Glasgow from Court. Accordingly, the debate became complicated and vehement. There were counter-protests against the *Declinator* from the nobles who had promoted the libel against the Bishops; there were speeches by Rothes and other chief leaders; there was a speech by the Moderator, expounding the rights of the Assembly by reference to the Synod of Dort as a precedent, and in the light of natural reason; and, Balcanquhal having obtained leave to comment on one portion of the Moderator's speech, there was protracted argumentation in reply. At length, the debate having wearied itself out, it was left for the Moderator to put the question to the Assembly "whether they found themselves the Bishops' judges notwithstanding their *Declinator*." At this point the Marquis rose in a warning manner. After speaking of the conflict of his own feelings in having to discharge a duty so painful, he declared that the course of the Assembly's proceedings was now inconsistent with his Majesty's instructions to him; and, delivering a paper containing these instructions to the Clerk, he desired that it should be read. The paper, among other things, required the Assembly to accept, sign, and register the King's Covenant. When, it had been read, the Moderator, after a grave and loyal reply, insisted that he must proceed to his duty and put the question of the *Declinator*. Again the Marquis interfered, intimating that, if the question were put, he must leave the Assembly. Very anxious to prevent such a catastrophe, Rothes addressed his Grace, and there followed a kind of informal dialogue, in which all the objections to the proceedings of the Covenanters were again urged by his Grace, and redargued by Rothes, Loudoun, and others. While speaking, the Marquis was seen to shed tears, and his distress, communicating itself to the Assembly, "drew water," says Baillie, "from many eyes; well I wot,

much from mine." He summed up with these words, "I "stand to the King's prerogative as supreme judge over all "causes, civil and ecclesiastic; to him the Lords of the Clergy "have appealed, and therefore I will not suffer their cause to "be farther reasoned here." He would have had the Assembly then to break up; but, as they would not, he protested, in the King's name and in his own, against whatever they might do, and left the church with his retinue of Privy Councillors. One Privy Councillor, indeed, remained behind. This was Lorne—now no longer called by that name, however; for, by his father's death in London, he had just become Earl of Argyle. He had taken the opportunity, during the last conversation, to explain, in the Marquis's presence, his past conduct, to call attention to the fact that he had signed the King's Covenant in a sense contrary to the Prelatic interpretation that had been given to it, and to signify his intention thenceforth to adhere to the Assembly as a lawful convocation of his countrymen. Hurrah for Argyle at last! From this time forward he is openly a Covenanter.[1]

Next day, as was expected, there was a proclamation by the Marquis, dissolving the Assembly on pain of treason, and commanding all persons not resident in Glasgow to leave the city within twenty-four hours. The Assembly, of course, had their protest ready, and did not move. Only three or four of them, so far as is known, left their places. Deliberately through nineteen other sittings they proceeded with their business, the last or twenty-sixth sitting being on Thursday the 20th of December. An index of their principal Acts may be read in Rushworth, and their proceedings may be studied more at large in the published records of the Kirk of Scotland. Suffice it here to say that they swept Episcopacy, root and branch, out of the land, and re-established the Kirk on the Presbyterian model. There was an Act annulling the six immediately preceding Assemblies, from that of Perth in 1618, back

[1] Baillie, I. 123—144; Stevenson, 273—308; Rushworth, II. 841—854. The exact date of the old Earl of Argyle's death is not to be found in the Peerage-books; but it must have happened between the 9th of October, when Lorne still signs himself "Lorne," and the 5th of November, when the King, in a letter to Wentworth, refers to him as "Argyle" (*Strafford Letters*).

to that of Linlithgow in 1606, by which Prelacy had been introduced or accepted. There were Acts condemning the Service-Book, the Canons, the High Commission, and the Articles of Perth. There was an Act deposing and excommunicating "the sometime pretended bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, Ross, Galloway, Brechin, Edinburgh, Dunblane and Aberdeen," and an Act deposing, but not excommunicating, the less unpopular bishops of Moray, the Isles, Argyle, Orkney, Caithness, and Dunkeld. There were Acts ratifying the National Covenant and disowning the King's Covenant. There were Acts "restoring Presbyteries and Provincial and General Assemblies" on their former basis, and redistributing the fifty-three Presbyteries into convenient provinces for Synods. There were minor acts about all matters and sundry —concerning schools and colleges, against delinquents inferior to the bishops, against Popery, concerning Sabbath-observance, against Deans and Chapters, and (alas for toleration in those days even among the foes of Laud!) against "the printing anything anent the Assembly, or any treatise concerning the Kirk," without warrant in writing from the Assembly's Clerk. Finally, the next meeting of the Assembly was appointed to be held in Edinburgh, in July 1639. In these Acts the Assembly was singularly unanimous. Argyle, though not as a member, took part in the deliberations, and remained with the Assembly till it broke up. Two days before it broke up it was again denounced and annulled by a royal Proclamation. This Proclamation, direct from the King, and dated "Whitehall, Dec. 8," had been read at the Cross of Edinburgh, and met there, as usual, by a detailed protest. The Glasgow Assembly of 1638 was to remain a solid and accomplished fact in the history of Scotland. It re-established the Church of the nation on its Presbyterian basis; and its Moderator, Alexander Henderson, is remembered to this day as the great successor of John Knox.[1]

[1] Rushworth, II. 872—875; Acts and Proceedings of the Assembly of 1638 (reprinted at Edinburgh in 1838); Baillie, I. 144—176; Stevenson, 308—352.

THE FIRST "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS.

England had been roused, from end to end, by the events in Scotland. Till some eighteen months before, English ideas of Scotland had been very vague. In the descriptions of English satirists it was a land of beggary and oatmeal, from which, since the union of the Crowns, there had been a constant influx of lank and greedy immigrants.

> Had Cain been Scotch, God would have changed his doom;
> Not made him wander, but compelled him home.

These lines had yet to be written by the satirist Cleveland; but the jest which they express had long been popular in England. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "there was so "little curiosity, either in the court or the country, to know "anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that, when "the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly "in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no "man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that "kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette." Jenny Geddes's arm had changed all that. Since the proclamation of the Covenant there had been an intense interest throughout England in the progress of "the Scottish business." The illustrations of this that might be gathered from the English Home-office documents of the time are innumerable. One reads there how information was sent from Northumberland to Secretary Windebank that John Alured, dwelling near the border, and worth 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year, had been heard to say that "the Scots were brave boys," and "would reform this land by a Parliament as they had done theirs already." One reads of a nest of sympathisers with the Scots in Newcastle, and how from that town a merchant named Fenwicke, a tanner named Bittlestone, and others, had paid a visit of sympathy to Edinburgh, had lodged there in a poor widow's house in the High Street, had heard Mr. Roque (Rollock) preach on Psalm cxxii. 6, 7, and had been so greatly impressed that they had either signed the Covenant themselves or wished to do so. Nor

was it only in the north of England that such instances of sympathy with the Scots were breaking out, in a manner to attract the attention of the local authorities and of the Home Office. In London, now and for weeks and months to come, Mr. Secretary Windebank, and his private secretary and son-in-law, Mr. Robert Reade, were busy to weariness with informations that had reached them of cases of the Scottish distemper, and with inquiries and arrests arising out of these informations. Some of these cases are comical enough. Lists were made out of Scottish tailors and other Scottish tradesmen in the city, and of the cheap eating-houses and the like to which Scotchmen did most resort; and one reads, *inter alia*, how a certain Mrs. Cromwell, living near Shere Lane, and not only she, but her neighbour Mrs. Grace Southcott, and the Rev. Mr. Swadling, Vicar of Aldgate's, and Dr. May, a physician—all of whom chanced to be in Mrs. Cromwell's house at the time—were alarmed by the wild talk of a certain Captain Napier, a Scotchman, who had dropt in with apologies from his sick wife for not having been able to call on Mrs. Cromwell. The news from Scotland having been mentioned, Captain Napier had told them that there was more in that matter than people generally knew. "There were many good heads writing and busy about these things," and he himself was not in London for nothing. He has the honour of seeing the imprisoned Bishop of Lincoln almost every day in the Tower; "that Bishop hath more in him "than all the rest of the Bishops of England, and, if he had "been made Archbishop of Canterbury, none of all these "things had fallen out." What was brewing time alone could tell. Only this he would hint, that "all the apostles of Christ had not 100*l.* a year amongst them," and that, if the Bishops of England were brought back to something like that state of things, it might be better for all parties! All this and much more did Captain Napier say openly in Mrs. Cromwell's house, till the hair of his hearers stood on end; and no sooner was he gone than, Mr. Swadling and Dr. May having agreed that "many a man hath been laid upon a hurdle for less matters than this and for concealment," an

account of what had passed was drawn up, read to the women, and sent to Secretary Windebank. The result was that Captain Napier soon found himself under lock and key. If the accounts are correct, we need not pity *him* much; he was but a Scottish Bobadil, who had probably a bee in his bonnet.—But what shall we say of the daily intercepting of letters addressed to respectable London citizens, and of police-visits to their houses to search for papers on suspicion of their complicity with the Scots? Among the persons so suspected, and examined under warrant from Windebank, was a "Samuel Hartlib, merchant," of whom we shall hear more in this History. And the feeling regarding the existence of which the Government was thus on the alert, did, doubtless, exist throughout the entire body of the English Puritans. Above all, for the Hampdens, the Cromwells, and the Pyms, walking about this time, as we can fancy them, in the fields or along quiet pathways in their several parts of England, and wondering how long the reign of "Thorough" was to last, and when, if ever, they were to be called upon again to act for their countrymen, the news from Scotland must have had a strangely agitating interest.[1]

[1] The little odds and ends of fact mentioned in this paragraph are from notes of my readings in the MSS. in the State-Paper Office. The date of the Alured case is July 4—9; that of the Napier case, August 8; the date of the inquiry about the Newcastle sympathisers is January 1638-9. Thence, on for some months, Windebank and Reade are busy with London cases. The warrant for examining Hartlib and searching his house is of date May 1, 1639. It is to Reade, who had just written on the previous day (April 30), "I am in such continual employment in examining these Puritan rogues, &c., that I am weary of my life."—I have seen a letter of Pym's in the State-Paper Office, dated "London, July 20, 1638," and addressed to his "very worthy and much esteemed friend, John Wandesforde, Esq. His Maj. agent and counsel for the English at Aleppo in Syria." In this letter (doubtless intercepted and brought to Windebank) Pym says, "Being again to go into the country, where I have been for the most part of these two years past, and it being a time which threatens great change and trouble, I have thought good now to salute," &c.—I may here mention that to the fears of complicity with the Scots, entertained by the Government about this time, we owe some curious statistics as to the number of *foreigners* then resident in London. From a return of names made to Windebank, in pursuance of a Privy Council order (S. P. O. MS. of date March 15, 1638-9), I find that there were then 838 "strangers" in Westminster—viz. 641 French, 176 Dutch, 15 Italians, and 6 Spaniards—a large proportion of whom are described as "painters," "picture-drawers," or "lymners," while others are engravers, musicians, silver-workers, &c. Westminster would naturally be the head-quarters of foreigners who were artists. In the city of London there were at the same time (MS. of date March 19, giving, however, only numbers, and not a list of names) 330 "strangers," classified thus—French, 228; Dutch, 221; Walloons, 330; Ger-

The nature of this interest of the English Puritans in the Scottish struggle may be easily conceived. From the time of Elizabeth, it is true, a large proportion of those who were called Puritans in England had desired nothing more in the shape of ecclesiastical change than a modification of the Episcopal power, an abatement of ceremonies and the like; but, in so far as any other model of a Church than the Episcopal *had* been contemplated by those English Puritans who stopped short of Independency and Separatism, it had, of course, been the Genevan or Presbyterian. Most probably the tightening and heightening of English Episcopacy by Laud had of late driven the thoughts of the Puritans more and more to this notion of a Church without bishops as promising the only effective deliverance. Such a notion, however, can have existed but vaguely while it was only by looking across the seas to Holland and Switzerland that actual specimens of non-episcopal Church-government could be found. But, now that one portion of the British Island itself had actually swept away its bishops and reverted to the Presbyterian system, it was not wonderful that Presbyterianism should seem to the English Puritans a nearer possibility than it had been. All of them indeed did not as yet go the length of desiring the Presbyterian system for England. But all of them were satisfied that, if the Scots chose to have that system in Scotland, they ought not to be prevented by any interference from without; and they were shocked at the idea of a war between the two nations for the sake of the Scottish bishops.

Nevertheless, war there was now to be. On this the King, Laud, Wentworth, Arundel, Cottington and others were resolved. Nor could any of the Councillors see how it could be longer avoided. The Marquis of Hamilton, who had been detained by illness and disappointment in Scotland till the month of January, could give no other advice. Accordingly, as preparations had been going on more or less secretly for

mans, 24; Italians, 11; Polanders, 2; Bohemians, 1; Norwegians, 1; Savoyards, 1; Normans, 1; Florentines, 1; Palatinate-men, 1; Venetians, 6; Hamburghers, 1. As regards professions, 202 of the total 830 are described as "weavers," and the rest of other professions.

months, with a view to a war in the spring at any rate, so during the months of January and February 1638-9 these preparations were pressed forward with all the urgency of immediate haste. The details of these preparations the reader may easily conceive for himself. We will but glance at one or two of the special methods for raising money to which the King had recourse.

The Nobles were called upon to subscribe. By a circular letter in the King's name to all the English nobility, dated "Westminster, January 26, 1638-9," they were individually informed that the King was to lead in person an expedition against the Scots, and that the rendezvous was to be at York on the 1st of April; and they were required to intimate within fifteen days to one of the Secretaries of State the nature and the extent of the assistance which his Majesty might expect from them on that occasion. A good many replies to this letter, some of which are curious specimens of aristocratic penmanship and orthography, are still to be seen in the State-Paper Office; where also there is an abstract, in the handwriting of Mr. Nicholas, Clerk to the Council, of *all* the replies sent in, to the number of seventy-seven. The gradations of wealth among the English nobles, in combination with their zeal and loyalty in general, or with their appetite for the Scottish war in particular, are easily to be seen in this document. None of the seventy-seven nobles included in it comes up to Wentworth. His name is not included in it, apparently because it was necessary that he should remain in Ireland; but, hearing that such a summons had gone forth, he had written over to the King, subscribing 2,000*l.*, and asking his Majesty to command all he had beyond that, "to the uttermost farthing." Perhaps next in zeal to Wentworth is the Earl of Worcester. He promises 1,000*l.*, and will send his son and heir (Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Glamorgan) to the rendezvous with 20 horse. A few nobles—as Lord Goring, Lord Cottington, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Newcastle, and the Earl of St. Alban's and Clanricarde—promise 20 horse, and attendance in person or by substitute; while others—as the Earls of Thanet, Kingston, and Rivers—offer

1000*l.*, in lieu of horse, or of both horse and attendance. The Earl of Bridgewater, Milton's "Earl" in *Comus*, will furnish 12 foot for six months, or pay 1000*l.*, whichever is most acceptable to the King; and the *money* is most acceptable. Lord Falconbridge will attend with 10 horse and 20 foot "at the least." There are smaller offerings from many, of 500*l.* or 600*l.*, or of 4 horse, 6 horse, 10 horse, with or without personal attendance; and a very considerable number—among whom are the Marquis of Winchester, the Earls of Dover, Danby, Northampton, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Hertford, Denbigh, Berkshire, Bolingbroke, and Clare—do not commit themselves to any exact contribution, but promise to attend "with as good equipage as their fortunes and the shortness of the time will permit." Not a few beg to be excused altogether—from attendance, on the grounds of ill-health, old age, or important engagements; and from contribution, on account of poverty or the suddenness of the demand. Among these are the Earls of Lincoln, Sussex, and Nottingham. Some of the replies in this category are peculiar. Lord Charles Stanhope, for example, "is not able to subsist since he lost his place but by his Majesty's help;" but, if he were paid his arrears of 1400*l.* or 1500*l.*, he might be able to do something. Similarly, the philosophical Lord Herbert of Cherbury reminds Windebank that since 1624 he has been waiting in vain for repayment of 5,500*l.* disbursed by him while he was ambassador in France, and that moreover he has been more in the cold shade of late than a person of his merits, both literary and diplomatic, might have expected. The Earl of Bristol, who had greater cause of complaint against Charles, sends no distinct reply, but hopes to come to London soon with "such an answer as may be expected." Lord Mandeville, son of the Earl of Manchester, "hopes his father will furnish him" with the means to serve. The Earl of Warwick, "being to go to the West Indies, desires to be excused from his personal attendance," but will send his son. The Earl of Bedford first offers 500*l.*, and then, seemingly with reluctance, raises the sum to 1000*l.*, with a promise of personal attendance. In his case, as in some of the preceding,

the struggle between loyalty and Puritan sympathies is apparent; but there are only two cases in which the reluctance which so many must have felt is openly avowed and assistance refused on principle. The noblemen thus courageously conspicuous are the two future Puritan leaders, Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke. In their first letters both "apprehend that the subject is not obliged to any aid of that nature but by Parliament;" and, when they are asked to reconsider that answer, all they concede is that they will be ready "to attend his Majesty when any part of the kingdom of England shall be invaded." They will do what the law requires them to do, and only that![1]

From no class of the community was there a larger proportionate contribution than from the Clergy. It was natural that among many of them ecclesiastical enthusiasm should prompt to a pecuniary demonstration against Jack Presbyter; and those of them who owned no such feeling were under a very strong whip. Laud had taken the matter in hand. A circular letter, dated "Lambeth, Feb. 11," had been sent to all the clergy of his Province, requiring them to meet and contribute, instructing them that his Majesty looked for "a greater sum than in the ordinary way," and intimating moreover that every clergyman's subscription would be registered, and defaulters noted. Archbishop Neile extended the letter to his Province of York. The result was a most respectable contribution, satisfactory even to Laud.[2] That prelate was, indeed, now overburdened with the anxiety of an ecclesiastical revolution roused by himself and for which he knew that he was held responsible. As usual, his waking thoughts passed into his dreams. "Tuesday Night, Feb. 12, 1639," he writes in his Diary, "I dreamed that K. C. (King Charles) was to be "married to a minister's widow, and that I was called upon "to do it: no Service-Book was to be found; and in my own

[1] The King's circular letter in Rushworth, II. 791-2; "A List of the Lords Answerers to the King's Letter" in S. P. O., of date Feb. 28, 1638-9; a good many of the answ rs themselves in the S. P. O. — Lord Herbert of Cherbury's, which is in a neat and elegant hand, being dated "From my house at Haquenay, 9 Feb. 1638;" also Wentworth's Letter to the King in *Strafford Letters*, date Feb. 10, 1638-9.

[2] Rushworth, II. 819.

" book, which I had, I could not find the place for marriage." This was ominous.

From the laity generally, and from the commercial class in particular, far less was to be obtained than from the nobles and the clergy. All that the City of London offered was a paltry sum of 5,200*l.*, which his Majesty refused with scorn.[1] Hence an application to the English Roman Catholics. The Queen herself appealed by letter to her fellow-religionists; a central committee of influential Romanists, including Sir Kenelm Digby and Walter Montague, was formed in London; and in all the shires Roman Catholic collectors were set to work. The sum raised was considerable, and would have been greater had not hints come from Rome, through George Con and other Papal agents, not to be too forward in the affair. It was not so clear at the Vatican that the interests of the true Church would be promoted by helping the King of the Protestant Island to put down a portion of his subjects a little more absurdly Protestant than himself; and the English Catholics were warned to "desist from that foolish, nay rather illiterate and childish custom" of distinguishing between Anglicanism and Puritanism, as if the one were a whit nearer the eternal Italian truth than the other.[2]

The total levies ordered from all England and Wales were 43,153. foot and 3,599 horse. Of this force a part was to remain in reserve within England, while the rest was to form the army destined for the Scottish border. To the chief command of this army the King had appointed the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, then in his forty-eighth year. He was chosen for his high rank and general stateliness, and also perhaps because his ancestor had commanded the English at Flodden. As Lieutenant-General under Arundel, there had been appointed Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, of about the same age as Arundel, but of military experience, and, according to Clarendon, "the most popular man in the kingdom," and the likeliest to be of use to Charles, if Charles

[1] Letter of Garrard of the Charterhouse, of date March 28, 1639, to Viscount Conway, among the Conway Papers in the State Paper Office.

[2] Rushworth, II. 820—826.

had had the due discernment. Essex would have preferred being Master of the Horse; but, by the Queen's influence, that post was given to the Earl of Holland. To assist the land-operations of the army, a fleet of sixteen vessels, under the command of the Marquis of Hamilton, with Admiral Sir John Pennington as his second, was to sail from the Thames for the Firth of Forth. The scheme of a descent by the Earl of Antrim and his Irish followers on the west or Argyleshire coast was revived, and it was hoped that Wentworth might aid or follow up that expedition. Finally, to turn to account the anti-covenanting elements in Scotland, a commission was sent to the Marquis of Huntley, appointing him lieutenant for the King at Aberdeen and in all the northern parts of Scotland.[1]

It was not till the King's preparations were in a sufficient state of forwardness that he openly announced to his English subjects the intention which they had gathered from his acts. This was done in a long proclamation, of date February 27, ordered to be read in all the parish churches of England and Wales after Divine service. Here his Majesty gave such a summary account of the proceedings of the Scots as would, he said, make evident, in the meantime, the justice of his intended war, but referred those who might desire to study the question more at leisure to an elaborate documentary history which Dr. Balcanquhal was preparing for the press under the title of "The Large Declaration." In the proclamation very strong statements were made. The Covenanters were accused of being enemies to monarchy, and of a design to invade England.[2] As the Scots had circulated abundantly in England papers giving a very different version of their acts and their principles, the proclamation of Charles had little effect; and the popular English feeling against the war broke out in all sorts of forms. Squibs, and drafts of petitions against the war, were flung at night over the walls of Whitehall or Lambeth, or dropped within the pre-

[1] Rushworth, II. 826—828; Clarendon, p. 46; Letter of Northumberland to Wentworth, Jan. 29, in *Strafford Letters;* Baillie, I. 188; Spalding, I. 145.

[2] See the Proclamation in Rushworth, II. 830—833.

cincts of the Court. Take as a specimen one rude and very plebeian document, now in the State Paper Office, written in a coarse cramped hand, and endorsed by Windebank "Libel from Ware." Ware is a village in Herts, and some rustic Puritan there had penned the document. "If you "tender God's glory," he says to the King, "your Highness' "and posterity's good and your loving subjects' love, con- "sider what you do before you begin to shed innocent blood. "King Ahab brought a curse on all his posterity by," &c. Again, "We, your poor, yet true subjects have many griev- "ances which lieth heavy on our bodies and our states, which "we cannot well bear; yet our greatest cause of grief is "that God's ordinances are taken away, and our ministers "are taken away or their mouths stopped, and our souls are "like to be starved; and we have as much need to stand as "the Scots have in this behalf." After more of the same sort, the petition winds up with this bit of doggrel—

"Desierin' your Hines to pardon my pen,
Cary Laud to the Scots, and hang up 'Ren."[1]

While the King was making his preparations, the Scots had not been idle. Foreseeing war, they had, even before the holding of their Assembly, taken care to provide what was mainly needful — a fit commander-in-chief. The "Thirty Years' War," then two-thirds over, had been a grand military school, not only for Germans, Swedes, Frenchmen, and other continentals, but also for many a volunteer or soldier-adventurer from the British islands. In especial, scores of cadets of Lowland Scottish families had gone abroad since 1618 in the Protestant service, and had become officers in the armies of the Elector-Palatine, the Danish King, and Gustavus Adolphus. Among the most conspicuous of these was one Alexander Leslie, the natural son of George Leslie, of Balgonie in Fifeshire, one of that wide-spread Scottish family of Leslies of which the Earl of Rothes was now the

[1] From copy in my notes from Papers in the S. P. O. This paper is addressed on the back "To the Hie and Mighty King Charles deliver this carefully." The "'Ren" whose hanging-up is desired is Bishop Wren of Norwich, specially unpopular for his severity against the Puritans.

chief. He had served as an officer in Sir Horatio Vere's regiment of British auxiliaries sent in 1621 to assist the Dutch against Spinola, and had passed thence into the service of Gustavus. Among his military exploits, when he was one of Gustavus's Scottish officers, had been the defence of Stralsund, in 1628, against the Imperialists under Wallenstein. The success of this defence, in spite of Wallenstein's boast that he would take Stralsund "though it were chained to heaven by adamant," had been accounted a splendid incident of the general war. Thenceforward, as Sir Alexander Leslie, Governor of Stralsund, Field-marshal, &c., he had been one of the Swedish hero's most trusted subordinates; and, after the death of Gustavus, he had remained in the Swedish service—now in Saxony or other parts of Germany, and now in Sweden itself. Early in 1638 he seems to have had thoughts of returning to Scotland, where since 1635 he had been the holder of property in his native Fifeshire. Whatever intention of this kind he may have had was confirmed by the intelligence he received abroad of the events of that year in Scotland. His sympathies being with the Covenanters, he had even busied himself with procuring signatures to the Covenant among the Scottish officers and soldiers in Sweden and Germany. To him, at all events, the thoughts of the Covenanting leaders at home had turned. Rothes had entered into communication with him; and, coming over in a small bark, he had arrived in Scotland in the autumn of 1638. Without any post as yet, and indeed keeping as much as possible in the background, he was yet to be seen occasionally in the Canongate or the High Street of Edinburgh, when the Covenanting chiefs were in consultation. He was a little, crooked, and rather battered military veteran, at whom people pointed as he passed, telling each other that that was General Leslie.[1]

There was little necessity now for Leslie's keeping in the

[1] Historical Records of the Family of Leslie, by Colonel Leslie of Balquhain (1869), III. 355, 356; Chambers's Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen, Article "Leslie (Alex.);" Baillie, I. 111 and 213, and note by Mr. David Laing to his memoir of Baillie, p. xxxix.; Spalding, I. 130; Harte's Gustavus Adolphus (edit. 1807), I. 163, and elsewhere.

background. The Scots, indeed, did, after their Assembly endeavour to avert war by further messages and "supplications;" and, when these had been of no avail, they had been further troubled by the inopportune appearance here and there among themselves of doctrinaire hesitations as to the legality of war by subjects against their sovereign. But common sense and the powerful pen of Henderson had quashed these hesitations, and even before the King's proclamation to the English of his intended expedition Scotland was alive to meet it. Thus, as early as January 12, Wentworth, writing to Laud from Dublin, and sending him certain informations which he had just received from an Ensign Willoughby, who had been several months in Scotland, nominally on a visit to relatives, but really as a spy, says: "He tells me that a few days before "his coming thence there was brought to Leith forth of Sweden, "in two ships, culvering and demiculvering 6, drakes taper-"bore 9 (all of brass and upon their carriages ready to march), "of corslets 4,000, and of muskets 1,800, as good as ever he "looked on. He tells me he never saw a country so stored "with arms in all his life, howbeit very much of them refuse "stuff and unserviceable. They have drill-masters, as they "term them, which go up and down the country, exercising "their men." This was but the beginning; and we hear from other quarters of committees in every shire, of voluntary subscriptions, of money borrowed from Mr. William Dick of Edinburgh on the joint-bond of the nobles, of the importation of iron and the manufacture of arms, and of the arrangement of a system of beacon-fires along the coasts. Every fourth grown man in every parish, if necessary, was to take the field. All this, so far as not done by spontaneous zeal in the different districts, was done under the authority of a kind of Central Council which had established itself in Edinburgh, as a new edition of the Tables adapted to the warlike emergency by the omission of the clerical element. This Council, or temporary Government of Scotland, consisted, till the 7th of March, of a large assembly of deputies from all parts of the country; but, after that date, of a select committee of twenty-six nobles, lairds and burgesses, of whom thirteen were to be

a quorum. It must be understood also that, influenced by the example of Argyle, or by a patriotic rousing of spirit against a threatened invasion, some of those who, as Privy Councillors of the King, had hitherto stood aloof, now joined the Covenant. Among these were the Earls of Marischal, Mar, and Kinghorn, and Viscount Almont. Some of the younger nobility, also, whose fathers held by the King, were eager now on the other side. Above all, the little crooked Field-marshal Leslie was now in request. Wentworth, who had heard of Leslie and his activity, writes about him in a way which at least shows how much he thought would depend on the kind of commander the Scots had got. The English, he said, were certainly ill provided with military men; but, as far as he could hear, this Leslie was "no such great kill-cow as they would have him." He could "neither write nor read," and moreover, though certainly a captain, he had never really been a general to the King of the Swedes, but only to a Hanse town, or something of that sort! All this, or most of it, was but current English scandal. Having seen the signature "A. Leslie" in contemporary documents, I can certify that the veteran not only could write, but wrote a neat and picturesque hand. In other respects he well suited his countrymen; and, while Wentworth was writing, he was doing what he could to impart to the levies he was to command some elements of Swedish discipline. He had his competent assistants in other Gustavus-Adolphus Scots whom he had taken care to bring over. "Crowner" (*i.e.* Colonel) William Baillie was to be his Lieutenant-general; Crowner Monro was drilling the Lothians; and Crowner Alexander Hamilton had set up a foundry of cannon in the Potter-row.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 189—194; Stevenson, 360—363; *Strafford Letters*, under date cited; MSS. in S. P. O. One particular MS. I have in view in my statement about Leslie's signature is a letter, of date Sept. 8, 1640, addressed by Leslie, Rothes, Montrose, and five other Covenanting chiefs, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. I ought to mention, however, that the tradition as to Leslie's defective education has come down elsewhere than in the *Strafford Letters*. It figures even in Colonel Leslie of Balquhain's *Historical Records of the Family of Leslie*, where (III. 357) there is a quotation from Lord Hailes, commenting on Leslie's signature to a famous public letter of the year 1639 in these terms, "The subscription of General Leslie is so awkward and mis-

When the Scots should march to meet the King, there must be no impediments left in their rear. Hence, towards the end of March, the simultaneous seizing or securing by stratagem, or an easy show of force without bloodshed, of such castles as were or might be held for the King—Edinburgh Castle, Dalkeith Palace, Stirling Castle, Dunbarton Castle, and all the border strongholds except Caerlaverock. Argyle himself, going to the Isle of Arran, took the Marquis of Hamilton's castle of Brodick, and otherwise settled that western region against the dreaded invasion of Antrim's Irish. There was harder work in Aberdeenshire, where the Marquis of Huntley was doing his best for the King. But, a force of 9,000 Covenanters having marched from the more southern shires, under the Earls of Montrose, Marischal and Kinghorn, and Leslie following with a siege-train, and some 2,000 Covenanting Forbeses, Frasers, &c., having at the same time risen in Aberdeenshire itself, Huntley was obliged to flee from Aberdeen to his own estates in Strathbogie (March 25), leaving the city to the mercy of the foe. Then was a sore sight in the town. "Some," says the local historian Spalding, "fled with their wives and bairns; among others, there "fled to sea about sixty of our bravest men and youths of "Aberdeen, well armed with sword, musket and bandelier, "as excellent cavaliers. They took one of the town's colours "and John Park, their drummer, with them, and resolved to "go to the King." In the same ship went most of the Aberdeen Doctors, and the Lairds of Drum and Pitfoddels. They had hardly departed when the invading force of 11,000 Covenanters, all wearing the blue ribbon of the Covenant in opposition to the red ribbon of Huntley's adherents, entered and surrounded the town, to take vengeance upon its remaining citizens by fines, a stringent imposition of the

shapen that it confirms the tradition of his being absolutely illiterate." I cannot account for this discrepancy, and Lord Hailes is an unusually strict authority; but I rather fancy I am right. I took particular note of Leslie's signature, precisely because it contradicted the tradition; and I have a kind of copy of it. On referring to that copy I see that the letters *are* peculiarly shaped; but the peculiarity is certainly not that of defective education. It is as if Leslie had practised a square distinct hand while abroad. I adhere to the words "neat and pictu.esque."

Covenant, and various other harsh measures. The Marquis of Huntley himself, pursued into Strathbogie, and obliged to surrender, was sent to Edinburgh, with his eldest son, Lord Gordon, where they were imprisoned in the castle. Viscount Aboyne, the Marquis's second son, and some others of the family, contrived, however, to remain at large in Aberdeenshire; so that, after the Covenanting force had withdrawn, leaving only a garrison in Aberdeen, that region continued to be disturbed. It was in that far-off region, indeed, that there was the first actual bloodshed in the long Civil War of Great Britain which was now beginning. As far as can be ascertained, the first person actually slain in the war was a poor fellow named David Pratt, a farm-servant of the Aberdeenshire family of the Gordons of Gicht, the maternal ancestors of Lord Byron. They were Anti-Covenanters, and he was shot dead in a chance skirmish with some of the other side at a place called Towie, some eight-and-twenty miles from Aberdeen. Skirmishes in those unpoliced parts, now that there was so good a pretext for them, were the easiest things in nature, and added to the rough fun of existence. One such skirmish, a day or two after David Pratt fell, was on a considerable scale and attained to the dignity of a name. A number of the known Covenanting lairds of the district, with Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes at their head, having announced that they would hold a demonstration for the Covenant at Turriff, a small town on the steep bank of the river Deveron, where it divides Aberdeenshire from Banffshire, and having assembled with their retainers to the number of 1200 men, were attacked there by an equal force of the opposite party, who had brought field-pieces for the purpose. After some resistance, the Covenanters fled, the alacrity of their retreating movements being assisted both by the steepness of the braes and by the shots from the field-pieces. This "Trot of Turriff," as it came to be called (May 14, 1639), though a laughable affair in itself, is rather memorable as the first field-action of the Civil War. In the present, or first Scottish, stage of that war, at all events, neither Arundel's army

nor Hamilton's fleet was to do anything for the King half so good.[1]

Both army and fleet were by this time ready, and almost in station, for service. Through the months of March and April the levies from all parts of England and Wales had been on the march along the roads, drawing to their rendezvous in the north. But never had an English army been on march on a business for which it had less heart, and never along the roads and through the villages of England had an army been seen marching with less pleasure by the people from which it had been drawn. It had been ordered that there should be prayers in all the English churches for the King's success, but the responses can have been but faint. In the ranks of the army the signs of reluctance were manifest. "I found some of these trained soldiers," writes the Earl of Lindsey, who had a command in it, to Secretary Windebank, April 9, "very unwilling to go along, so as at "Boston a woman presented me with the great toe of her "husband in a handkerchief, which he had cut off that he "might not be able to march."[2] March, however, they must. The King was already before them. Leaving London on the 27th of March, he had reached York on the 30th. Here he remained a full month, holding Court, receiving local deputations and the Lords and courtiers whom he had summoned to meet him there, and administering to them the military oath. Lords Saye and Sele and Brooke, who had attended the summons, but who had refused the oath, were committed to custody. Proclamations also were sent into Scotland, with offers of pardon to those who should submit. After these preliminaries at York, the King moved on (April 29) to Durham, and thence to Newcastle. It was the plan that he should remain at Newcastle till Hamilton's fleet from the Thames had passed the coast of Berwickshire, and begun operations. When these operations had had some success, the army was to advance to the border, and either invade Scotland, or give battle to any Scottish army that might bar

[1] Baillie, I. 195 *et seq.*; Rushworth, III. 906—908; Spalding, I. 149 *et seq.*; Chambers's Domestic Annals of Scotland, II. 123-4. [2] MS. letter in S.P.O.

the way. Hamilton's fleet passed the Berwickshire coast on the 2nd of May, and the King at Newcastle awaited the result with some anxiety.[1]

The result was next to nothing. Had Hamilton's fleet sailed from the Thames a month or six weeks earlier, so as to have gone to Aberdeen while yet the Marquis of Huntley held that town and its neighbourhood for the King, something might have been done. But, the Covenanters having secured Aberdeen and taken Huntley prisoner, this plan had necessarily been abandoned; and the fleet had to confine itself to demonstrations in the Firth of Forth. They were only demonstrations. To the messages sent ashore to the magistrates of Leith, and to the Council of Covenanting chiefs at Edinburgh, requiring them to receive the Marquis as King's Commissioner and submit to him, the answer was very respectfully in the negative. They let him cruise about, and they even refrained from trying Colonel Hamilton's "fireworks" upon his ships; but they were resolved not to permit a landing. Such messengers of his as they allowed to come on shore were guarded through the streets of Leith, and not lost sight of so long as they remained; parties sent ashore in boats at any point for fresh water were met by armed opponents breast-deep and turned back; among hundreds of volunteer hands busy in strengthening the fortifications of Leith and the approaches to Edinburgh were some "ladies and gentlemen" of both towns, "carrying earth and stones," and "refusing no labour;" and conspicuous among these was Hamilton's own mother, the Marchioness-Dowager. She went about, it is said, "armed with a pistol, which she vowed to discharge upon her own son, if he offered to come on shore."[2] All that the Marquis could do, in these circumstances, was to cruise about, capturing a trading vessel or two, till his men, cooped-up on shipboard, or on the two small islands of Inchcomb and Inchkeith, began to die of small-pox. A chance, indeed, occurred to him, if he had been

[1] Spalding, I.180; Rushworth, III.930.

[2] Two MS. letters in S. P. O.—one of date May 7, to Windebank in London, from M. de Vic, a political agent attending Hamilton on board his ship, the *Rainbow*; the other of date May 9, to Windebank, from Edward Norgate, in attendance on the King at Newcastle.

quick enough to avail himself of it. The heroes of the "Trot of Turriff," dashing to Aberdeen immediately after that exploit, and joined by Lord Lewis Gordon, the third son of the Marquis of Huntley, repossessed themselves of that town, all the more easily because of the incorrigible royalist tendencies of the inhabitants and the smallness of the defence which the Covenanters had left. As Viscount Aboyne, Huntley's second son, had gone to the King at Newcastle, and was expected to return with the commission of King's lieutenant in the north in his father's place, it is possible that, if Hamilton's fleet had left the Firth of Forth for Aberdeen even as late as the middle of May, that town might have been turned to account. But the chance was lost. The Earls of Montrose and Marischal, speeding back to Aberdeen with some 5,000 Covenanters, so alarmed Lewis Gordon and the heroes of the "Trot of Turriff" that they fled, leaving the unfortunate town for a second and most severe punishment by the wearers of the blue ribbon (May 25). In especial, as the ladies of Aberdeen had, out of contempt of the Covenant, tied its colours round the necks of their dogs, there was a great slaughter of the dogs of the town.

While the King remained at Newcastle and Hamilton's fleet was in the Firth of Forth, the Scots, still anxious to avoid open war, made their last efforts for peace. Letters were addressed to Hamilton, as their countryman, requesting his mediation with the King; letters of similar purpose were sent to the Earl of Essex, whose character for liberality and fairness stood as high with the Scots as with the English; nay, the services of messengers and mediators of a humbler rank were gladly used. There was, for example, a certain Dr. Moysley, Vicar of Newark, who, taking an interest in the Scottish movement and wishing to observe matters with his own eyes, had gone into Scotland on a tour of curiosity. He had been going about for some weeks, and had seen a good deal of the Scottish clerical leaders, who found him a good, simple, candid kind of man, and by no means "Canterburian" in his views. He, on the other hand, found them and their cause by no means so bad as had been represented,

and professed that, though he had no commission, yet, as an English clergyman, he would consider it his duty, on his return to England, "to give the King better information" about them. To this good-natured Vicar, accordingly, leaving Edinburgh for Newcastle on the 11th of May, there was entrusted a "supplication" to the King, drawn up by Henderson in very "submiss" terms, together with letters in "a stouter style," drawn up by Argyle, to the Earls of Pembroke and Holland. And the Vicar was as good as his word. He had reached Newcastle and delivered his letters before the 17th of May; on which day I find Mr. Edward Norgate, clerk or secretary to Mr. Secretary Coke, writing as follows from Newcastle to Robert Reade, holding the same office to Secretary Windebank in London: "I met with Dr. Moysley, "Vicar of Newark, who seems a grave and well-spoken "divine. This doctor tells me, and will make it good with "the loss of his vicarage, that, during his fortnight's stay in "Edinburgh, he never heard word from any Scot savouring "of disaffection to our King or nation." As Norgate, like his master, Mr. Secretary Coke, was no friend to the war, he was pleased to hear such a report; but he could not help twitting the Doctor a little. "Seeing the Doctor," he says, "in a very formal and canonical priest's coat, I asked him if "he durst wear that in Scotland." The Doctor told him that, though he had gone about a great deal among the Presbyterians of all ranks, and though he had been taken in some places for a bishop, yet he had received not the least affront. But the Doctor's man, who was by, informed Norgate privately that his master was deaf, or else he would have had a different story to tell. The Scottish women, seeing him pass in his priest's coat, had saluted him with such ejaculations as "If thou beest a Bishop, the Deil hold thy head!" "A cauld cast on thy chaps!" or "My malison on thee!" the Doctor hearing not a word, or taking it all for compliment.[1]

Though the letters brought by Dr. Moysley were not without some effect, the King resolved that it would be best

[1] Letter of Norgate, of date cited, in S. P. O.; and Baillie, I. 207, 208.

at least to overawe the Scots by his near personal presence. Leaving Newcastle, therefore, he arrived with his Court and army, on the 28th of May, at Berwick, where there was already a strong garrison, and where he was separated but by the river Tweed from the rebellious land of his birth. The camp was pitched on a plain or haugh of the Tweed, at a place called Birks, about two miles above Berwick. Here, in the midst, stood the King's pavilion, and round it, at various distances, the tents of the nobles and courtiers, and of the inferior officers and soldiers, with ensigns of different colours flying. The total of the troops, besides the garrison of Berwick, was 19,614 foot and 3,260 horse. Arundel was Lord-general or Commander-in-chief, with Essex for his Lieutenant-general, Holland for his Master of Horse, Lord Newport for Master of Ordnance, Lord Goring for Lieutenant-general of Horse, Lord Wilmot for Commissary-general, and Sir Jacob Astley for Sergeant-major-general. Among the commanders of horse-regiments were the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Viscount Grandison, Lord Clifford, Thomas Fairfax, and the witty Sir John Suckling; and, among the commanders of foot-regiments, the Earl of Lindsey, Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, Lord Barrymore, Sir Henry Vane, Sir William Savile, and Sir John Hotham. Serving under these in the horse-troops or as subalterns in the foot-regiments were many English gentlemen of good families and estates.[1] Had the King chosen, he might have had the services also of a good many of the refugee Scots. These refugee Scots, however, not being favourites in the English camp, the greater number of them had been required

[1] Rushworth, III. 926, 927, where lists of the regiments and their commanders are given. In the S. P. O. are many documents relating to the northern army and the camp at Birks—including the "musters" or parchment rolls containing, county by county, the names of all the poor fellows draughted to serve in this expedition of Xerxes. From the same sources I have gathered the following as to the rates of pay in the army *per diem*. Arundel, as lord-general, had £10 a day; Essex £6; Holland £5; Newport £4; Goring and Astley £2 each; Wilmot £1 10*s*. Colonels of Foot had £1 a day each; lieut.-colonels 10*s*.; captains of companies 6*s*.; lieutenants 3*s*.; ensigns 2*s*. 6*d*.; sergeants and drummers 1*s*.; corporals 10*d*.; and each private soldier 8*d*. In the Horse the pay was higher—8*s*. for every captain; 5*s*. for lieutenants, 4*s*. for cornets, 3*s*. for corporals, and 2*s*. 6*d*. for every private. Army chaplains and physicians had 6*s*. 8*d*. a day; chirurgeons from 4*s*. to 2*s*. 6*d*.; "preachers" 4*s*.; apothecaries 3*s*. 4*d*.

either to shift for themselves in England, or to return to Scotland to be of what use they could in their respective districts. Young Viscount Aboyne, who had managed to reach the King at Newcastle by a coasting boat from Aberdeenshire in very poor guise, did obtain the King's commission to return as his Lieutenant in the North, and, along with this, an order to the Marquis of Hamilton to see him conveyed back to Aberdeen, with such Aberdonian or other refugees as chose to accompany him, and with such help in the shape of English soldiers and war-materials as could be spared from the fleet.

The King's advance to the border had been preceded by a proclamation forbidding the Scots to approach in arms within ten miles of the English lines. Willing to respect this order as long as there might be chance of accommodation, Leslie had made the head-quarters of the Scottish army at Dunglass, on the Haddingtonshire coast, about 30 miles from Edinburgh and 25 from Berwick. As he feared nothing so much for his countrymen, however, as a policy of mere blockade or inaction on the other side, which should waste time and exhaust the Scottish resources, he had made up his mind, if necessary, to take the initiative, or, as Baillie expresses it, to "make a bolt through the reek and get a grip of some of those that had first kindled the fire and still laid fuel to it." With this view, his expresses were already out for the quick assembly at Dunglass of such forces as were still delayed in the north or otherwise dispersed. Let them finish with the King first, and there would be time to reckon with the Aberdonians afterwards if they again stirred! While he was so reasoning, two little movements on the King's side gave him all the pretext he wanted. After midnight, on the 31st of May, the Lord-general Arundel, having heard of an intended muster of Covenanters that day at Dunse in Berwickshire, some miles from the English camp, and thinking it would be a good stroke to surprise them, took the road secretly, with Holland, Goring, and a small band of horse. When, about daybreak, however, they reached Dunse, they found the men all flown, and only women and children in an uproar of fear. Some of them went so far as to cry "Deil tak Leslie," and others were

down on their knees, imploring the General "not to burn their houses and bring in Paperie." On Arundel's courteously reassuring them, they brought "wine, ale, pans of milk, and such-like trinkets as they had," not refusing payment; and, as nothing more was to be done, and it was ascertained indeed that tidings of the intended visit had reached Dunse two hours beforehand (sent, doubtless, by some of the kindly Scottish pages about the King), the party rode back. But, three days afterwards, Holland, repeating the exploit for himself, by a different road, and on a larger scale, came off in even a sorrier manner. With 1,000 horse and 3,000 foot he had got as far as Kelso, when, at a moment when his horse was a mile or two in advance of his foot, he became aware of the presence, not of Arundel's old women at Dunse, but of a body of Scottish horse and pikemen, posted on and by the sides of the road at the entrance to the town. Appearances not being favourable, Holland called a halt, and ordered a trumpet to advance to ask who they were that lay so near the King. "Whose trumpet are you?" was the Scottish answer. "My Lord Holland's" was the reply; whereupon there came from the other spokesman the information that they did not know what business Lord Holland had to be there asking such questions, and that if he did not begone "they would show him the way." Holland, after consulting with his officers, took the advice given him, and retreated at full speed, the Scots making no attempt to prevent him. His return set the whole camp talking; and, though he blamed Roger Witherington, the scoutmaster, for having misled him by defective information, and represented the body of Scots that had turned him back as 10,000 at the least, ill-natured people gave their own version of the matter, and from that day the story of his Kelso raid was never forgotten against him. The Scots whom he had met were a band under Colonel Monro and Lords Fleming and Erskine.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 205—208 (with letters of Leslie in Appendix to Baillie, 438 *et seq.*); and, for Arundel's and Holland's raids, three letters in S. P. O.—viz. one from Norgate to Reade, dated "Berwick, June 3;" one from Sir Henry Vane to Hamilton, dated "June 4;" and another from Norgate to Reade, dated "June 5." See also Rushworth, III. 936.

The Scottish territory having been invaded, there was an end to the rule of the ten miles' distance between the two camps. If that rule were not to be reciprocal, the King had only to advance, and the Scots would have to retreat before him, by ten miles and ten miles, till they reached John o'Groat's. In short, Leslie raised his camp at Dunglass, and, his army having been swelled by the last levies to be expected, encamped, on the 4th of June, on Dunse Law, a gentle hill, of no great size, but convenient for the purpose, near the aforesaid town of Dunse, and commanding the direct road from Berwick to Edinburgh. The two armies were now within six or seven miles of each other, and the King, who had had no warning of Leslie's approach, could view his rebel-subjects and their movements through his prospect-glass.[1]

"It would have done you good," writes Baillie to his cousin Spang, minister at Campvere in Holland, "to have casten "your eyes athort our brave and rich hill as often as I did. "Our hill was garnished on the top, towards the south and "east, with our mounted cannon, well near to the number of "forty, great and small. Our regiments lay on the sides of "the hill, almost round about, the total number being about "20,000 men. The crowners lay in kennous [canvas] "lodges, high and wide; their captains about them in lesser "ones; the sojours about all, in huts of timber, covered with "divot [turf] or straw. Our crowners for the most part were "noblemen. Rothes, Lindsay, Sinclair, had among them two "full regiments at least from Fife; Balcarras a horse-troop; "Loudoun, Montgomery, Erskine, Boyd, Fleming, Kirkcud-"bright, Yester, Dalhousie, Eglintoun, Cassilis, and others, "either with whole or half regiments." Baillie explains that Montrose was absent in the north, and that Argyle was not in the camp at first, but came in a few days with an addition of Highlanders to those already in the camp. "Our "captains," he continues, "for the most part barons or gen-"tlemen of good note; our lieutenants almost all sojours who "had served over the sea in good charges: every company had,

[1] Rushworth, III. 937, and Baillie, I. 210.

"flying, at the captain's tent-door, a brave new colour, stamped "with the Scottish arms, and this ditton, 'FOR CHRIST'S "CROWN AND COVENANT,' in golden letters." Of the soldiers he says that they "were all lusty and full of courage, the most of them stout young ploughmen." Though there was difficulty in obtaining money enough from Edinburgh to give them "their sixpence a day" regularly, there was little discontent on that score, from the abundance of provisions. "Our meanest sojours was always served in wheat-bread, and "a groat would have gotten them a lamb-leg; which was a "dainty world to the most of them." Moreover, "every one "encouraged another; the sight of the nobles and their be- "loved pastors daily raised their hearts;" and there were "the "good sermons and prayers, morning and even, under the roof "of heaven, to which the drums did call them for bells," and "the remonstrances very frequent of the goodness of their "cause, and of their conduct hitherto by a hand clearly divine." For the officers there were more special "ecclesiastic meetings" in Rothes's tent. Military meetings or councils of war were held at Leslie's quarters in the Castle of Dunse at the foot of the hill. Here, surrounded by a guard of some hundreds of Edinburgh lawyers armed as musketeers, Leslie kept open table at his own charge; in which custom he was imitated by some of the nobles. Every night Leslie himself and his Lieutenant-general Baillie rode the rounds of the camp and saw to the setting of the watches. The faith in Leslie was unbounded. "We were feared," says Baillie, "that emulation among our nobles might have done harm, "when they should be met in the fields; but such was the "wisdom and authority of that old little crooked soldier "that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning "to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him, "as if he had been Great Solyman." In fine, all was in such perfect condition, physically and morally, that the good minister of Kilwinning had never felt himself before in so "sweet, meek, humble, yet strong" a frame of spirit, and could then and there willingly have died.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 211—214.

The dim vision which Charles had of the Scottish army through his prospect-glass was not reassuring. Of the utter disorder and demoralization of his own army he could have no doubt. The commissariat arrangements were so wretched that, as he went about looking at the men trenching for a new camp, he was saluted with cries for bread and drink, and had to send for twenty or thirty cartloads of both on the spot. The men were so unhandy in the use of their arms that already a shot from one musket had gone through the royal tent. The officers were mostly "discomposed and unready," of which there was as free talk among the men "as if they were in Bantam." The very clerks and other attendants on the King were wishing that they were back in Westminster.[1] The nobles and chief officers, in whose readiness to serve him he could most fully trust, could give him no hope; and there were others of whose disinclination to the expedition from the first he was well aware. Then there was all England behind him, equally indisposed, with but few exceptions, and the Puritans more especially applauding Lord Saye and Sele and Lord Brooke for withstanding him to his face. In short, most reluctantly, after having come so far and made such a display of "the kingly way," he had to conclude that a reconciliation with the Scots would be advisable.[2] The question then was how to bring this about with the least loss to his kingly dignity. About that there was not much difficulty. There had been more coming and going between the two camps than he was aware of; and so, when, on the 5th of June, one Robin Leslie, a Scottish page of the King's, presented himself at Dunse Castle, where Leslie and the Scottish chiefs were holding consultation, and made a suggestion to them, as if purely out of his own head, that they should try another supplication to the King, the hint was at once understood. "Had we been ten times victorious in set battles," says Baillie, "it was our conclusion to "have laid down our arms at his feet, and on our knees presented nought but our first supplications. We had no other

[1] Letters from Norgate, from the camp, to Reade in London, of dates May 28 and June 3, in the S. P. O.

[2] Letter of Sir Henry Vane to Hamilton, of date June 4, given in Rushworth, III. 936.

"end of our wars; we sought no crowns; we aimed not at "lands and honours to our party; we desired but to keep "our own in the service of our Prince, as our ancestors had "done; we loved no new masters: had our throne been void, "and our voices sought for the filling of Fergus's chair, we "would have died ere any other had sitten down on that "fatal marble but Charles alone."[1] In short, from that day began a series of negotiations, which, continued over some twelve days, with various ebbings and flowings according to the ups and downs of the King's mood, issued, on Tuesday the 18th of June, in a formal Pacification.

The stages of the negotiation may be noted. First, on the 6th of June, the young Earl of Dunfermline was sent to the English camp, under a flag of truce, with a "supplication" to the King, and letters to the English Privy Councillors in camp requesting their good offices with his Majesty. Next Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal, returned to the Scottish camp with Dunfermline, and a letter dictated by Mr. Secretary Coke, requiring certain submissions ere the King would treat. These submissions having been arranged, or got over with some ingenuity on both sides, the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Lord Loudoun, and Sir William Douglas of Cavers went over, as Commissioners for the Scots, under safe-conduct, and had an interview, in Arundel's tent, with Arundel himself, Essex, Holland, the Earls of Salisbury and Berkshire, Sir Henry Vane, and Secretary Coke. While they were conversing, they were surprised and somewhat flurried by the sudden appearance of the King himself. He walked in, and began talking to them in such a way that they had some difficulty in reconciling their duty to their constituents with the forms of respect due to the royal reasoner. "Sure I am," he said, "you are never "able to justify all your actions; the best way, therefore, "were to take my word and submit all to my judgment." Not too much affected by such majestic nonsense, the Scottish Commissioners, remaining to dine with Arundel, were able to put some terms on paper on that day. Subsequent meetings having been held, in which Henderson and Archibald John-

[1] Baillie, I. 215.

stone were added to the number of the Scottish Commissioners, and the Marquis of Hamilton and the Earl of Pembroke to that of the English Commissioners, while the King now regularly sat among them and discussed everything in a business-like manner, there emerged at last a perfect treaty. Nothing was more surprising in these conferences than the liking which the King seemed to show for Henderson. Rothes and Loudoun seemed to be the other favourites, and he gave all the six Commissioners his hand to kiss at parting; but Henderson made the greatest impression. And not on the King only, but on all the English courtiers. "For Hyndersham," writes Norgate, "he is of all "highly commended for a grave, pious, and learned man. "He hath made one at every conference, and Mr. Secretary "[Coke] tells me that in all his speeches you may find as "much devotion, wisdom, humility, and obedience as can be "wished for in an honest man and a good subject." Something of this admiration of Henderson seems to have been reflected upon all his brethren of the Scottish Kirk. Not at all "incendiaries," but men who "can say grace longer "and better than *our* campestrial chaplains who ride before "our regiments taking tobacco," is Norgate's half-jocose report of the Earl of Stamford's opinion of the Presbyterian ministers, formed during a visit he had paid to the Scottish camp. And, as the Scottish Covenanting clergy had risen in favour, so the Scottish bishops and their clerical adherents had fallen. Everybody was "blessing them backwards," as the cause of the whole trouble; and such of them as were in the English camp went about in sore plight, the King himself "weary of them," and putting them off with 10*l.* or so apiece, "the whole Court hating them," and the pages "publicly jeering at them." Of all of them Baillie most pitied poor Dr. Barron of Aberdeen, who never held up his head, but died at Berwick ere a fortnight was over.[1]

[1] Baillie, I. 216, 217, and 220, 221; Stevenson, 376, 377; Rushworth, III. 937—943; and official memoranda of the Conferences in the S. P. O.,—one being a "Journal of the Pacification," and another (June 13) a kind of verbatim report of the King's dialogue with the Scottish deputies; also Letters of Norgate to Reade, of dates June 15 and June 19, in S. P. O.

The "Pacification of Birks," as it was called, was embodied in two documents. One was a *Royal Declaration*, in which his Majesty, while guarding himself against being supposed to approve the acts of "the pretended Assembly" at Glasgow, or of "the pretended Tables," did nevertheless substantially promise all that was claimed. He promised the future regulation of all ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Scotland by free annual Assemblies of the Kirk, and free Parliaments of the realm; one such Assembly to be held on the 6th of August, and one such Parliament on the 20th of August immediately following, at both of which his Majesty hoped, God willing, to be personally present. The other document, entitled *Articles of Pacification*, consisted of eight Articles, relating to the immediate disbanding of the two armies, and the mutual restoration of persons, goods, ships, &c., seized on either side—one Article providing for the resurrender to the King of his castles and forts in Scotland.[1] Any demur to the terms of these Articles was rather on the Scottish side than on the English; and when, on the 24th of June, the English army was disbanded, it was, says Norgate, like the "break-up of a school."[2] Less polite to the Scots than Norgate's words on the occasion, but equally to the purpose, are those of Thomas Windebank, eldest son of Secretary Windebank, and in attendance on the King as groom of the chamber. "We have had," he says, in a letter from the camp to his cousin Reade in London after the Peace was concluded, "a most cold, wet, and long "time of it; but we kept our soldiers warm with the hopes "of rubbing, fubbing, and scrubbing those scurvy, filthy, "dirty, nasty, lousy, itchy, scabby, slovenly, snotty-nosed, "loggerheaded, foolish, insolent, proud, beggarly, impertinent, "absurd, grout-headed, villanous, barbarous, bestial, false, "lying, roguish, devilish, long-eared, short-haired, damnable, "atheistical, Puritanical crew of the Scotch Covenant. But "now there is peace in Israel."[3]

[1] Rushworth, III. 943—946; and Baillie, I. 217, 218.

[2] Letter to Reade in S. P. O.

[3] Letter in S. P. O. dated "Berwick, June 22." I have omitted two of Windebank's adjectives as unpresentable. We shall meet this humorous young gentleman again.

A very precarious peace it was. Hardly had the treaty been concluded when the King's ill humour with it began to show itself. For about a month, indeed, he remained at Berwick, consulting about Scottish affairs with Rothes, Argyle, Montrose, and others of the Covenanting leaders, summoned thither to meet him. But these consultations, on his side, were changed into reproaches. In consequence of the popular discontent in Scotland arising from the phrases "pretended Assembly" and "pretended Tables" used by the King in his Declaration, and from the too great advantages seemingly given to the King in some of the Articles of the treaty, it had been found necessary to accompany the formal proclamations of the treaty in Scottish towns with certain "informations against mistaking the same." Of these Charles spoke as "seditious glosses," and he was very quarrelsome on account of them, not only with Rothes, Argyle, and Montrose, but also with the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury, and some others of the English Commissioners, who were accused of having abetted the Scots in their private dealings with them. At all events, he could not think of now countenancing Scotland so far as to go to Edinburgh to open the Assembly and the Parliament as he had intended! Accordingly, having appointed Traquair as his Commissioner for that duty (Hamilton positively refusing to serve in the office again), he turned his back to Scotland on the 29th of July; and on the 3rd of August he was again at Whitehall.[1]

[1] There are more detailed accounts of the King's conduct at Berwick after the Peace in Baillie, I. 220, 221; Stevenson, 384 *et seq.*; Rushworth, III. 946 *et seq.*; and in MSS. in the S. P. O. Among the last is a correspondence between Secretary Windebank and the Earls of Pembroke and Salisbury relating to their alleged complicity with the Scots.

CHAPTER II.

MILTON BACK IN ENGLAND—OLD FRIENDS—*EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS*—LODGINGS IN ST. BRIDE'S CHURCHYARD—LITERARY PROJECTS—MILTON'S SISTER AND HIS TWO NEPHEWS.

MILTON may have received the news of the conclusion of the King's war with the Scots either at Geneva or at Paris, in which last city there appeared an official gazette, of date July 20, 1639, containing *Le Traité fait entre le Roy de la Grande Bretagne et les Ecossois du Covenant.*[1] Crossing to Dover, he was back in London, or probably in his father's house at Horton, Buckinghamshire, almost exactly at the time when the Londoners were receiving Charles back from his unsuccessful northern expedition.

At Horton Milton found little changed. His father was still there, going about hale as usual; and his younger brother, Christopher, and Christopher's young wife, Thomasine, in whose charge he had left the old man, were still residing under the paternal roof. Christopher was not yet called to the bar, though he had been for nearly seven years a student of the Inner Temple. Of one little appearance and disappearance in the Horton household during his absence Milton would now hear both from the old man and the young, and also, more sadly, from the young wife. Examining the Horton parish-register, I came, not without some feeling myself, upon this entry—"1639: An infant sonne of Christopher Milton, gent., buried March y^e^ 26^th.^" It is the small remaining record now of the existence of a little nephew of Milton's, the first-born of Christopher and his wife, who had died without

[1] There is a copy of this gazette in the S. P. O. Both Charles and Windebank were evidently anxious about the impression made abroad by recent events in Britain.

having lived long enough to have a name, or to have been seen by his uncle. They had laid the little body, I suppose, in the same grave, in the chancel of the church close by, where Milton had seen his mother buried two years before, and the plain blue stone covering which, and inscribed with the name and the date of the death, is now the most sacred object in that quiet rustic church. The Rector of the parish, Mr. Goodall, who had entered the little burial in the register, had himself, as another entry in his hand proves, had a new little one born to him in the Rectory.[1] In the colony of the Bulstrodes, already known to us as the chief people of Horton, and as living partly in the manor-house with Squire Henry Bulstrode and partly in other adjacent houses, there had been a very recent death.[2] But, indeed, the deaths in Horton seem at that time, and chiefly from mortality among infants, to have been preponderating over the births. Against 28 burials in the year 1638, and 27 in the year 1639, I read in the registers of but 13 christenings and 10 christenings respectively. The Horton marriages for 1638 are 4, and for 1639 they are 6; so that there may have been about half-a-dozen weddings in the place while Milton was abroad. What other little incidents of the familiar neighbourhood during his absence may have had some interest for him, or for his serving-man, after their return, are now as irrecoverable as those golden days of an English autumn that again beheld him enjoying the rest of his father's house, or walking amid the richly-wooded English meadows round it, with the towers of Windsor once more in his view.

Would not one of his first walks, in the direction of those towers, be to Eton College, to pay his respects, after his return, to that good old Sir Henry Wotton, whose acquaintance he had made just before his departure, who had then spoken so handsomely both of him and of his *Comus*, who had expressed his desire that they might yet see more of each other, and who had sent after him so thoughtfully a letter of introduction to friends in Paris, and that memorable advice

[1] It is among the baptisms: "1639: Anne, daughter of Edward and Sarah Goodall, bap. May 28."

[2] "Isaac, sonn of Edwarde and Mildred Bulstrode, buried July 28th."

for his behaviour in Italy, the fruit of his own former diplomatic experience there, "*I pensieri stretti, et il viso sciolto*"?[1] Alas! the good old Provost of Eton, the first man of public mark that had recognized the genius of Milton in what we should now consider fit terms, was all but on his deathbed. As late as the spring of this very year he had been in his usual health, taking his usual interest in the affairs of the day, and corresponding as usual with his numerous friends. He had been following with anxiety the course of the King's expedition against the Scots, had been reading Dr. Balcanquhal's "Large Declaration" of the grounds which the King had for war upon his Scottish subjects, and, influenced partly by the representations of that work, and partly by the habits of thought of an old politician, had considered the cause of the Covenanters very untenable, and their conduct "very black."[2] He had set out from Eton on his usual summer tour, and had visited, among other places, Winchester School, where he had been educated, and where the sight of the youngsters playing at the same games that he had played at sixty years before pleased his benevolent heart. But he had scarcely returned to Eton when asthma and other infirmities laid him prostrate. He could no longer go abroad, or continue his wonted hospitalities within doors, or even enjoy his favourite solace of tobacco. He would still converse, indeed, with John Hales, and other fellows of the College in close attendance upon him, to whom he was leaving the care of his books, pictures, and manuscripts. Occasionally he would refer to public affairs; but chiefly he confined himself, as his biographer tells us, to pious retrospects of his long and chequered life, and to expressions of thanksgiving to God for all his many mercies. It is very doubtful whether, in these circumstances, Milton could have had access to him, or whether, if Milton did see him, anything more could have passed than the merest tokens of respectful regret on the one hand, and kindly questionings about the Italian journey on the other. Certain it is that that renewal of their acquaint-

[1] See Vol. I. 683—685.

[2] Letter of Wotton, dated April 21, 1639, in *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ* (edit. 1685), p. 580.

ance over "a poor meal or two," in Sir Henry's rooms, and in the company of their common friend Mr. Hales, to which Sir Henry had looked forward, could not now take place. Sir Henry lingered on till December, when he died, in his seventy-second year.[1]

Either in his father's house at Horton, or in visits to London, Milton might obtain information respecting old friends and acquaintances now dispersed. His first preceptor, Thomas Young, was still in his vicarage of Stowmarket in Suffolk, watching the signs of the times with the feelings natural to an English Puritan minister who had not forgotten his Scottish birth. For the present, indeed, he was wearing the surplice which his parishioners had been obliged to provide for him, to avoid the censure of so strict a diocesan as Wren of Norwich; but he was nursing his Puritan principles nevertheless, and he had just (1639) given proof of them in a thin Latin quarto, printed at Ipswich for private circulation, and containing, under the title of "*Dies Dominica*," a history of the Sabbath, and a vindication of the Puritan idea of its institution. He had not put his name to this treatise, but had signed himself "Theophilus Philo-Kuriaces, Loncardiensis." It was a designation the meaning of which no English ingenuity could then have made out, but in which we now read a covert assertion of his sympathy with the struggle in his native land. "A lover of the Kirk (or perhaps rather 'of the Lord's Day') all the way from Luncarty in Perthshire, though now labouring in Suffolk"—this, or something like this, is the meaning that Young, in fear of Wren or of Laud, had ingeniously packed up in the uncouth-looking pseudonym.[2]

There was no such necessity for secrecy among those other old friends of Milton, most of them also of the clerical

[1] Izaak Walton's Life of Wotton.

[2] Hollingworth's Hist. of Stowmarket (1844), pp. 187—194. Young's treatise on the Sabbath seems to be very scarce; but there is a copy of it in the Edinburgh University Library, and Mr. Hollingworth describes one which was in his possession, and which bore Young's name on it, written apparently by his own hand. The treatise consists of 132 pages of Latin, with Greek quotations. It is described by Mr. Robert Cox in his work *The Literature of the Sabbath Question* (Edin. 1865. 2 vols.), to whom I owe the suggestion that "*Kuriakes*" means "Lord's Day" rather than "Church" or "Lord's House," as I had hinted, Vol. I. p. 52.

profession, who were associated in his memory with his college-days at Cambridge. While he had been abroad, Christ's College had suffered a great loss in the death of its famous news-collector and Apocalyptic commentator, Joseph Meade. He had died on the 1st of the preceding October, in his well-known rooms in the College, in the chapel of which his bones still rest. Poorer by this loss, the old College was otherwise much as it had been when Milton left England. Bainbrigge was still Master; Power, Siddall, Honeywood, Gell, and Alsop were still among the Fellows; and young Henry More, now M.A., was still resident in the College, its recognized hope since the death of Edward King, and with a fellowship in prospect.

Both Milton's tutors at Christ's, as the reader already knows, had left the College several years before Milton had set out on his travels.[1] Respecting them, therefore, his information would necessarily be more indirect. Of Tovey there was little to learn, save that he was still parson of Lutterworth. Chappell, on the other hand, was now rather a notorious person in connexion with Wentworth's Irish government. Since his appointment in 1634 to the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, on the nomination of Laud, there had been a continued opposition to him among the undergraduates and junior Fellows of the College, on account of his so-called "Arminianising" tendencies, his zeal for Laudian uniformity, and the general severity of his management. The Visitors of the College, among whom was the Irish Primate Usher, had taken up the feud, and, being mostly Calvinists or adverse to Laud's influence in Ireland, had sided rather with the opposition than with Chappell. The Lords Justices in Ireland had also been appealed to officially; one of the junior Fellows, named Phesant, who had particular grievances against Chappell, and whom Laud styles "a very bold young man," had gone over to London to urge the complaint; and the thing had grown into the dimensions of a public quarrel, in which Laud as Chancellor of Trinity College, Wentworth as Irish Viceroy, and the King

[1] Vol. I. pp. 105—107, and p. 646.

himself as consulted by them, were resolute in standing by Chappell, against Usher, the Visitors, the junior Fellows of the College, and the popular opinion of Dublin. The particulars of the story are to be gathered from an extensive correspondence begun as early as September 1636, and not ended at the time at which we have now arrived. Laud, from the first, had taken up the cause of his client most stoutly, writing over to Usher that he was astonished that a few "young men newly started up from boys" should be allowed to cause such a disturbance, and treating the special charges against Chappell—his Arminianism, his so-called "idolatrical" habit of making obeisance on entering church, his zeal for the new statutes, and his general strictness—as either of no consequence, or actual testimonies to his merit. "Should a Provost that is otherwise vigilant and careful," he says, "err in some circumstantial businesses, it is far better "for the public, if not to maintain his errors, yet to pass by "them, rather than to give countenance and encouragement "to such young heads as seek for no other liberty than that "which may make way for licentiousness." What Laud thus advised by letter, Wentworth, who had been absent from Ireland at the outbreak of the quarrel, took care to carry by the high hand. In spite of Usher and the other visitors, and of public opinion in Dublin, Wentworth had not only maintained Chappell in the Provostship, but had so countenanced him as greatly to increase his unpopularity, and earn for him among Irish ultra-Protestants the reputation of being Laud's chief instrument in Ireland, and a perfect Canterbury in miniature. "I have so great an opinion of his government "and integrity," writes Wentworth to Laud, "that I am "putting my own son thither under his eye and care; by "which you will judge that I propose not to have him one "of Prynne's disciples." Indeed, Wentworth's high opinion of Chappell as Provost stood in the way of Chappell's preferment to a Bishopric, the Provostship being so important a post, and Wentworth knowing, as he said, of no man so fit for it if he lost Chappell. Here, however, Laud looked after the interests of his client, who ought not, as he said, to

suffer from his own excellence. He persuaded the King to make an exception in that particular case to his rule in appointments to bishoprics, and to promote Chappell to the vacant Irish bishopric of Cloyne and Ross, allowing him still to retain the Provostship *in commendam*. This promotion had been made in the summer of 1638, and the last phase in the Chappell quarrel had been a remonstrance on the part of Usher and the Irish against such a union of the Provostship and an Irish bishopric in the same hands. It was contrary to the oath in Laud's own statutes of the College, Usher urged, and would be a pernicious precedent. Chappell, he understood, was willing to resign the Provostship to a brother of his who was then "keeping" with him in the College. If there were objections to that arrangement, why not offer the Provostship to that worthy man, Mr. Joseph Meade, of Christ's College, Cambridge (this was three months before Meade's death), whom everybody would allow to be fit for it, and who, indeed, had been named for it four years before, when his College-comrade, Chappell, got it? Or, there was another Cambridge man who would do very well —Mr. Howlett, recently fellow and tutor of Sidney-Sussex College, but now in Ireland; respecting whose qualifications the Bishop of Derry (Bramhall) would be able to satisfy his Grace. Accordingly Bramhall did write to Laud in favour of Howlett. He had himself for some time been a pupil of Howlett's at Sidney-Sussex College (another pupil of Howlett's there, perhaps known to Bramhall as such, having been Oliver Cromwell), and he could certify him to be "a moderate man in his tenets," with whom no man had had a quarrel in his time, and who was yet "far from Dr. Ward's rigidity and his way"—*i.e.* far from being so much of a Puritan as Dr. Samuel Ward, master of Sidney-Sussex, was still reputed to be. Moreover, he had about 600*l.* a year of his own from land in England, and was about to marry the daughter of Mrs. Browne, whom Laud knew. In spite of all which negotiation, the matter had not been ended when Milton returned from abroad, and the Provostship, with the bishopric of Cloyne and Ross, still remained in Chappell's

hands. If the reader remembers what cause Milton had had to know about Chappell's temper and ways for himself (see Vol. I. 135-6), it will not appear strange that those recent incidents of Chappell's Irish career should have had some interest for him of a personal kind. They even seem to cast back light on that passage of Milton's life at Cambridge which has so perplexed his biographers. The unknown young Irishman, Phesant, whom Laud thought a forward young man, seems to have been very much in that predicament with Chappell, in Trinity College, Dublin, in the year 1636, in which Milton had been at Christ's College, Cambridge, ten years before.[1]

Long before Milton could have collected such news of Chappell and other old acquaintances at a distance, he must have looked up his nearer friends in and about London. Among these were Alexander Gill the younger, and Henry Lawes the musician. Gill, no longer needing to be styled "the younger" (for his father had been dead since 1635, and he was now a man of forty-two, and a Doctor of Divinity to boot), was still in his father's place as head-master of St. Paul's School. He was now on good terms enough with Laud and the other constituted authorities of Church and State; and the recollection of his former misdeeds and punishment had pretty well blown over, notwithstanding Ben Jonson's scarifying references to them.[2] But he was the same rough, blustering unfortunate as ever. His Latin verses were finding their way about, and attesting his scholarship, such as it was; but in the School he was by no means giving satisfaction, and the Mercers, as patrons of the School, were thinking of removing him, chiefly on account of his savage treatment of the boys.[3] If from the Schoolhouse in Old Change Milton went to the house or chambers of Henry Lawes, to show him some of the rare new music, by Marenzo and other masters, of which he had brought over two chests from Italy,

[1] The information respecting Chappell in this paragraph is partly from letters in the *Strafford Papers*, partly from extensive transcripts of my own from the original correspondence in the State Paper Office (Irish series of Papers). But see also Dr. Elrington's Life of Usher, prefixed to the collected edition of Usher's Works (Dublin, 1847).

[2] Vol. I. p. 529.

[3] Wood's Athen. III. 42.

the contrast between Gill and the gentle musician must have been great. The reputation of Lawes had been growing since he set the songs of Milton's *Comus* to music, and he had been performing similar services since for other poets, such as Waller and Herrick, better known about the Court, though perhaps not so dear to himself. He was still teaching music in the Bridgewater family, and Milton might hear from him, if he did not otherwise know it, that the family were then mainly residing not at Ludlow or at Ashridge, but in their town-house in the Barbican.[1] It was more than three years since the Earl had been left a widower by the death of his Countess, and more than two since her mother, the venerable Countess-Dowager of Derby, the heroine of the *Arcades*, had died at Harefield. The elder daughters of the widowed Earl had for some time been married and away from him; but the three of his children in whom Milton would feel most interest, as those pupils of Lawes who had not only taken part in the little open-air entertainment of the *Arcades* at Harefield House,[2] but had been the actors in the masque of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle,[3] were still under the Earl's roof. The Lady Alice was in her nineteenth year, and the two brothers, Lord Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, were yet but growing youths.

One friend, alas! whose welcome would have been dearer to Milton than that of any other, was no longer in the world. It must have been with a sad heart that Milton, first after his return, bent his steps to the house of the Italian physician, Dr. Theodore Diodati, in Little St. Bartholomew's parish, near Bartholomew's Hospital,[4] to ascertain from him, or from his surviving son, Theodore,[5] the particulars of that death of his friend Charles Diodati which had happened during his absence, and the vague news of which had been such a shock to him abroad. What these particulars were, as to the exact

[1] Letters of the Earl in the S. P. O., of the years 1639 and 1640, are mostly dated from his house in the Barbican.

[2] Vol. I. p. 562.

[3] Ibid. p. 574.

[4] He resided there in July, 1641: see Hunter's "Milton Gleanings."

[5] Allusion is made by Milton to Diodati's brother in his letter to Diodati, of Sept. 2, 1637 (see Vol. I. p. 598); and I find a "Dr. Theodore Deodate" mentioned in the lists of London physicians in Chamberlayne's *Notitia Angliæ* as late as the year 1676.

time, place, and manner of the death, *we* also should like to know; but hitherto they have eluded our utmost search.[1] Whatever they were, they must have affected Milton deeply.

[1] The tradition is that Charles Diodati had settled as a physician somewhere near Chester, and died there. This, I suspect, is a mere inference from the fact that he had been in that neighbourhood in 1626, when Milton sent him the *Elegia Prima* (Vol. I. p. 139). To all appearance, however, that was a casual visit just after Diodati had taken his B.A. degree at Oxford; and, in the course of the twelve years between that and his death, there are traces of him as again at Oxford, and in London, and still other parts of the country. More particularly, in Sept. 1637, when Milton wrote the two last letters to him that have been preserved (Vol. I. pp. 597—601), we hear of him simply as somewhere in the North (*apud istos ὑπερβορείους*), apparently in medical practice, but not so fixed there but that Milton might expect him any time in London again. It appears to me, therefore, that the place of Diodati's death, in the summer of 1638, has yet to be ascertained, and may have been much nearer London than Chester. The register of his burial may yet be found somewhere. I should be glad to receive any information that would enable me to be more distinct in my references to so interesting a person.—Meanwhile here is a curious coincidence hit upon in my readings:—From a passage in Milton's last letter to Diodati, of date Sept. 23, 1637, speaking of some family matters that were troubling Diodati, and more particularly of a "stepmotherly war [*bellum hoc novercale*]" in which he was engaged, I had inferred that Diodati had then recently acquired a stepmother, by a second marriage of his father, Dr. Theodore Diodati, rather late in life. The "war" cannot have been, as Mr. Keightley supposes (*Life of Milton*, p. 102), with a stepmother *surviving* the old gentleman and disputing his property with the sons; for Dr. Theodore Diodati outlived his son Charles, and did not die till Feb. 1650-1, when he was nearly seventy-seven years of age. It can only be that, about 1637, when the Doctor was sixty-three years of age, he had taken a second wife, and that his son Charles did not like the occurrence. It does not seem to have interfered in the least, however, with the Doctor's practice, or with his activity and cheerfulness. Among his more aristocratic patients, I find, were Sir Robert Harley, K.B., afterwards member for Herefordshire in the Long Parliament, and a sound Parliamentarian, and Sir Robert's wife, Lady Brilliana, sister of Lord Conway. Now, Lady Brilliana was an active correspondent; a collection of her Letters, mainly from the family seat of Brampton-Bryan, Herefordshire, has been published (*Camden Society:* 1854); and in several of these letters, addressed to her son Edward Harley, then at Oxford, mention is made, at intervals between 1638 and 1641, of Dr. Diodati from London and his professional visits to the Harleys and their neighbours. The first of these mentions is all that need be quoted here: "Feb. 1, 1638 [*i.e.* 1638-9]," writes Lady Brilliana to her son: "Dr. Deodate was sent for to Mr. "Robert Moore's wife, who is lately "come out of the Low Countries: she "had a great fever. Dr. Deodate, being "so near, came to see your father and "myself; he did not forgot to ask for "you, with a great deal of love, and "expresses a great deal of desire after "your good. He is very well, and "merrier than ever I saw him. His "man told Phœbe [one of Lady Bril-"liana's maids?] that his mistress "[*i.e.* the man's mistress, Doctor Dio-"dati's wife] is with child: if it be so, "sure that is the ground of his mirth. "Your ancient friend, Mrs. Trafford, "is very big with child, and Doctor "Deodate does something fear her. "He tells me he was almost in love "with her when she served me, but "now he cannot fancy her."—Here, certainly, we have an unexpected glimpse of the old physician on one of his country trips, seven or eight months, as I calculate, after the death of his son Charles, Milton's friend. Notwithstanding that loss, he is merrier and more jocular than usual; and this is attributed to a certain domestic expectation, promising him a child thirty years younger than his dead Charles would have been. The naturalized London physician, brother of the famous Genevese divine, is to be fancied, it seems, as a cheery, active veteran, with courtly and gallant Italian ways to the last.

Indeed, so far as Milton's remaining writings furnish us with the means of inferring the nature of his occupations and meditations during the first month or two after his return to England, we see this death of his friend Diodati overclouding and darkening for him everything else. Going and coming between Horton and London, and making up, as we have fancied, the arrears of his information as to what of public or of private interest had passed in his absence, we see him nevertheless thinking day after day of this most mournful event of all, and unable to get the image of his friend and the reported circumstances of his decease out of his mind. His thoughts on the subject took at length the form of an *In Memoriam* poem. The poem stands now in his works as that Latin elegy which, under the title of "*Epitaphium Damonis*," is the sole remnant of his Muse at this particular period of his life, and, except one or two slight subsequent scraps, the last exercise of his pen in Latin verse. It is, in fact, mainly to the unfortunate circumstance that he chose to write this poem in Latin, whereas he had written his *Lycidas* in English, that we are to attribute the impression, now so general, that Edward King of Christ's College was the pre-eminent and peculiar friend of Milton's earlier life. Such was not the case. That the Edward King, drowned in the Irish seas in 1637, and celebrated so beautifully in the pastoral elegy of *Lycidas*, had a high place in Milton's regard, and was affectionately regretted by him, we have already sufficiently seen, when examining that poem.[1] But *the* friend of Milton's early life, whose loss touched him with the keenest grief, and whose memory, as we shall yet see, continued to haunt him from the grave through the firmer years of his active manhood, was not the Irish-born King, but the half-Italian Diodati. They had been known to each other since their boyhood together at St. Paul's School; Diodati had been his correspondent and often his companion in later years, when the choice of different Universities and different walks of life had in some measure separated them; during Milton's Italian tour there was no one in England of whom he had thought so constantly as of Diodati;

[1] Vol. I. pp. 610—615.

and now, harshly and mysteriously as it seemed, this friend of friends was lost to him, at a time when absence and its thousand incidents had whetted the desire for his renewed society. The evidence of Milton's peculiar affection for Diodati does not rest alone on the *Epitaphium Damonis;* but it may help to bring the fact more distinctly into view if we pause for a while over that extraordinary poem. Like all Milton's Latin writings, it has been too much neglected, and I believe it falls to me for the first time to give any adequate idea of its biographical significance.

That the poem, though a poem of personal grief, should be in that "pastoral" form which we have long disused, and now account so artificial, will surprise no one who either knows what a place the Pastoral holds in the history of English Poesy, or has conceived a correct theory of this form of literature. Having discussed the subject at length in the course of our survey of British Literature in the beginning of Charles's reign (Vol. I. pp. 409–426), I need not return to it here, farther than to remind the reader that the modern critical notion of what was meant by a Pastoral in the hands of Spenser and the old poets is a ludicrously shallow one. When they spoke of themselves as shepherds, and introduced the supposed circumstances of an Arcadian life (the sheep, the sheep-hook, the repose under the beech-tree, the ditties on the oaten pipe, and all the rest of it) into their poetry, they no more dreamt of being bound to think of the real life of shepherds than we should do; they only adopted a well-understood literary device, which, though its day is now gone by, did then have the effect of floating off the imagination into a purely ideal element, and thus enabling the poet, while expressing feelings that were truly his own, to do so with added beauty, in a subtle or representative manner, as in an air-hung allegory or vision. Indeed, the device was so established that poets of the finer order, from Spenser onwards, had ceased to reason about it. If a poet of this order thought of some theme of a serious kind, were it a story of moral meaning or an elegy on some dead friend, it was natural to him, as by the mere custom of his craft, to throw the theme

at once into the Arcadian world, and, imagining himself a shepherd, to let the story or the lamentation shape itself out in the fancy of a pastoral landscape or sylvan ground and of a train of incidents thereon. So it was with Milton. His *Arcades* is a fragment of a little dramatic court-pastoral; his *Comus*, the "attendant spirit" in which transmutes himself into the "shepherd Thyrsis," is pervaded by the pastoral note; his *Lycidas*, or elegy on Edward King, is throughout a pastoral. It is not Milton personally that is there before us bewailing the death of his fellow-collegian; but there is reported to us by Milton the song of an imaginary shepherd, whom he sees lamenting through a whole summer day the death of his young fellow-shepherd Lycidas, and whom he at last describes as rising from his reverie at sundown, twitching his blue mantle, and going slowly homewards. But who shall say that there is any less feeling of reality in the effect? Who will not rather say that it is a finer monument to the memory of King to have let the fact of his death thus originate a whole mood of the poet's mind, and take possession of all the appropriate fancies, and even all the incidental thoughts about the state of England, that could come in that mood, than if the poet had merely registered the fact in a lyric of direct regret? It is *so*, at all events, that poets honour the dead. They carry the image of the dead one with them; they let the thought of the dead intertwine itself with all else that arises in their minds for a space less or more; and, if they are to pay the tribute of some single poem, then, out of the best choosing still the best, and giving to the result its most perfect shape, they lay *that* upon the tomb, saying, "This belongs to *you*." A true elegy, in this sense of the dedication to a departed friend of an artistic posy of the most beautiful thoughts and fancies that can be associated with his memory even by intellectual intention, is Milton's poem of *Lycidas*. Not less true an elegy in the same sense, but with far more of the evidence of direct and passionate grief in it, is the *Epitaphium Damonis*. Milton's grief for Diodati is of a much more personal and intimate nature, it is far more a grief of his own tears and of bursting sobs in

his solitude, than anything he had felt on the death of King. All the more strange, then, that in his elegy on Diodati the form should be that of the pastoral in its most extreme artificial variety. Not only is the language Latin, and the verse the hexameter; but the pastoral fancy is carried out with excessive minuteness, and there is a deliberate recollection and imitation throughout of particular idylls of the Greek poets, Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, and of the Latin Virgil. With all these disadvantages, removing the poem from the habits of our modern taste, it will be found, by those who will take a little trouble with it, one of the noblest things that Milton has left us, and certainly one of the most interesting in its personal revelations. Even the following attempt at a translation into English hexameters will, I hope, convey some such impression:—

ON THE DEATH OF DAMON.

The Argument.

Thyrsis and Damon, shepherds of the same neighbourhood, following the same pursuits, were friends from their boyhood, in the highest degree of mutual attachment. Thyrsis, having set out to travel for mental improvement, received news when abroad of Damon's death. Afterwards at length returning, and finding the matter to be so, he deplores himself and his solitary condition in the following poem. Under the guise of Damon, however, is here understood Charles Diodati, tracing his descent on the father's side from the Tuscan city of Lucca, but otherwise English—a youth remarkable, while he lived, for his genius, his learning, and other most shining virtues.

Nymphs of old Himera's stream (for ye it was that remembered
Daphnis and Hylas when dead, and grieved for the sad fate of Bion),
Tell through the hamlets of Thames this later Sicilian[1] story—

1 "*This later Sicilian story:*" i. e. this modern tale after the model of the ancient pastoral poets, Theocritus and Moschus, both of whom were Sicilians, and neighbours of the Sicilian river Himera. Milton invokes the nymphs of that stream as the muses more especially of Pastoral Poetry. So also in *Lycidas* it is the "Sicilian Muse" that is present (line 133).—The first Idyll of Theocritus contains the lamentation of the shepherd Thyrsis for the dying shepherd Daphnis; the thirteenth Idyll of the same poet relates the loss of Hylas; and the third Idyll of Moschus deplores the death of Bion and is entitled "*Epitaphium Bionis.*" Milton adopts the name of Thyrsis for himself—having already used it as the name of one of his characters in *Comus:* the other names of imaginary shepherds and shepherdesses introduced in the

What were the cries and murmurs that burst from Thyrsis the wretched,
What lamentations continued he wrung from the caves and the rivers,
Wrung from the wandering brooks and the grove's most secret recesses,
Mourning his Damon lost, and compelling even the midnight
Into the sound of his woe, as he wandered in desolate places.
Twice had the ears in the wheatfields shot through the green of their sheathing,
As many crops of pale gold were the reapers counting as garnered,
Since the last day that had taken Damon down from the living,
Thyrsis not being by; for then that shepherd was absent,
Kept by the Muse's sweet love in the far-famed town of the Tuscan.[1]
But, when his satiate mind, and the care of his flock recollected,
Brought him back to his home, and he sat, as of old, 'neath the elm-tree,
Then at last, O then, as the sense of his loss comes upon him,
Thus he begins to disburthen all his measureless sorrow:—
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah me! what deities now shall I call on in earth or in heaven,
After the pitiless death by which they have reft thee, my Damon?
Thus dost thou leave us? thus without name is thy virtue departed
Down to the world below, to take rank with the shadows unnoted?
No! May He that disparteth souls with his glittering baton
Will it not so, but lead thee into some band of the worthies,
Driving far from thy side all the mere herd of the voiceless!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Hap as it may, unless the wolf's black glance shall first cross me,
Not in a tearless tomb shall thy loved mortality moulder;
Stand shall thine honour for thee, and long henceforth shall it flourish
Mid our shepherd-lads; and thee they shall joy to remember
Next after Daphnis chief, next after Daphnis to praise thee,
So long as Pales and Faunus shall love our fields and our meadows,

poem, as well as most of the pastoral images, are also from the Greek and Latin pastoral poets. In the structure of the verse, too—as, for example, in the use of a recurring phrase breaking the lament into separate musical parts or bursts—he has followed the Greek precedent.

[1] These lines seem to fix, as the date of Diodati's death, the summer or autumn of 1638: see Vol. I. p. 776.

If it avails to have cherished the faith of the old and the loyal,
Pallas's arts of peace, and have had a tuneful companion!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Kept are these honours for thee, and thine they *shall* be, my Damon!
But for myself what remains? For me what faithful companion
Now will cling to my side, in the place of the one so familiar,
All through the season harsh when the grounds are crisp with the snow-crust,
Or 'neath the blazing sun when the herbage is dying for moisture?
Were it the task to go forth in the track of the ravaging lions,
Or to drive back from the folds the wolf-packs boldened by hunger,
Who would now lighten the day with the sound of his talk or his singing?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Whom shall I trust with my thoughts; or who will teach me to deaden
Heart-hid pains; or who will cheat away the long evening
Sweetly with chat by the fire, where hissing hot on the ashes
Roasts the ripe pear, and the chesnuts crackle beneath, while the South-wind
Hurls confusion without, and thunders down on the elm-tops?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Then, in the summer, when day spins round on his middlemost axle,
What time Pan takes his sleep concealed in the shade of the beeches,
And when the nymphs have repaired to their well-known grots in the rivers,
Shepherds are not to be seen and under the hedge snores the rustic,
Who will bring me again thy blandishing ways and thy laughter,
All thy Athenian jests, and all the fine wit of thy fancies?
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Now all lonely I wander over the fields and the pastures,
Or where the branchy shades are densest down in the valleys;
There I wait till late, while the shower and the storm-blast above me
Moan at their will, and sighings shake through the breaks of the woodlands.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah! how my fields, once neat, are now overgrown and unsightly,
Forward only in weeds, and the tall corn sickens with mildew!

Mateless, my vines droop down the shrivelled weight of their clusters;
Neither please me my myrtles; and even the sheep are a trouble;
They seem sad, and they turn their faces, poor things, to their master!
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Tityrus[1] calls to the hazels; to the ash-trees Alphesibœus;
Ægon suggests the willows: 'The streams,' says lovely Amyntas;
'Here are the cool springs, here the moss-broidered grass and the hillocks;
'Here are the zephyrs, and here the arbutus whispers the ripple.'
These things they sing to the deaf; so I took to the thickets and left them.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Mopsus addressed me next, for he had espied me returning
(Wise in the language of birds, and wise in the stars too, is Mopsus):
'Thyrsis,' he said, 'what is this? what bilious humour afflicts thee?
'Either love is the cause, or the blast of some star inauspicious;
'Saturn's star is of all the oftenest deadly to shepherds,
'Fixing deep in the breast his slant leaden shaft of sickness.'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Round me fair maids wonder. 'What will come of thee, Thyrsis?
'What wouldst thou have?' they say: 'not commonly see we the young men
'Wearing that cloud on the brow, the eyes thus stern and the visage:
'Youth seeks the dance and sports, and in all will tend to be wooing:
'Rightfully so: twice wretched is he who is late in his loving.'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Dryope came, and Hyas, and Ægle, the daughter of Baucis
(Learned is she in the song and the lute, but O what a proud one!);
Came to me Chloris also, the maid from the banks of the Chelmer.

[1] Tityrus, Alphesibœus, &c. are all the names of shepherds in Virgil's Eclogues. Milton may, or may not, have had particular acquaintances of his in view under these names.

Nothing their blandishings move me, nothing their prattle of comfort;
Nothing the present can move me, nor any hope of the future.[1]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah me! how like one another the herds frisk over the meadows,
All, by the law of their kind, companions equally common;
No one selecting for friendship this one rather than that one
Out of the flock! So come in droves to their feeding the jackals;
So in their turns pair also the rough untameable zebras.
Such too the law of the deep, where Proteus down on the shingle
Numbers his troops of sea-calves. Nay, that meanest of wing'd ones,
See how the sparrow has always near him a fellow, when flying
Round by the barns he chirrups, but seeks his own thatch ere it darkens;
Whom should fate strike lifeless—whether the beak of the falcon
Pin him in air, or he lie transfixed by the reed of the ditcher—
Quick the survivor is off, and a moment finds him remated.
We are the hard race, we, the battered children of fortune,
We of the breed of men, strange-minded and different-moulded!
Scarcely does any discover his one true mate among thousands;
Or, if kindlier chance shall have given the singular blessing,
Comes a dark day on the creep, and comes the hour unexpected,
Snatching away the gift, and leaving the anguish eternal.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Ah! what roaming whimsy drew my steps to a distance,
Over the rocks hung in air and the Alpine passes and glaciers!
Was it so needful for me to have seen old Rome in her ruins—
Even though Rome had been such as, erst in the days of her greatness,
Tityrus,[2] only to visit, forsook both his flocks and his country—

[1] The female names here used are also from the old poets. The Chloris mentioned as "the maid from the banks of the Chelmer" (which seems to be the translation of "*Idumanii vicina fluenti*") may be a real person. The Chelmer is in Essex; and its influx into the sea is by Blackwater Bay, which is called by Ptolemy (says Warton) *Portus Idumanius*.

[2] In Virgil's first Eclogue, the shepherd Tityrus relates his visit to Rome, and the impression which the vastness of the city made on his rustic mind. Tityrus, in that Eclogue, represents Virgil himself; so that Milton's meaning here is "Was it so needful for me to go to see Rome, even if Rome had still been the great Rome of Virgil's days?" Milton's line (line 115 of *Epitaphium*)

"Ecquid erat tanti Romam vidisse sepultam?"

is all but a quotation of the 27th line of Virgil's Eclogue, where Melibœus asks Tityrus,

"Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?"

That but for this I consented to lack the dear use of thy presence,
Placing so many seas and so many mountains between us,
So many woods and rocks and so many murmuring rivers?
Ah! at the end at least to have touched his hand had been given me,
Closed his beautiful eyes in the placid hour of his dying,
Said to my friend, 'Farewell! in the world of the stars think of *me!*'
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Albeit also of *you* my memory never shall weary,
Swains of the Tuscan land, well-practised youths in the Muses,
Here there was grace and lightness; Tuscan *thou* too, my Damon,
Tracing the line of thy race from the ancient city of Lucca!
O, how mighty was I, when, stretched by the stream of the Arno
Murmuring cool, and where the poplar-grove softens the herbage,
Violets now I would pluck, and now the sprigs of the myrtle,
Hearing Menalcas and Lycidas vying the while in their ditties!
I also dared the challenge; nor, as I reckon, the hearers
Greatly disliked my trials—for yet the tokens are with me,
Rush-plaits, osier nets, and reed-stops of wax, which they gave me.
Ay more: two of the group have taught *our* name to their beech-woods—
Dati and also Francini, both of them notable shepherds,
As well in lore as in voice, and both of the blood of the Lydian.[1]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
Then too the pleasant dreams which the dewy moon woke within me,
Penning the young kids alone within their wattles at even!
Ah! how often I said, when already the black mould bewrapt thee,
'Now my Damon is singing, or spreading his snares for the leveret;
'Now he is weaving his twig-net for some of his various uses.'
What with my easy mind I hoped as then in the future
Lightly I seized with the wish and fancied as present before me.
'Ho, my friend!' I would cry: 'art busy? If nothing prevent thee,
'Shall we go rest somewhere in some talk-favouring covert,

[1] This is a distinct reference to the two written encomiums on Milton by the Florentines Dati and Francini, which he brought with him from Italy, and afterwards published. See Vol. I. pp. 732—734. I doubt not that the rush-plaits," "reed-stops of wax," &c., are poetical names for little presents actually received from his Florentine friends.

'Or to the waters of Colne, or the fields of Cassibelaunus?[1]
'There thou shalt run me over the list of thy herbs and their juices,
'Foxglove, and crocuses lowly, and hyacinth-leaf with its blossom,
'Marsh-plants also that grow for use in the art of the healer."[2]
Perish the plants each one, and perish all arts of the healer
Gotten of herbs, since nothing served they even their master!
I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past had been sounding
Strains of an unknown strength—'tis one day more than eleven since
Thus it befell—and perchance the reeds I was *trying* were new ones:
Bursting their fastenings, they flew apart when touched, and no farther
Dared to endure the grave sounds: I am haply in this over-boastful;
Yet I will tell out the tale. Ye woods, yield your honours and listen![3]
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
I have a theme of the Trojans cruising our southern headlands
Shaping to song, and the realm of Imogen, daughter of Pandras,
Brennus and Arvirach, dukes, and Bren's bold brother, Belinus;
Then the Armorican settlers under the laws of the Britons,
Ay, and the womb of Igraine fatally pregnant with Arthur,
Uther's son, whom he got disguised in Gorlois' likeness,
All by Merlin's craft.[4] O then, if life shall be spared me,
Thou shalt be hung, my pipe, far off on some brown dying pine-tree,
Much forgotten of me; or else your Latian music
Changed for the British war-screech! What then? For one to do all things,

[1] The Colne flows by Horton and Colnbrook: the fields of the old British king, Cassibelaunus, who opposed Cæsar, are in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's, Herts.

[2] The allusion is to Diodati's profession of medicine and his knowledge of botany. The reference in *Comus* to the "shepherd-lad" who is well skilled in every virtuous plant and healing herb, and to whose friendship the guardian spirit Thyrsis professes to owe his knowledge of the divine plant Hæmony, by the use of which the enchantment is broken, is supposed to be a compliment to the then living Diodati. Compare the passage, *Comus* 618—648.

[3] Observe, in the few preceding lines, the studied abruptness and hesitation with which Milton passes from the mention of Diodati's art and profession to the thought of his own poetic art and literary pursuits.

[4] In the British legends of Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, the mythical Brutus, before arriving in Britain with his Trojans, marries Imogen, daughter of the Grecian king Pandrasus; Brennus and Belinus are two legendary British princes of a much later age, sons of King Dunwallo Molmutius; Arviragus or Arviragus, son of Cunobeline, or Cymbeline, belongs to the time of the Roman conquest of Britain; the "Armorican settlers" are the Britons who remove to the French coast of Armorica to avoid the invading Saxons; Uther Pendragon, Igraine, Gorlois, Merlin, and Arthur are familiar names of the Arthurian romances.

One to hope all things, fits not! Prize sufficiently ample
Mine, and distinction great (unheard of ever thereafter
Though I should be, and inglorious, all through the world of the stranger),
If but yellow-haired Ouse shall read me, the drinker of Alan,
Humber, which whirls as it flows, and Trent's whole valley of orchards,
Thames, my own Thames, above all, and Tamar's western waters,
Tawny with ores, and where the white waves swinge the far Orkneys.
"Go unpastured, my lambs: your master now heeds not your bleating.
These I was keeping for thee, wrapt up in the rind of the laurel,
These and other things with them; and mainly the two cups which Manso—
Manso, not the last of Southern Italy's glories—
Gave me, a wonder of art, which himself, a wonder of nature,
Carved with a double design of his own well-skilled invention:
Here the Red Sea in the midst, and the odoriferous summer,
Araby's winding shores, and palm-trees sweating their balsams,
Mid which the bird divine, earth's marvel, the singular Phœnix,
Blazing cærulean-bright with wings of different colours,
Turns to behold Aurora surmounting the glassy-green billows:
Obverse is Heaven's vast vault and the great Olympian mansion.
Who would suppose it? Even here is Love and his cloud-painted quiver,
Arms glittering torch-lit, and arrows tipped with the fire-gem.
Nor is it meagre souls and the base-born breasts of the vulgar
Hence that he strikes; but, whirling round him his luminous splendours,
Always he scatters his darts right upwards sheer through the star-depths
Restless, and never deigns to level the pain of them downwards;
Whence the sacred minds and the forms of the gods ever-burning.[1]
"Thou too art there—not vain is the hope that I cherish, my Damon—
Thou too art certainly there; for whither besides could have vanished
Holy-sweet fancies like thine, and purity stainless as thine was?
No; not down in Lethe's darkness ought we to seek thee!
Tears are not fitting for thee, nor for thee will we weep any longer;

[1] I have no doubt that the whole of this passage is a poetical description of the designs on an actual pair of cups or chased goblets which Milton had received as a keepsake from Manso at Naples, and had brought home with him (Vol. I. p. 788). Where are they now?

Flow no more, ye tear-drops! Damon inhabits the ether;
Pure, he possesses the sky; he has spurned back the arc of the rainbow.
Housed mid the souls of the heroes, housed mid the gods everlasting,
Quaffs he the sacred chalices, drinks he the joys of the blessed,
Holy-mouthed himself. But O, Heaven's rights being now thine,
Be thou with me for my good, however I ought to invoke thee,
Whether still as our Damon, or whether of names thou wouldst rather
That of Diodati[1] now, by which deep-meaning divine name
All the celestials shall know thee, while shepherds shall still call thee Damon.
For that the rosy blush and the unstained strength of young manhood
Ever were dear to thee, and the marriage-joy never was tasted,
Lo! there are kept for thee the honours of those that were virgin!
Thou, with thy fair head crowned with the golden, glittering cincture,
Waving green branches of palm, and walking the gladsome procession,
Aye shalt act and repeat the endless heavenly nuptials,
There where song never fails and the lyre and the dance mix to madness,
There where the revel rages and Sion's thyrsus beats time."[2]

There is much in this remarkable poem over which one would willingly linger, for reasons both poetical and biographical, and over which the reader may like, for such reasons, to linger for himself. When he has lingered sufficiently, and is prepared to take leave of the poem, let him, before doing so, re-peruse and carefully note the particular passage, near the end, beginning with the words, "*I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past,*" and extending through the next twenty-four lines. This passage is pregnantly autobiographical. Taken in connexion with other passages in Milton's writings, it informs us as to the nature of his occupations and projects, not only at the moment

[1] The name *Diodati* ("God-given"), as is proved here and also in one of the Italian sonnets, was pronounced, as correctly it ought to be, *Diodâti*.

[2] The "thyrsus" was the ivy-wreathed spear carried by the revellers in the orgies of Bacchus. The close of the poem in such a strain is very daring.

when the poem was written (late in 1639), but also for a good many months afterwards.

A passage in Milton's treatise entitled *The Reason of Church Government*, published in January or February 1641-2, may be cited here as peculiarly relevant. It is a passage in which he refers to the good opinion uniformly pronounced on his earlier writings, whether in prose or verse, whether in English or Latin, by friends at home, and more especially to the favourable reception of some trifles of his in the private Academies of Italy, and the quite unusual encomiums with which he, an unknown Englishman, had been honoured during his tour by Italian scholars of note. A portion of the passage has already been before us in another connexion (Vol. I. p. 731). What interests us here is the statement of the passage respecting the result produced on Milton's mind by those friendly opinions and encomiums. That result was, he says, that about the time of his return to England he felt himself stirred with an ambition to undertake and execute some great literary work. "I began," he says, "thus far to assent both to them [his Italian critics] and "divers of my friends here at home, and not less to an "inward prompting which now grew daily upon me, that "by labour and intent study (which I take to be my "portion in this life), joined with the strong propensity of "nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to "aftertimes as they should not willingly let it die."

That this thought had been stirring in him even while he was in Italy, and that he had then, moreover, felt a fascination towards one particular subject as fit for a great poem, is proved by what he had said in his Latin poem of compliment to Manso in Naples (see Vol. I. pp. 765—768). Speaking of the long celebrity of that nobleman as a patron of letters, and especially of his kindness to the two poets, Tasso and Marini, Milton had said:

"O were it mine to have granted me such a friend in the future,
One that had known so well to honour the sons of Apollo,
If I shall ever revoke into song the Kings of our Island,
Arthur yet from his underground hiding stirring to warfare,

Or shall tell of those that sat round him as Knights of his Table,
Great-souled heroes unmatched, and (O might the spirit but aid me!)
Shiver the Saxon phalanxes under the shock of the Britons!"

Here we have an intimation, written at Naples, of what, even were there nothing more to the same effect, would be an interesting fact in Milton's life. In looking forward to his future career in literature, he was then, it seems, chiefly possessed with some vague scheme of a heroic poem, the subject of which should be taken from the mythical or legendary history of Britain, as related, out of immemorial Welsh tradition, by Geoffrey of Monmouth and other chroniclers, and as amplified so wonderfully by the Norman Trouvères after the Conquest. It is the very subject to which, as by an irresistible transmitted instinct of the British imagination, our greatest English poets of every age have reverted. Chaucer had gone back into this old ground in one or two of his Tales; Spenser, after his peculiar manner, had made this enchanted ground his supreme poetical realm; Shakespeare and other dramatists had taken from it the stories of some of their most popular tragedies; and the unexhausted interest of the same mass of legend, the inherited national mythology of Britain, was to be attested in our own times by plans of Wordsworth, and by actual achievements of Tennyson. Milton, we have it here on record in his own words, had felt the same Arthurian fascination. In his first fancies as to the nature of that great intended work of his which, if he succeeded in it, posterity should not willingly let die, he had thought of nothing so likely as a poem the hero of which should be the British Arthur.

So much appears even from the poem to Manso. But now connect the passage in that poem, and the passage cited from *The Reason of Church Government*, with the passage in the *Epitaphium Damonis* to which we have requested attention. That passage shows that, after his return to England, Milton not only still retained his notion of a subject from British legendary history, but was revolving the subject deliberately with a view to its treatment. He was even preluding in it. Observe the peculiar manner in which he announces this. He

has been speaking of Diodati's profession—of his promising career in that profession, so suddenly cut short by a fate against which medical knowledge had been of no avail; and then, very abruptly, he breaks out, "I too—for strangely my pipe for some time past had been sounding. . ." The connexion of thought evidently is, "I too have a profession, if it may be so called; and what is the career that lies before me in it, now that my companion is gone?" He goes on to tell of something that he has in contemplation. He hesitates about telling it, and makes the hesitation apparent in the broken structure of the syntax and verse for a line or two. It is some time, he says, since "his pipe has been sounding strains of an unknown strength"—*i.e.* since he has been conscious of a seeking after some higher and greater theme for his Muse than he had yet ventured upon; and only eleven days before his then writing a strange thing had happened! He had actually made a beginning in the new direction! Only a beginning, however; for the "new reeds" he was trying burst asunder almost at the first touch, incapable all at once of the graver sounds that were expected from them! Still he had not given up his idea. Shall he tell what it is? Yes, though it may seem over-boastful, he will!

> '*I* have a theme of the Trojans cruising our southern headlands
> Shaping to song," &c.

And so on he proceeds, through the next seventeen lines, explaining, in language the most precise, that he is busy over the scheme of a heroic poem of legendary British History, which, beginning with the arrival of the mythical Brutus and his Trojans in Albion, shall somehow include the whole cycle of British legend, as told by Geoffrey of Monmouth and others, down to the famous romance of Merlin and Arthur.

In addition to this, the main purport of the passage, there is an incidental piece of information. It is that the intended poem is to be in English, and that, indeed, he has now, for all the main purposes of poetry, taken leave of the Latin. Should he be spared for his great task, he says, then

his old pipe, which had served him so long, would be hung up, forgotten, on some aged pine-tree, or its wonted Latian music would have to be exchanged for the British war-screech. There might be cause for regret in having thus to part with an old instrument! What then? For one man to excel in all things was impossible, and he had made his choice! It would be for him a prize sufficiently great, and ample enough distinction, if, remaining altogether unread by the foreigner, he could have his own fellow-countrymen for his audience, and could think of himself as read, or to be read, along the streams and coasts of his own dear island, from the Channel to the Orkneys, and most of all where the Thames of his boyhood washed his native London. What have we here but an intimation that Milton, even in *his* comparatively late day, had debated with himself the question which Dante and other Italians had debated, and similarly decided, so long before? Whether was it better for a modern poet to continue the use of Latin for such higher works of genius as he might undertake, and so have the security, as it then appeared, of a learned European audience, or to adopt his own vernacular, and commit himself to its unascertained and narrower, but more heart-stirring, chances? That Milton had discussed this question we are authentically informed by himself, not only in the poem under notice, but also, as we shall afterwards find, in express prose.

So far, therefore, we are able to represent to ourselves distinctly enough the state of Milton's mind at that beginning of the winter of 1639–40, when, entering on the thirty-third year of his age, he found himself again in England. Having resumed the acquaintance of his English friends, and recovered from the first shock of Diodati's death, he was settling down to that life of purely intellectual labour—the life of a man of letters, as we should now call it—which he had selected as the most congenial possible for him in the condition of England at that time, and which the kindness of his father had facilitated.

That Milton, in settling himself for such a life, should leave Horton, and make London his head-quarters, will

not seem unnatural. He had had some such intention before going abroad, as appears from his letter to Diodati of the 23rd of September, 1637, in which he had spoken of looking out for chambers in one of the Inns of Court.[1] Now, however, there were certain family-circumstances which made an arrangement of the kind convenient.

The reader will remember Milton's only sister, Anne, who had been married in 1624 to Mr. Edward Phillips of the Crown Office, in Chancery, and on the death of whose first-born, an infant girl, in the severe winter of 1625-6, Milton, then a Cambridge undergraduate, had written the beautiful verses beginning "O fairest flower, no sooner blown than blasted." (Vol. I. pp. 143—145.) Since that year we have lost sight of her, except incidentally; but I am now in possession of information with which to make up the defect.

Her husband, Edward Phillips, had died in the autumn of 1631, after she had been united to him only seven years. The proof is in the following Will and its attached Probate, which I have found in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury:—

"In the name of God, Amen: The twelveth day of August, one thousand, six hundred, thirty-one, and in the seaventh yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne Lord, King Charles, of England, &c., I, Edward Phillips, of London, gentleman, being weak in bodie, but of good and perfect memory, thanks bee to the Lord therefore, doe make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme following, vizt.—First, I bequeath my soul into the hands of Allmightie God: my bodie I comitt unto the earth from whence it came, when it shall please God to make a separation between my bodie and my soule, hoping at the last day, through the meritts of Christ, myne onelie Savyour, it shall rise againe a glorious bodie and bee united unto my soule to live in Heaven eternally. And, for such worldly estate as the Lord, of his mercy, hath given mee, I bequeath as followeth:—Whereas there is an Inventory of such goods and chattells as were left by my deceased father with my mother for her use, my Will is that these goods and chattells after my mother's decease shall bee devyded to and amongst my brothers and sisters then living; and, if such goods and chattells shall not then come to the sume of fourescore pounds, being indifferently praysed, then I desire my loving wife Anne to make it upp soe much that

[1] Vol. I. p. 600.

my said brothers and sisters, being foure now lyving, may have twentie pounds apeece after my mother's decease. The rest and residue of all and singular my goods, chattells, debts, leases, household stuff, and all other things, I give and bequeeth unto my said loving wife Anne, whom I make executrix of this my last Will. In witnesse whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale, the day and yeare first above written.—Signed, sealed, delivered and published by the said EDWARD PHILLIPS, as and for his last Will and Testament in the presence of——Jo: MILTON,—HENRIE ROTHWELL, servant to the said Jo: Milton."

The probate by the oath of administration taken by the executrix is dated the 12th of September, 1631; so that Phillips must have died in the course of the preceding month. He would seem to have been then still a comparatively young man, as his mother is mentioned as living. His widow, at all events, cannot have been more than nine-and-twenty years of age, and may have been but four-and-twenty.[1] Although no children are mentioned in the Will, she was left with two out of several born after the little "fairest flower" who had first died. These were two boys—the elder, called Edward after his father, born in August 1630, and therefore only a year old;[2] and the younger most probably not yet born, but who, when he did appear, was called John, after his grandfather and uncle.[3] It seems probable that it was his uncle, then about to leave Cambridge, that was more particularly his godfather.

During her husband's life the residence of Mrs. Phillips had been "in the Strand, near Charing Cross, in the Liberty of Westminster," conveniently near to the Crown Office. As she had received "a considerable dowry" from her father on her marriage,[4] and as the property left her by her husband seems to have amounted to a considerable increase upon that, it is not unlikely that she continued to live in this house with her two boys during the first years of her widowhood, though occasionally visiting her father and mother at Horton, where the infants (of a sickly stock apparently) would have the benefit of country air and of their grandmother's expe-

[1] See Vol. I. p. 27.
[2] Edward Phillips; Life of Milton, and Wood's Athen. IV. 760.
[3] Wood: *loc. cit.*
[4] Edward Phillips: Life of Milton.

rience as long as she lived. But Mrs. Phillips's widowhood was not to be of very long duration. A colleague in the Crown Office with her late husband, the "intimate friend" of that husband so long as he lived, and the successor of that husband after his death in the post of "Secondary" in the office—that is, of Deputy Clerk of the Crown under Thomas Willys, Esq. the chief clerk—was a certain Thomas Agar, said to have been educated (but I cannot ascertain on what authority) at St. Paul's School, about, or somewhat before, the time when Milton was there. This Thomas Agar, when he succeeded to his friend Phillips's post in the Crown Office, was himself a married man—his wife being a Mary Rugeley, daughter of Dr. Thomas Rugeley, a highly esteemed London physician of that day. This wife was certainly alive in 1633, by which time she had borne to Agar a daughter named Ann. But, at some subsequent date which I have not been able precisely to determine, she died, leaving Agar a widower. When he thought of marrying again, it seems to have been in every way a suitable arrangement that he and the widow of his friend Phillips should come together. So, at all events, it happened. Mrs. Phillips became Mrs. Agar, and had two daughters in this, her second marriage, one named Mary and the other Ann, half-sisters of her two little Phillipses by the first marriage.[1]

About the time of Milton's return from abroad, if I mistake not, Agar was his effective brother-in-law. Whatever may have been Phillips's personal merits, there was no loss to the family, in point of worldly respectability, in the substitution of Agar in his place. As the Clerk of the Crown's deputy, Agar, like Phillips before him, had to be in frequent attendance on the Lord Keeper, to administer oaths of allegiance to new Chancery officials, to see to the issue of royal proclamations and of commissions of the peace and the like,

[1] So far as the particulars in this paragraph are not gathered from Edward Phillips's own account in his Life of Milton, or from Wood's Lives of the two Phillipses in his *Athenæ* (IV. 760, *et seq.*), they are the fruit of very miscellaneous researches, which led me to (1) A pedigree of the Rugeley family, in a Heralds' visitation of London, 1633-4, given in Harl. MS. 1476, f. 152; and (2) a memoir of the physician Rugeley, in No. 2149 of the Ayscough MSS. which consists of memoirs of English physicians of the seventeenth century, by a Baldwin Harvey, who died 1676.

and also to the issue (though as yet Agar had had no taste of *this* peculiar duty of his office) of new Parliamentary writs. Much of his handwriting is still to be seen in what I believe is the oldest book of office-business that has been preserved in the Crown Office—a book of entries of administrations of oaths by the Clerk of the Crown or his deputy from 1639 onwards; and I have found his handwriting also in receipts that had been issued from the Crown Office to the King's printer for so many copies, delivered into the office, of such and such royal proclamations.[1] For convenient attendance upon these duties, Agar must have had his house in the same neighbourhood, of Westminster or the Strand, in which Phillips had resided. If his brother-in-law, the poet, was in the habit of looking in here, there was a chance of his extending his acquaintance by the addition of Agar's relatives by his first marriage, the Rugeleys, with whom I have proof that Agar still kept up a very close connexion. Among these was the old physician Rugeley himself, and his three sons, Thomas, Luke, and George, the eldest of whom had entered his father's profession with good hopes of success.[2]

Milton's resolution, in the winter of 1639-40, to take up his abode definitely in London, seems to have fitted in with his sister Mrs. Agar's views as to the education of her two little sons by her first marriage. "Soon after his return," says Edward, the elder of these Phillipses, in his life of his uncle, "he took him a lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, at "the house of one Russel, a tailor, where he first undertook "the education and instruction of his sister's two sons, the "younger whereof had been wholly committed to his charge "and care." This seems to mean that, while, by the arrange-

[1] By the courtesy of the authorities of the Crown Office I had access to the records there, to search for traces of Milton's brothers-in-law. The earliest office-book being, as I have stated in the text, one commencing with the year 1639, I could find no traces of Phillips's hand; but in that book Agar's appeared sufficiently. In the British Museum also (Add. MSS. 5756, ff. 128 *et seq.*), I found at least fifteen specimens of Agar's handwriting in the form of such Crown-Office receipts as are mentioned in the text.

[2] The proof of the continued connexion of Agar with the Rugeleys is from Agar's will, found by me at Doctors' Commons, and which need not at present be cited for more than the fact that so late as 1671 very affectionate mention is made by Agar of one of the Rugeleys as his life-long friend. The elder physician Rugeley died June 21, 1656, and was buried in St. Botolph's Church, Aldersgate (MS. Ayscough, 2149).

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ment of their mother and stepfather, both the boys were to receive lessons from their uncle in his lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, the younger, who was his godson or nameson, was either to stay with him entirely, or, in some particular way, to be under his complete control and tuition. The little Johnny Phillips, so made over to his uncle's care, was only eight years of age, and his brother Edward, who was to share his lessons, was not much over nine. For a bachelor, living in lodgings, the arrangement might not seem the most convenient; but, whether for family reasons or on personal grounds, Milton appears to have made no difficulty about it. Leaving his father, with Christopher and Mrs. Christopher, at Horton, he took up his quarters, for a time at least, in the tailor's house in St. Bride's Churchyard. While Phillips gives the locality simply as "St. Bride's Churchyard," subsequent biographers have generally called it "St. Bride's Churchyard, Fleet Street." But Wood says, "St. Bride's Churchyard, *near* Fleet Street;" and in the old maps I find the site of at least a portion of St. Bride's Churchyard marked as in that part of the present Farringdon Street which lies between Fleet Lane and Stonecutters' Street. Near the foot of the present Fleet Street, at all events, in rather close vicinity to Fleet Ditch, but with the river on one hand, and in view of Ludgate Hill, old St. Paul's, and the whole City region of his native Bread Street, did Milton, in the winter of 1639-40, enter upon a new period of his life.

The teaching of the two boys cannot have been so engrossing an occupation but that there was ample time for those studies and literary preparations of Milton's own to which he had resolved now strenuously to betake himself. With a view to these studies and preparations, he had his books, though not all of them, brought to his new lodging, and here also he surrounded himself once more with his private papers and manuscripts. Among the manuscripts on which he would set most value were those which contained the rough drafts or copies of his own compositions. One or two of them had been published, and were so far safe—in

especial, the very best of them, *Comus* and *Lycidas;* and copies of some of the others, doubtless, had been given to friends in manuscript. Still it was not unimportant that his own copies or original drafts should be carefully preserved. We have already had evidence that Milton proceeded on this principle, and, however much he erased or altered, rarely or never destroyed anything he had once written. In St. Bride's Churchyard, accordingly, we may assume that he had the copies or drafts by him, in his own hand, of all that he had then written. Not, perhaps, in a shapely condition in one fairly-transcribed book, but in various books as they had been originally penned, or in loose sheets and papers. We have the means of knowing, however, that there was *one* book, or continuous set of sheets of the same folio-sized paper, of which Milton made particular use about this time. This was a book, or set of sheets, already partly occupied with the original drafts of four of the little pieces of his Cambridge period (the Song *At a Solemn Musick*, the "Letter to a Friend" and accompanying *Sonnet on being arrived to the age of Twenty-three*, and the verses *On Time* and *Upon the Circumcision*), and with the original more important drafts of the *Arcades*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*. It was of a blank space in this book, immediately following the draft of *Lycidas*, or on some vacant sheets of this set, afterwards numbered and attached to the others in that order, that he proceeded to avail himself for the purpose of such new scribblings as he first found occasion for after he had settled in his new lodging. The proof remains in the scribblings themselves. They form part of that volume of Milton's manuscripts which has for a hundred and thirty years been one of the most precious treasures of the Library of Trinity College in Cambridge.[1] An examination of the book, and of seven of

[1] This volume, kept under a glass case as one of the most valuable curiosities of the Library, is a thin folio, bound in red morocco and inscribed on the back in gilt letters "*Poemata Miltoni Manuscripta*" ("Manuscript Poems of Milton"). Inside is pasted this account of the volume: "*Lib. Trin. Coll. Cantab.: Membra hæc eruditissimi et pœne divini poetæ, olim miserè disjecta et passim sparsa, postea verò fortuito inventa et in unum denuo collecta a Carolo Mason, ejus Coll. socio, et inter Miscellanea reposita, deinceps eâ quâ decuit religione servari voluit Thomas Clarke, nuperrimè hujusce Collegii, nunc verò Medii Templi, Londini, socius:* 1736" ("Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: These fragments of the most learned and all but divine poet,

its pages in particular, furnishes us with the means of far more exact information than was to be hoped for respecting the course of Milton's literary plans and studies, not only after his first removal to St. Bride's Churchyard, but also, as I believe, during the whole term of his residence there, and for some time beyond.

Milton, it appears, either found reason very soon to abandon his scheme of a heroic poem of legendary British History, or was not so pledged to that scheme but that he would, first of all, let his mind range for a time among other schemes, with a view at last to the discovery of the truly splendid one to which his heart would leap. A subject of British History still seemed to him to satisfy most of the conditions; but might there not be grander scope, for one whose notions of the true end and duty of all literature were so high and solemn as his were, in some Scriptural subject? Again, the epic form was a noble one, and precedents in that form were among the noblest; but what if the dramatic, or some combination of the dramatic and the lyric, might be the fittest? What we see in the seven pages of the Cambridge

formerly miserably separated and scattered about, but afterwards accidentally found and at length collected into one by Charles Mason, Fellow of that College, and placed among its Miscellanies, Thomas Clarke, very lately Fellow of the College, but now of the Middle Temple, London, desired to have preserved with the respect due to them: 1736.") The Charles Mason, who thus first took the pains to collect the fragments, graduated B.A. in 1722, M.A. in 1726, and was afterwards Doctor of Divinity and Woodwardian Professor of Geology in the University of Cambridge; the Thomas Clarke, to whom belongs the farther honour of having seen them properly bound and taken care of, took his B.A. degree in 1724, his M.A. in 1728, and was afterwards Knight, and Master of the Rolls. But where did Mason find the fragments? He found them already in Trinity College, lying scattered among MSS. which had been given to the College, many years before, by a Sir Henry Newton Puckering, Baronet. This person, whose original name had been Henry Newton, was the son of Sir Adam Newton, a man of some distinction in the reign of James I. and tutor to Prince Henry. He was born about 1617, was educated at Trinity College, assumed the name of Puckering about the middle of the seventeenth century (after his maternal uncle, Sir Thomas Puckering of Warwickshire, son of Lord Keeper Puckering), and was known, during the latter half of the century, as a studious and ingenious gentleman. He retained so strong affection for the College in which he had been educated, and where a son of his who predeceased him had also studied, that, "in his eightieth year," according to Warton, "he desired to be readmitted, and, residing there a whole summer, presented to the New Library, just then finished, his own collection of books, amounting to near 4,000 volumes." This must have been about 1697, or three years before his death, which occurred Jan. 22, 1700, in the 83rd year of his age (see his epitaph in Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, by Thomas, I. 445).

MSS. to which we have referred is precisely this interesting phenomenon of Milton discussing the best form for his great work, and seeking about for a subject. Or, rather, it seems to have been already determined by him that the *form* should be that of a Tragedy with a chorus, after the ancient Greek model, and the hesitation seems to have been mainly as to the *subject* for such a Tragedy. Whether should it be from Scripture, or should it be from British History; and, on either supposition, which out of all that might be found should be selected?

The method adopted by Milton in these circumstances is very characteristic. He undertakes a course of continuous re-reading in the historical parts of the Bible, with one or two of the most learned commentators at hand for consultation; and at the same time he undertakes a continuous perusal of the History of Britain prior to the Conquest, as told in Ralph Holinshed's Chronicles (1st edit., 2 vols. fol., 1577; 2nd edit. 2 vols. fol., 1586-7), and Speed's Chronicle (1st edit. fol., 1611; 2nd edit. 1623; 3rd edit. 1632), but with reference at successive points to the older Latin writers, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. He reads rapidly, getting over a considerable portion every day; and steadily, as he reads, he jots down the subjects that occur to him, sometimes in the form of brief notes or mere headings, but at other times, when the subjects hit upon arrest him by their superior capability, in the form of detailed sketches or draft-plans. In this manner he goes on—sometimes turning back or setting down an afterthought—till he has filled seven pages with a list of about ninety-nine subjects in all, of which sixty-one are Scriptural, and thirty-eight are from British History. The following is a complete digest of this list, in the most intelligible form I have been able to devise, after much inspection of the closely-written and much-corrected original, and with lithographed fac-similes of that original before me.[1] Every scrap of Milton's own penning

[1] These interesting fac-similes may be seen in the gorgeous volume, entitled "Ramblings in the Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton," of which a small number of copies were issued in 1861 by the late Samuel Leigh Sotheby. Mr. Sotheby, in addition to other specimens of Milton's autograph, from

is preserved in the digest, and is placed within inverted commas; and all such matter follows, under each heading, in the same order as in the original, save that subjects or schemes that occurred to Milton as afterthoughts, and were jotted down out of their proper chronological places, are inserted in these places and distinguished by asterisks. Whatever is without inverted commas, or is inserted within brackets, is explanatory.

I. SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS.

I. From the Old Testament.

1. *Paradise Lost.* Of this subject there are four Drafts—three of them continuous, and filling the first page of the Jottings (numbered 35 in the volume), where they are written column-wise; and the fourth occurring as an afterthought on the 6th page of the Jottings (numbered 40 in the volume).

(1) The first Draft consists merely of a list of *dramatis personæ*, as follows:—"The Persons: Michael; Heavenly Love; Chorus of "Angels; Lucifer; Adam [and] Eve, with the Serpent; Con- "science; Death; Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, with "others, [as] Mutes; Faith; Hope; Charity."

(2) The foregoing Draft having been erased by two cross strokes of the pen, a second Draft, written parallel with it, takes its place as follows:—"The Persons: Michael or Moses [the words 'Michael or' are then deleted, so as to leave 'Moses' as the preferable Person for the Drama]; Justice, Mercy, Wisdom; Heavenly Love; "The Evening Star Hesperus; Chorus of Angels; Lucifer; Adam; "Eve; Conscience; Labour, Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, "Death, [as] Mutes; Faith; Hope; Charity."

(3) The foregoing having also been crossed out with the pen, there follows a third Draft, which is more complete and is left standing, as follows:—"*Paradise Lost.* The Persons:—Moses "προλογίζει [prologuises], recounting how he assumed his true body; "that it corrupts not, because of his [being] with God in the "Mount; declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity "of the place—that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve "it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells "they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their "sin.—[Act I.] Justice, Mercy, Wisdom, debating what should

the Cambridge volume and other sources, gives all the seven pages of Jottings in fac-simile. It is a pity he did not simply fac-simile the whole Cambridge volume while he was about it, and retrench the text of his book in favour of that more mechanical reproduction.

" become of Man if he fall. Chorus of Angels sing a hymn of " the Creation.—Act II.: Heavenly Love; Evening Star; Chorus " sing the marriage-song, and describe Paradise.—Act III.: Luci- " fer, contriving Adam's ruin; Chorus fears for Adam and relates " Lucifer's rebellion and fall.—Act IV.: Adam, Eve, fallen; Con- " science cites them to God's examination; Chorus bewails and " tells the good Adam hath lost.—Act V.: Adam and Eve, driven " out of Paradise, presented by an Angel with Labour, Grief, " Hatred, Envy, War, Famine, Pestilence, Sickness, Discontent, " Ignorance, Fear, [as] Mutes, to whom he gives their names; like- " wise Winter, Heat, Tempest, &c.; Death, entered into the world; " Faith, Hope, Charity comfort him and instruct him [Adam]; " Chorus briefly concludes."

(4).* The fourth Draft, separated from the foregoing by several pages, is as follows:—"*Adam Unparadised:* The Angel Gabriel, " either descending or entering—showing, since this globe was " created, his frequency as much on Earth as in Heaven—describes " Paradise. Next the Chorus, showing the reason of his coming " —to keep his watch, after Lucifer's rebellion, by command from " God; and withal expressing his desire to see and know more " concerning this excellent new creature, Man. The Angel " Gabriel, as by his name signifying a Prince of Power, tracing " Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the " Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of Man, as " the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage.—After this, " Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks " revenge on Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first " approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he " departs; whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in " Heaven against him and his accomplices, as before, after the first " Act, was sung a hymn of the Creation.—Here again may appear " Lucifer, relating and insulting in what he had done to the " destruction of Man. Man next and Eve, having by this time " been seduced by the Serpent, appears confusedly, covered with " leaves. Conscience, in a shape, accuses him. Justice cites him " to the place whither Jehovah called for him. In the mean- " while the Chorus entertains the stage, and is informed by some " Angel the manner of his Fall.—Here the Chorus bewails " Adam's fall.' Adam then, and Eve, return and accuse one another; " but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife—is stubborn in " his offence. Justice appears, reasons with him, convinces him. " The Chorus admonisheth Adam, and bids him beware by Lucifer's " example of impenitence.—The Angel is sent to banish them out " of Paradise; but, before, causes to pass before his eyes, in shapes, " a masque of all the evils of this life and world. He is humbled, " relents, despairs. At last appears Mercy, comforts him, promises " the Messiah; then calls in Faith, Hope, and Charity; instructs " him. He repents, gives God the glory, submits to his penalty.

"The Chorus briefly concludes.——Compare this with the former "Draft."

2. "*Adam in Banishment*"
3. "*The Flood*"
4. "*Abram in Egypt*"

These three subjects are jotted down together in a little space in the same page with the first three Drafts of *Paradise Lost*, under the heading "Other Tragedies." Subject 3 is re-entered in the next page as "*The Deluge.*"

5.* "*Abram from Morea, or Isaac Redeemed.*" This subject appears as an afterthought, on the 5th page of the Jottings (numbered 39 in the volume), where this scheme accompanies the title: "The œconomy may be thus:—The fifth or sixth day after "Abraham's departure, Eleazer, Abram's steward, first alone, and "then with the Chorus, discourse of Abraham's strange voyage, "their mistress's sorrow and perplexity, accompanied with frightful dreams; and tell the manner of his rising by night, taking "his servants and his son with him. Next may come forth Sarah "herself after the Chorus, or Ismael, or Agar. Next, some "shepherd or company of merchants, passing through the Mount "in the time that Abram was in the mid-work, relate to Sarah "what they saw: hence lamentations, fears, wonders. The matter "in the meanwhile divulged, Aner or Eshcol or Mamre, Abram's "confederates, come to the house of Abram to be more certain, or to "bring news, in the meanwhile discoursing, as the world would, of "such an action divers ways—bewailing the fate of so noble a man "fallen from his reputation, either through divine justice, or superstition, or coveting to do some notable act through zeal. At length a "servant, sent from Abram, relates the truth; and, last, he himself "comes in with a great train of Melchizedek, whose shepherds, being "secret eye-witnesses of all passages, had related to their master, "and he conducted his friend Abraham home with joy."

6. "*Sodom.*" This mere heading is inserted in its order at the top of page 2 of the Jottings, but the subject is re-entered on subsequent pages as follows:—*"*Sodom* (the title *Cupid's Funeral "Pile* [or] *Sodom Burning*). The scene before Lot's Gate. The "Chorus consists of Lot's shepherds come to the city about some "affairs. [They] await in the evening their master's return from "his evening walk round toward the city-gates. He brings with "him two young men, or youths, of noble form; after likely discourses, prepares for their entertainment. By then supper is "ended, the gallantry of the town pass by in procession with music "and song to the temple of Venus Urania, or Peor; and, understanding of two noble strangers arrived, they send two of their "choicest youth, with the priest, to invite them to their city-"solemnities, it being an honour that their city had decreed to all "fair personages, as being sacred to their goddess. The Angels, "being asked by the priest whence they are, say they are of

"Salem: the priest inveighs against the strict reign of Melchi-
"zedek. Lot, that knows their drift, answers thwartly at last.
"Of which notice given to the whole assembly, they hasten thither,
"tax him of presumption, singularity, breach of city-customs; in
"fine, offer violence. The Chorus of shepherds prepare resistance
"in their master's defence, calling the rest of the serviture, but,
"[they] being forced to give back, the Angels open the door, rescue
"Lot, discover themselves, warn him to gather his friends and
"sons-in-law out of the city. He goes, and returns as having met
"with some incredulous. Some other friend, or son-in-law, out of
"the way when Lot came to his house, overtakes him to know
"his business. Here is disputed of incredulity of divine judgments,
"and such like matter. At last is described the parting from the
"city. The Chorus depart with their master. The Angels do the
"deed with all dreadful execution. The King and Nobles of the
"city may come forth and serve to set out the terror—a Chorus of
"Angels concluding, and the Angels relating the event of Lot's
"journey, and of his wife. The first Chorus, beginning, may
"relate the course of the city—each evening every one with
"mistress, or Ganymede, gittering along the streets, or solacing on
"the banks of Jordan, or down the stream. At the priest's inviting
"the Angels to the solemnity, the Angels, pitying their beauty,
"may dispute of love, and how it differs from lust, seeking to win
"them. In the last scene, to the King and nobles, when the fierce
"thunders begin aloft, the Angel appears all girt with flames,
"which he saith are the flames of true love, and tells the King,
"who falls down with terror, his just suffering, as also Athane's
"(*i. e.* Gener, Lot's son-in-law), for despising the continual admo-
"nitions of Lot. Then, calling to the thunders, lightning, and
"fires, he bids them hear the call and command of God to come
"and destroy a godless nation. He brings them down, with some
"short warning to other nations to take heed." [The impression, inevitable at one or two points in this scheme, that Milton was thinking, analogically, of London and England, is strengthened by the fact that the last four sentences are additions, crammed in, after the rest had been written, and in a smaller hand.]

7. "*Dinah. Vide* Euseb. Præparat. Evang. l. 9, c. 22. The
"Persons: Dinah; Debora, Rebecca's Nurse; Jacob; Simeon;
"Levi; Hamor; Sechem; Counsellors 2; Nuncius; Chorus."

8. "*Thamar Cuephorusa* [i.e. *Thamar Pregnant*]; where Judah
"is found to have been the author of that crime which he con-
"demned in Thamar. Thamar excused in what she attempted."

9. "*The Golden Calf, or the Massacre in Horeb.*"

10. "*The Quails:* Numb. xi."

11. "*The Murmurers:* Numb. xiv."

12. "*Corah, Dathan, &c.:* Numb. xvi. xvii."

13. "*Moabitides:* Numb. xxv." This subject, so occurring as a mere heading in its natural order, is repeated on a subsequent page

thus:—* "*Moabitides or Phineas:* The epitasis whereof may lie in " the contention first between the father of Zimri and Eleazer " whether he [ought] to have slain his son without law—next, the " ambassadors of the Moabites expostulating about Cosbi, a stranger " and a noblewoman, slain by Phineas. It may be argued about " reformation and punishment illegal, and, as it were, by tumult. " After all arguments driven home, then the word of the Lord may " be brought, acquitting and approving Phineas."

14. " *Achan:* Josua vii. and viii."

15. " *Josuah in Gibeon:* Josu. x."

16. " *Gideon Idoloclastes* [i.e. *Gideon the Idol-breaker*]: Judg. " vi. vii."

17. " *Gideon Pursuing:* Judg. viii."

18. " *Abimelech the Usurper:* Judg. ix."

19. " *Samson Pursophorus* or *Hybristes* [*i.e.* Samson the Fire- " brand-bringer or Violent], or *Samson Marrying*, or *Ramath-* " *Lechi:* Judg. xv."

20. " *Dagonalia:* Judg. xvi."

21. " *Comazontes*, or *the Benjaminites*, or *the Rioters:* Judg. xix. " xx. xxi."

22. " *Theristria:* A Pastoral out of Ruth."

23. " *Eliadæ, Hophni and Phinehas:* 1 Sam. i. ii. iii. iv. Begin- " ning with the first overthrow of Israel by the Philistines, inter- " laced with Samuel's vision concerning Eli's family."

24. " *Jonathan Rescued:* 1 Sam. i. 14."

25. " *Doeg Slandering:* 1 Sam. xxii."

26. " *The Sheep-shearers in Carmel:* A Pastoral: 1 Sam. xxv."

27. " *Saul in Gilboa:* 1 Sam. xxviii. xxx."

28. " *David Revolted:* 1 Sam., from the xxvii. chap. to the xxxi."

29. " *David Adulterous:* 2 Sam. xi. xii."

30. " *Tamar:* 2 Sam. xiii."

31. " *Achitophel:* 2 Sam. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii."

32. " *Adoniah:* 1 Kings ii."

33. " *Solomon Gynæcocratumenos*, or *Idolomargus;* or *Thysia-* " *zusæ* [i.e. *Solomon Women-governed*, or *Idol-mad;* or *the Women-* " *sacrificers*], 1 Kings xi."

34. " *Rehoboam:* 1 Kings xii., where is disputed of a politic " Religion."

35. " *Abias Thersæus:* 1 Kings xiv. The Queen, after much " dispute, as the last refuge, sent to the prophet Ahias at Shilo; " receives the message. The epitasis in that she, hearing the child " shall die as she comes home, refuses to return, thinking thereby " to elude the oracle. The former part is spent in bringing the " sick prince forth, as it were desirous to shift his chamber and " couch, as dying men use—his father telling him what sacrifice he " had sent for his health to Bethel and Dan. His fearlessness of " death, and putting his father in mind to set to Ahiah. The Chorus " of the Elders of Israel bemoaning his virtues bereft them, and at

"another time wondering why Jeroboam, being bad himself, "should so grieve for his son that was good, &c."

36. "*Imbres*, or *the Showers*: 1 Kings xviii. xix."

37. "*Naboth* συκοφαντούμενος [*i.e.* falsely-accused]: 1 Kings "xxi."

38. "*Ahab*: 1 Kings xxii. Beginning at the synod of false "Prophets; ending with relation of Ahab's death. His body "brought; Zedekiah slain by Ahab's friends for his seducing. "(See Lavater, 2 Chron. xviii.)"

39. "*Elias in the Mount*: 2 Kings i. Ὀρειβάτης [the Mountain-"Ranger]; or, better, Elias Polemistes [the Warrior]."

40. "*Elisæus Hydrochoos* [Elisha, the Water-pourer]: 2 Kings "iii: *Hydrophantes* [Water-Prophet]: *Aquator*."

41. "*Elisæus Adorodocetos* [the Incorruptible]."

42. "*Elisæus Menutes* [the Informer], sive *in Dothaimis* [in "Dothan]: 2 Kings vi."

43. "*Samaria Liberata* [Samaria Delivered]: 2 Kings vii."

44. "*Achabœi Cunoborωmani* [devoured by dogs]: 2 Kings ix. "The scene Jesrael. Beginning from the watchman's discovery of "Jehu, till he go out. In the meanwhile message of things passing "brought to Jezebel, &c. Lastly, the 70 heads of Ahab's sons "brought in, and message brought of Ahaziah's brethren slain on "the way. Chap. x."

45. "*Jehu Belicola* [Jehu worshipping Baal]: 2 Kings x."

46. "*Athaliah*: 2 Kings xi."

47. "*Amaziah Doryalotus* [Captive of the Spear]: 2 Kings xiv.; "2 Chron. xxv."

48. "*Hezechias* πολιορκούμενος: *Hezekiah Besieged*: 2 Kings "xviii. xix. The wicked hypocrisy of Shebna, spoken of in the "xi., or thereabout, of Isaiah, and the commendation of Eliakim "will afford ἀφορμὰς λόγου [occasions for discourse], together with a "faction that sought help from Egypt."

49. "*Josiah* Αἰαζόμενος [Lamented]: 2 Kings xxiii."

50. "*Zedekiah* νεωτερίζων [Revolutionising]: 2 Kings; but the "story is larger in Jeremiah."

51. "*Salymωn Halosis* [the Taking of Jerusalem]: Which may "begin from a message brought to the city of the judgment upon "Zedekiah and his children in Ribla; and so seconded with the "burning and destruction of City and Temple by Nebuzaradan, "lamented by Jeremiah."

52. "*Asa* or *Æthiopes*: 2 Chron. xiv.; with the deposing of his "mother and burning her idol."

53. "*Dura*: *The Three Children*: Dan. iii."

II. From the New Testament.

1. "*Baptistes*. The Scene, the Court. Beginning from the "morning of Herod's birthday. Herod, by some counsellor (or else "the Queen may plot, under pretence of begging for his liberty,

"to seek to draw him into a snare by his freedom of speech), "persuaded on his birthday to release John Baptist, purposes it. "Causes him to be sent for to the Court from prison. The Queen "hears of it; takes occasion to pass where he is on purpose, under "pretence of reconciling to him, or seeking to draw a kind retrac- "tion from him of the censure on the marriage—to which end she "sends a courtier before, to sound whether he might be persuaded "to mitigate his sentence; which not finding, she herself craftily "assays, and on his constancy founds an accusation to Herod of a "contumacious affront on such a day before many peers. Prepares "the King to some passion, and, at last, by her daughter's dancing, "effects it. There may prologize the spirit of Philip, Herod's "brother. It may also be thought that Herod had well bedewed "himself with wine, which made him grant the easier to his wife's "daughter. Some of his [John's] disciples also, as to congratulate "his liberty, may be brought in; with whom [John], after certain "command of his death, many compassionating words of his dis- "ciples, bewailing his youth cut off in his glorious course—he "telling them his work is done, and asking them to follow Christ, "his master."

2. "*Christ Born.*"

3. "*Herod Massacring*, or *Rachel Weeping:* Matth. ii."

4. *"*Christus Patiens.* The scene in the Garden, beginning "from the coming thither till Judas betrays, and the officers lead "him away. The rest by Message and Chorus. His agony may "receive noble expressions."

5. "*Christ Bound.*"

6. "*Christ Crucified.*"

7. "*Christ Risen.*"

8. "*Lazarus:* John xi."

II. SUBJECTS FROM BRITISH HISTORY.

I. "British Tragedies."[1]

"1. *Venutius, husband to Cartismandua.*" A.D. 51.—"*The Cloister* "*King Constans set up by Vortiger.*" A.D. 408.[2]

"2. *Vortimer poisoned by Röena.*" A.D. 475.

"3. *Vortiger immured.—Vortiger, marrying Röena* (see Speed), "*reproved by Vodin, Archbishop of London* (Speed.)—*The Massacre* "*of the Britons by Hengist in their cups at Salisbury Plain* "(Malmesbury)." A.D. 450-476.

[1] The numbering in this series is Milton's own. I have added the dates of the transactions that form the subjects.

[2] Not to disturb the numbering, I have kept the two subjects of No. 1 together; though, from the large interval of time between the two, I suspect that the first subject was an afterthought, intended as separate, but entered beside the other.

"4. *Sigher, of the East Saxons, revolted from the faith, and "reclaimed by Jarumang.*" A.D. 665.

"5. *Ethelbert, of the East Angles, slain by Offa the Mercian King.* "See Holinshed l. vi. c. 5; Speed, in the Life of Offa and "Ethelbert." A.D. 792.

"6. *Sebert slain by Penda; after he had left his kingdom.* See "Holinshed p. 116." A.D. 644.

"7. *Wulfer slaying his two sons for being Christians.*" A.D. 659.

"8. *Osbert of Northumberland slain for ravishing the wife of "Bernbocard, and the Danes brought in.* See Stow, Holinshed "l. vi. c. 12, and especially Speed l. viii. c. 2." A.D. 867.

"9. *Edmond, last King of the East Angles, martyred by Hinguar "the Dane.* See Speed l. viii. c. 2." A.D. 870.

"10. *Sigebert, tyrant of the West Saxons, slain by a swine-herd.*" A.D. 755.

"11. *Edmund, brother of Athelstan, slain by a thief at his own "table* (Malmesb.)." A.D. 948.

"12. *Edwin, son to Edward the younger, for lust deprived of his "kingdom.* Or rather by a faction of monks, whom he hated, "together [with] the impostor Dunstan." A.D. 956.

"13. *Edward, son of Edgar, murdered by his stepmother;* to "which may be inserted the tragedy stirred up betwixt the monks "and priests about marriage." A.D. 978.

"14. *Etheldred, son of Edgar, a slothful King: the ruin of his "land by the Danes.*" A.D. 979-1016.

"15. *Ceaulin, King of West Saxons, for tyranny deposed, and "banished, and dying.*" A.D. 594.

"16. *The slaughter of the monks of Bangor by Edelfride,* stirred "up, as is said, by Ethelbert, and he by Austin the monk, because "the Britons would not receive the rites of the Roman Church. "See Beda, Geoffrey Monmouth, and Holinshed p. 104. Which "must begin with the convocation of British clergy by Austin, to "determine superfluous points which by them were refused." A.D. 602-607.

"17. *Edwin, by vision, promised the kingdom of Northumberland "on promise of his conversion, and therein established by Rodoald, "King of East Angles.*" A.D. 617.

"18. *Oswin, King of Deira, slain by Oswy, his friend, King of "Bernicia, through instigation of flatterers.* See Holinshed p. "115." A.D. 651.

"19. *Sigibert of the East Angles* [East Saxons], *keeping company "with a person excommunicated, slain by the same man in his house;* "according as the Bishop Cedda had foretold." A.D. 655.

"20. *Egfride, King of the Northumbers, slain in battle against "the Picts;* having before wasted Ireland, and made war for no "reason on men that ever loved the English" [may we not descry here an allusion to another English King engaged in a war against the same Scottish people at the very time when Milton was

writing this jotting?]; "forewarned also by Cuthbert not to fight "with the Picts." A.D. 684.

"21. *Kineuulf, King of the West Saxons, slain by Kineard, in the "house of one of his concubines.*" A.D. 784.

"22. *Gunthildis, the Danish lady, with her husband Palingus, "and her son, slain by appointment of the traitor Edrick in King "Ethelred's days.* Holinshed l. vii. c. 5; together with the "massacre of the Danes at Oxford. Speed." A.D. 1002.

"23. *Brightrick, of West Saxons, poisoned by his wife Ethelburga, "Offa's daughter;* who dies miserably also in beggary, after adul- "tery in a nunnery. Speed in Brithric." A.D. 802.

"24. *Alfred, in disguise of a minstrel, discovers the Danes' negli- "gence; sets on with a mighty slaughter.* About the same time the "Devonshire men rout Hubba and slay him.—A Heroical Poem "may be founded somewhere in Alfred's reign, especially at his "issuing out of Edelingsey on the Danes; whose actions are well "like those of Ulysses." A.D. 878.

"25. *Athelstan exposing his brother Edwin to the sea, and repent- "ing.*" A.D. 933.

"26. *Edgar slaying Ethelwold for false play in wooing.* Wherein "may be set out his pride [and] lust, which he thought to cloak "by favouring monks and building monasteries; also the disposition "of woman, in Elfrida toward her husband." A.D. 970.

"27. *Swane besieging London and Ethelred repulsed by the "Londoners.*" A.D. 1013.

"28. *Harold slain in battle by William the Norman.* The first "scene may begin with the ghost of Alfred, the second son of "Ethelred, slain in cruel manner by Godwin, Harold's father, "his mother and brother dissuading him." A.D. 1066.

"29. *Edmund Ironside defeating the Danes at Brentford;* with "his combat with Canute." A.D. 1016.

"30. *Edmund Ironside murdered by Edrick the traitor and "revenged by Canute.*" A.D. 1017.

"31. *Gunilda, daughter to King Canute and Emma, wife to "Henry, the third Emperor, accused of unchastity, is defended by her "English page in combat against a giant-like adversary, who by "him, at two blows, is slain, &c.* Speed, in the Life of Canute." About 1043.

"32. *Hardiknute dying in his cups:* an example to riot." A.D. 1041.

"33. *Edward Confessor's divorcing and imprisoning his noble "wife, Editha, Godwin's daughter.* Wherein is shewed his over- "affection to strangers, the cause of Godwin's insurrection "(wherein Godwin's forbearance of battle praised and the English "moderation on both sides magnified). His slackness to redress "the corrupt clergy, and superstitious pretence of chastity."

II. "SCOTCH STORIES, OR RATHER BRITISH OF THE NORTH PARTS."

1. "*Athirco slain by Natholochus, whose daughters he had "ravished; and this Natholochus usurping thereon the kingdom, "seeks to slay the kindred of Athirco, who scape him and conspire "against him.* He sends to a witch to know the event. The "witch tells the messenger that he is the man shall slay Na- "tholochus. He detests it; but, in his journey home, changes "his mind, and performs it, &c. (Scotch Chron. Englished, pp. "68-69)."[1] Athirco, the 29th in the legendary list of Scottish Kings, has his reign dated A.D. 231-242.

2. "*Duff and Donwald:* A strange story of witchcraft and "murder discovered and revenged (Scotch Story p. 149, &c.)." Duff or Duffus is the 78th of the Scottish Kings, A.D. 961-966.

3. "*Hay the Ploughman.* Who, with his two sons that were "at plough, running to the battle that was between the Scots and "Danes in the next field, stayed the flight of his countrymen, re- "newed the battle, and caused the victory, &c. (Scotch Story "p. 155)." The battle in which Hay the Ploughman thus distinguished himself was fought A.D. 990, in that parish of Luncarty in Perthshire of which Young, Milton's first preceptor, was a native.

4. "*Kenneth.* Who, having privily poisoned Malcolm Duff, that "his own son might succeed, is slain by Fenella (Scotch Hist. pp. 157, 158, &c.)." A.D. 994.

5. "*Macbeth.* Beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff. "The matter of Duncan may be expressed by the appearing of his "ghost." Milton seems to have thought this subject capable of another treatment than Shakespeare's.

The very multitudinousness of the subjects thus collected proves that most of them were jotted down on chance and never thought of after the moment. At the utmost, Milton could hope that at his leisure, after having treated whichever he might select in chief, he might be able to go back, for minor works, on one or two of the others. It is interesting, however, to notice the subjects that seemed, while he was in the course of collecting them, to attract him most. Among the Scriptural subjects they were undoubtedly

[1] The Book referred to as the authority for this and the other Scottish Stories was, doubtless, the English adaptation of Bellenden's translation of the *Scotorum Historiæ* of Hector Boethius, printed with Holinshed's Chronicles.

Paradise Lost, Abraham from Morea, Sodom Burning, Moabitides, Abijah, Baptistes, and *Christus Patiens;* while in his survey of British History we see him hovering most fondly, as was natural, over the critical points or epochs, and accordingly weighing most carefully the claims of such subjects as *Vortiger and the Saxons, Alfred and the Danes, Harold and the Normans.* In the peculiar entry under the jotting of Alfred as a subject there is proof that, though the dramatic form was chiefly in favour with him for the time, he had not entirely committed himself to that form against the epic; and the occurrence of one or two pastoral subjects in the Biblical list shows that, within the dramatic form, he had thoughts of quieter varieties than pure tragedy. It is curious also to note the proof of the tenacity of Milton's mind which is furnished by the comparison of this list of his projects in his early manhood with the works which he did actually accomplish ere he died. "Paradise Lost" is here under its very name; "Paradise Regained" is involved in some of the New Testament subjects; "Samson Agonistes" is here in the form of two proposed subjects from Samson's life; and, though Milton never attempted an epic or a drama from British History before the Conquest, did he not publish at length his prose "History of Britain?" Undoubtedly, however, the most startling inference from the list, its chief biographical revelation, is the fact, hitherto overlooked or too little adverted to, that as early as 1640 Milton's thoughts were full of the subject of "Paradise Lost." It was with a view to a Drama, indeed, that he then entertained the subject; but the pre-eminence it takes in the list, on this understanding, over all the other subjects, is very remarkable. It stands first of all; there are three drafts of it at once, and a fourth draft some time afterwards, set down with a direction to compare it with the last of the former three; and altogether this single subject occupies nearly a page and a half of the entire seven pages of Jottings. There are few facts in literary history more striking than this predetermination of Milton in his early manhood to the subject of the greatest work of his later life.

But, though "Paradise Lost," as the first subject in the list, may have been jotted down as early as 1639-40, may it not have been a year or two before the list of jottings was completed? It seems probable to me that the sheets containing the jottings lay beside Milton throughout the whole of 1640, and even into 1641 and 1642, and were added to from time to time. Some of the schemes of subjects, and some of the little additions or afterthoughts that were inserted in others with the pen, bear evidence in their phraseology that the passing events of these years had helped to suggest them. On the whole, however, I conclude that 1640 saw most of the jottings made, and certainly that they did not remain in hand long after the middle of 1641. The following passage from *The Reason of Church Government* is to the point. That pamphlet, it is to be remembered, was written towards the end of 1641, or two years after our present date; and the passage comes immediately after those already quoted from it, and winds up Milton's account there given of the literary plans and dreams which had occupied him from the time of his return from abroad on to the moment when the political agitations of the country had interrupted these plans and dreams and compelled him to throw aside poetry for sterner work. "Time serves not "now," he says, "and perhaps I might seem too profuse, to "give any certain account of what the mind at home, in "the spacious circuits of her musing, hath liberty to propose "to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting "—whether that Epic form whereof the two poems of "Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a "diffuse, and the Book of Job, a brief model; or whether "the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept, or "nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use "judgment is no transgression, but an enriching of art; and "lastly, what King or Knight before the Conquest might be "chosen, in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero. "And, as Tasso gave to a prince of Italy his choice whether "he would command him to write of Godfrey's expedition "against the Infidels, or Belisarius against the Goths, or

" Charlemain against the Lombards, if to the instinct of " nature and the emboldening of art aught may be trusted, " and that there be nothing adverse in our climate or the fate " of this age, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal " diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our " own ancient stories. Or whether those Dramatic consti- " tutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign shall be " found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation: the Scrip- " ture also affords us a divine Pastoral Drama in the Song of " Solomon, consisting of two persons and a double chorus, as " Origen rightly judges; and the Apocalypse of Saint John is " the majestic image of a high and stately Tragedy, shutting " up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a " sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies " (and this my opinion the grave authority of Paræus,[1] com- " menting that Book, is sufficient to confirm). Or if occa- " sion shall lead to imitate those magnific Odes and Hymns " wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things " worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their " matter most and end faulty; but those frequent Songs " throughout the Law and the Prophets beyond all these, not " in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art " of composition, may be easily made appear over all the " kinds of Lyric Poesy to be incomparable. These abilities, " wheresoever they may be found, are the inspired gift of " God, rarely bestowed, but yet to some (though most abuse) " in every nation, and are of power, beside the office of " a pulpit, to inbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds " of virtue and public civility, to allay the perturbations of " the mind, and to set the affections in right tune to cele- " brate in glorious and lofty hymns the throne and equi- " page of God's Almightiness, and what He works, and " what He suffers to be wrought with high providence in His " Church; to sing the victorious agonies of Martyrs and " Saints, the deeds and triumphs of just and pious nations " doing valiantly through faith against the enemies of Christ;

[1] David Paræus, or Paré, German Protestant theologian and commentator, 1548-1622.

"to deplore the general relapses of kingdoms and states from "justice and God's true worship. Lastly, whatsoever in "religion is holy and sublime, in virtue amiable or grave, "whatsoever hath passion or admiration in all the changes "of that which is called fortune from without, or the wily "subtleties and refluxes of man's thoughts from within,—all "these things with a solid and treatable smoothness to paint "out and describe; teaching over the whole book of sanctity "and virtue, through all the instances of example, with such "delight, to those especially of soft and delicious temper "who will not so much as look upon Truth herself unless "they see her elegantly drest, that, whereas the paths of "honesty and good life appear now rugged and difficult, though "they be indeed easy and pleasant, they would then appear "to all men both easy and pleasant though they were rugged "and difficult indeed. And what a benefit this would be to "our youth and gentry may be soon guessed by what we "know of the corruption and bane which they suck in daily "from the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant "poetasters, who, having scarce ever heard of that which is "the main consistence of a true poem—the choice of such "persons as they ought to introduce, and what is moral and "decent to each one—do for the most part lap up vicious "principles in sweet pills, to be swallowed down, and make "the taste of virtuous documents harsh and sour."

Is not this a virtual, nay an all but literal, description by Milton of those seven pages of his private MS. jottings which have been detaining us, and of his poetic meditations among them till the call to sterner work compelled him to lay them aside?

Yes, Milton's plans of great poems or works of pure literature of any kind were not long to last! Even while he was writing these jottings and indulging in these dreams England was drifting on through a second *Bellum Episcopale*, or war with the Scots concerning Bishops, the consequences of which were not to stop within Scotland, but were to involve England herself from end to end. Not the less is it pleasant to think of Milton, as this chapter has presented him to us,

during his brief breathing-time of peace and poetic scheming before the great interruption came. Do we not see him? There, through the winter of 1639–40, he sits among his books and papers, in his lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, his two boy-nephews occasionally with him, or more often in an adjoining room, the bustle of Fleet Street and Ludgate Hill well shut out, or only at nights the not unpleasing melancholy of the wintry London gusts mingling with the quiet and warmth within. The very thoughts that then made up Milton's musings are known to us, and we can see the books that were chiefly on his table. His thoughts were of the Italian scenes and friends so recently left and yet bright in his memory, of the sad death of Diodati and of the poorer English world remaining for himself now that Diodati was gone; yet also of his own duties in that world, foreseen from youth, but now beginning to press through maturity of years and experience. He was to teach the English nation a new ideal of Literature, and for that purpose he must leave his minor Poems behind for what they were worth, and set about works of higher and larger structure that should task his utmost powers. For such works there must be preparation. There must be a due apparatus of material, and of selection and extract from amid that material. Well, there it is! All round his room are books, but there are a few that are habitually in use. They are the Bible (in English and in the originals), some Latin commentaries on the Bible of recognized merit, Holinshed's Chronicles of England and Scotland, Speed's Chronicle, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*, William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Regum*, and one or two others. Over these he pores day after day, reading, ruminating, and making notes. The Seven Pages of Jottings which now form pp. 35—41 of the volume of Milton MSS. at Cambridge were the chief immediate result of those readings. Those pages once lay under Milton's fingers. They were begun, I calculate, in the winter of 1639–40, but may have been continued through 1640 and perhaps into 1641 and 1642. And so, for the present, we leave Milton, books

before him, pen in hand, and the Jottings, which the reader has just seen in their complete state, not yet quite in that state, but only in progress.[1]

[1] A very vigilant reader may require more exact proof than has been furnished in the text that the Seven Pages of Jottings of Subjects in the Cambridge MS. volume do belong to the years 1639-42, or the year or two immediately following Milton's return from his Italian journey. Here, therefore, are the heads of the proof:—(1) That the Jottings cannot have been made *before* the Italian journey is proved, not only by the fact that the scheme of a future Poem with which Milton entertained himself during that journey, and for a little while after his return from it, was one quite apart from the Jottings, but also by the evidence of the handwriting. In specimens of Milton's autograph before the Italian journey, including the draft of his *Lycidas*, written in Nov. 1637, the small letter *e* is, all but invariably, shaped in the Greek form (ε); but after his return from Italy, and probably in consequence of his stay there, his all but uniform habit was to shape it much as we do now (e). This furnishes a useful test of date to be applied to Milton's handwriting in many cases; and, as applied to the Jottings, it is conclusive that they cannot have been made *earlier* than 1639. The Greek form of the e is superseded in them by our present form. (2) Milton was totally blind in 1652, and for several years before that he had practically ceased to use his own hand in any continuous writing. The latest piece in his own handwriting in the Cambridge volume is a Sonnet of date 1648; the next latest is a Sonnet of date 1646; and the pieces in his hand of later date than 1642 are very few. As the Jottings are an extensive and rather elaborate mass of handwriting, with corrections, interlineations, and close-packing, which must have required the full use of eyesight, it seems fair, on that ground alone, to make the year 1648 the utmost limit of *their* possibility. (3) A minute examination of the Cambridge volume, in respect of paper, water-mark, and other such mechanical particulars, shows a certain continuity in the eight sheets forming its middle and larger portion. The entire volume consists of 51 pages, and these middle eight sheets of it are the 32 pages from p. 11 to p. 42 inclusively. They contain the Draft of *Comus*, the Draft of *Lycidas*, and the JOTTINGS, and in such a manner that these form a little mass of autograph by themselves, separated by blank pages from what precedes in the volume and from what follows. The suggestion to the eye is that the JOTTINGS either were written in an unoccupied part of a thin paper-book which already contained the Drafts of *Comus* and *Lycidas*, or were written on sheets of the same paper still in possession. Either way, the JOTTINGS are brought pretty close to *Lycidas*. (4) It would be difficult to find a time in Milton's life after 1641 when he could have been at leisure, or in the mood, for such Jottings, and the literary balancings and hesitations which they indicate. (5) From a statement in Phillips's Life of Milton, illustrated by Aubrey's notes, it distinctly appears that Phillips had heard some lines of *Paradise Lost* read to him by his uncle as early as about 1642. This proves that Milton had by that time done more with the first great subject among the Jottings than merely register it. (6) The passage quoted in the text from *The Reason of Church Government*, and other passages in the same treatise, would alone be conclusive. That treatise was written at the end of 1641; and the passages in question exhibit Milton as if actually looking at the Jottings lying on his table, taking the public into his confidence respecting them, and explaining with what regret he had in that year torn himself away from such literary contemplations and labours in order to embark in politics.

CHAPTER III.

EPISCOPAL ALARMS IN ENGLAND—BISHOP HALL'S *EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT*—THE SHORT PARLIAMENT—THE SECOND "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS—CALLING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

THE Scots had duly held their second General Assembly, as authorized by the Pacification of Birks. It met at Edinburgh, with David Dickson as Moderator, and sat from the 12th to the 30th of August, 1639. Ostensibly it discussed matters *de novo;* but in reality it reasserted and confirmed all the decisions of the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. The Parliament promised at the Pacification had also met, with no Prelates in it, but only the nobles, and representatives of the lairds, and of the burghs. Thwarted, however, at every step by the King's Commissioner, Traquair, this Parliament (Aug. 31—Nov. 14) had not been able to do much. Its most important act was the nomination of a committee of twenty-two of its number to watch proceedings till June 2, 1640, the day to which it stood prorogued. Still, in the main, Scotland was at ease. She had swept away her Bishops, and was able to rejoice once more in an apparatus of simple Presbyterianism.

EPISCOPAL ALARMS IN ENGLAND: BISHOP HALL'S *EPISCOPACY BY DIVINE RIGHT.*

In England the prevalent feeling continued to be that of sympathy with the Scots. To this feeling, however, there were some exceptions. More particularly among the English clergy, and among those laymen who had an affection for the

existing forms and constitution of the Church of England, there was a sense of danger and provocation. There was both danger and provocation in the proximity of a kirk so zealous in its assertion of anti-Episcopal principles as that of the Scots, and viewed with such ominous interest by a large body of the English people. It might not be great matter of regret, so far as the Scots were themselves concerned, that they had modelled their jagged little portion of the island to their own fashion, and rejected the benefits of a Liturgy and the order of Bishops! But had not the success of the Scots been a blow to the cause of Episcopacy generally? Was not the Church of England challenged and menaced; and was not some demonstration necessary to set that Church right both with her own members and with the world at large? If the Scots must be let go, should they not be let go execrated and excommunicated, rather than with the honours of victory?

These feelings found a spokesman in that Dr. Joseph Hall, bishop of Exeter, of whom we have already had glimpses in this History. Known in his youth as "the English Persius," on account of his coarsish but masculine metrical satires, and afterwards styled "the English Seneca," on account of his more numerous prose-writings, this Prelate had hitherto been in greater favour with the Puritans than most of his brethren. He was regarded as a Prelate of the old Calvinistic, rather than of the Laudian, school. He had even been in conflict with Laud, while Laud was rising into the ascendancy. Of late, however, he had been approximating to Laud: I should even say that he had been toadying Laud in secret. I have seen disagreeable private letters of information written by him to Laud respecting nests of Sectaries in London whom it would be well to extirpate; and my distinct impression is that, in his conduct generally, and even in his writings, when carefully examined, there will be found a meaner element than our literary dilettanti and antiquaries have been able to discern in so celebrated a bishop. Now, at all events, in his sixty-sixth year, he

came forward in a way that was to give a marked character to the whole remainder of his life.

The circumstances are these:—The second General Assembly of the Scots had published their Acts. Hall, in his palace at Exeter, had procured a copy of them, and had been reading with indignation the stuff put forth by "these ignorant factionists." He is so moved that, the very next day (Sept. 28), he writes to Laud at Lambeth.[1] As the reconquest of Scotland to the true Church by the sword was not now to be hoped, might not means be taken, he asks, at least to counteract the mischievous nonsense which the Scots were propagating? What, for example, if his Grace were to advise his Majesty to call a General Synod of the bishops, doctors, and other dignitaries "of the whole three kingdoms" to discuss the "schismatical points"? Would not the effect be, if not "chokingly to convince" the Scottish schismatics, at least to "hiss them out of countenance"? To this suggestion Laud, after consulting the King, replies that there are strong reasons of State against the calling of any such Synod, but that Hall's zeal is to be commended, and that, if he himself were to employ his well-known powers in a written confutation of the Scottish schismatics, the result might be little less authoritative. Hall is a little taken aback by the honour so proposed to him, and he intimates (Oct. 18) that it would be more comfortable for him to be associated in the work with a select jury of other bishops and divines. Might not Laud himself, if his Grace's leisure would allow him, appear at the head of "the learned squadron," together with Morton of Durham and Davenant of Salisbury for England, Primate Usher and bishops Bedell and Lesley for Ireland, and some of the exiled Scottish bishops for Scotland? Laud having, in his reply, objected to this plan, on account of "the danger of variance," Hall does at length undertake the work assigned to him, on condition that he shall have the benefit of Laud's private

[1] The originals of this and the following letters of Hall referred to in the text, together with Laud's replies, are in the State Paper Office.

advice during its progress. Accordingly there follows a most characteristic correspondence between the two prelates. Hall first sends Laud a general outline or "platform" of the treatise he means to write, with a rather abject request for his Grace's corrections and amendments; and Laud uses the liberty thus given him in a way which shows what a source of power he had over larger but less sincere natures than his own, in his extreme definiteness of opinion and his habit of sharply taking exception to whatever he disliked. The substance of his criticism on Hall's "platform" is that Hall concedes too much, and that, high as he places the claims of Episcopacy, he does not place them high enough. Why, for example, concede that "the Presbyterian government may be of use where Episcopacy may not be had"? What place in all Christendom was there, having a Church "more than in title only," where Episcopacy might *not* be had? And then, for safely steering the argument in behalf of Anglican Episcopacy between the "Italian rock" of the Ultramontanists on the one hand and the "great rock in the Lake of Geneva" on the other, might not Hall take this method? Against the Romanists, who admit in bishops only a *jus divinum mediatum*, "by, from, and under the Pope," why not assert a *jus divinum immediatum*, "which makes the Church aristocratical in bishops;" and against the Genevans, some of whom did not deny Episcopacy to be *juris divini ut suadentis vel approbantis*, so long as it was not made *imperantis*—nay, some of whom, as Beza, had gone so far as to allow it might be *juris divini imperantis*, so long as it was not made *universaliter imperantis*—why not maintain absolutely and universally the divine right of Episcopacy? In any case, would Hall be so good as to send his treatise to Lambeth, bit by bit, as it was written, that there might be farther consideration of it? With some evidence of a feeling on Hall's part that he is "in for it" with his resolute little superior, and would like at least to have an "attestation" from other bishops of their agreement with him, he acquiesces in everything; and the result is the appearance in London, in the course of February 1639-40, of a small quarto volume of about 280 pages

entitled "*Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted by Jos. Hall, Bishop of Exon.*"[1]

This treatise of Bishop Hall's fell upon public opinion in England with great force, and was to have graver consequences than Hall anticipated. In Scotland, however, it does not seem to have attracted so much attention as a smaller anonymous satirical quarto of 78 pages, published about the same time, under the title of "*The Epistle Congratulatorie of Lysimachus Nicanor, of the Societie of Jesu, to the Covenanters of Scotland, wherein is paralleled our sweet harmony and correspondency in divers materiall points of Doctrine and Practice.*"[2] The author of this pamphlet is now known to have been a Scot, named John Corbet, once a minister in Dumbartonshire, who, absconding from the Covenanting kirk, had gone over to Ireland and was writing there under Wentworth's protection.[3] Baillie, who had just finished a little treatise of his own on the errors of the Laudians, thought it worth while to append some reference to Lysimachus Nicanor's pamphlet; and, accordingly, by way of counterblast to the two pamphlets on the Episcopal side, there came forth at Edinburgh "*Ladensium* Αυτοκατακρισις *The Canterburian's Self-conviction: or an Evident Demonstration of the avowed Arminianism, Poperie, and Tyrannie of that Faction, by their own Confessions: with a Postscript to the personate Jesuite, Lysimachus Nicanor, a prime Canterburian.*"[4]

These three pamphlets, of Hall, Corbet, and Baillie, were all in circulation early in 1640.

RESOLUTIONS FOR WAR: THE SHORT PARLIAMENT.

It was not to be only a war of the pen. Even while making the Peace with the Scots at Berwick, and holding conferences with their chief negotiators, Rothes, Loudoun, and Hender-

[1] Registered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 10, 1639-40, and published by Nathaniel Butter at the Pied Bull, St. Augustine's Gate.

[2] Registered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 19, 1639-40, by Richard Badger and Mr. Young, booksellers.

[3] Baillie, I. 163 and 243.

[4] "Revised according to the ordinance of the General Assembly, by Mr. A. Johnstone, clerk thereunto," and published in April 1640.

son, Charles had been writing over to Wentworth, expressing his hope that he might soon have another trial of "the kingly way" with the "rebels" and "incendiaries;" and though, after his return to London, he was for some time "very melancholic,"[1] his spirits rose as months went on. Irritation was kept up with the Scots by complaints of their proceedings in their second Assembly and their Parliament; messengers whom they sent to Court were denied audience; and Windebank and his Home-office officials began new arrests of London citizens, and searches of their houses for papers, on suspicion of complicity with the Scots.[2] And such proceedings were but symptoms of a resolution that was forming itself in the King's more private councils. Wentworth, on whom the King was now learning, rather late in the day, to place more dependence than on himself, came over by express invitation from Ireland (Oct.), wretchedly invalid with gout and other disorders, but with a soul of iron still in his shattered body.[3] People noticed the fact, the rather because now more than ever was the King often closeted with a cabinet or junto of ministers distinct from the general body of his Council. Of this junto, besides Wentworth, were Laud, Hamilton, Cottington, and Windebank. But the public could hardly have been prepared for the issue of the deliberations of this junto. "December 5," writes Laud in his Diary, "the King declared his resolution for a Parliament in case "of the Scottish Rebellion (the first movers to it were my "Lord Deputy of Ireland, my Lord Marquis Hamilton, and "myself), and a resolution voted at the Board to assist the "King in extraordinary ways, if the Parliament should prove "peevish and refuse."[4] That Charles should have consented now to the calling of a Parliament, after eleven years during which it had almost been treason in England to mention the word *Parliament*, shows the severity of the exigency. Went-

[1] Clarendon's Hist. 51.

[2] Among the houses so searched was that of "John Hutton, the scrivener, near Gray's Inn," whom I identify with the person of the same name who had been "servant" or apprentice to Milton's father sixteen years before. Warrant, of date Sept. 23, 1639, in the S. P. O. See Vol. I. p. 48.

[3] *Strafford Letters*, from June to Oct. 1639.

[4] There is a State Paper, of date Dec. 5, 1639, to the same effect.

worth, who had never shared the King's extreme horror of Parliaments, and whose Irish experience had persuaded him that Parliaments, if well bitted and managed, might be made to assist in the policy of "Thorough" rather than impede it, had doubtless over-argued the King's reluctance.

While the summonses were out for the new Parliament, to be held on the 13th of April, and while the word *Parliament* was leaping from mouth to mouth, with a strange thrill in the sound, throughout the shires of England, all means were taken to pre-adjust the Parliament to its purpose, and to aid that purpose should the Parliament fail. There were frequent meetings of the Council; in which body there were some changes about this time. The Earls of Northumberland, Newport, and Berkshire had been recently added to it; the death (Jan. 1639-40) of the Lord Keeper Coventry led to the promotion to his high place of Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; and in lieu of Secretary Coke, who had been in disgrace since the Pacification of Birks (he was near fourscore years of age, and nobody cared for him, says Clarendon), there was appointed the Treasurer Sir Henry Vane, with a fixed division of duties between him and the other Secretary, Windebank.[1] It having happened also that the resident Scottish Secretary of State, the poetical Earl of Stirling, died about this time (Feb. 1639-40), Lord Lanark, a brother of the Marquis of Hamilton, was appointed to that post. A certain number of the councillors, with officers not of the Council, were formed into a Council of War, and from this Council of War were chosen those who were to command in the new expedition against the Scots.[2] There was no thought this time of the art-loving Arundel for commander-in-chief. The Earl of Northumberland, official High Admiral already, was nominated instead. As Lieutenant-General under him was to be no other than Wentworth; while for

[1] Various memoranda in S. P. O. of attendances at council meetings about this time, these attendances varying from about 10 to about 20; letter of Reade in S. P. O. of date Jan. 13, 1639-40; letter of same, *ibid.* Jan. 23; letter of Coke himself, dated "Garlick Hill," Feb. 3, recommending a servant to his successor Vane.

[2] There is in the S. P. O. a list of this Council of War set down by the King's own hand on the day of their appointment, Dec. 30, 1639.

the post of Master of the Horse there was found a nobleman who, it was thought, would figure better in that capacity than the Earl of Holland, the hero of the Kelso raid. This was the intelligent and amiable Edward, Lord Conway, son of the Lord Conway who had been one of the Secretaries of State in the first years of Charles's reign. He was in the prime of life, had seen a good deal of service, and was brought over from Holland on purpose by Wentworth's advice.[1]

The supreme trust which Charles now placed in Wentworth himself was apparent. Indeed Wentworth was no longer merely Lord Wentworth, Deputy for Ireland; he was Earl of Strafford, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. That earldom for which he had twice applied in vain was now (Jan. 12, 1639-40) voluntarily accorded to him, with the other dignity in addition.[2] The King clung to him as his mainstay; and he remained in England till March. During his six months' stay in England he had done wonders. He had headed, with a subscription of 20,000*l.*, the loan to the King which it had been agreed, at the time of a resolution for a Parliament, to raise among the Lords of Council and other nobles. The Duke of Lennox had put down his name for a like sum, and other nobles had followed with smaller offers according to their ardour and means. Among those who were greatly inconvenienced by the new tax upon their loyalty was our friend the Earl of Bridgewater, the "Earl" of Milton's *Comus*. There is a long and anxious private correspondence in the State Paper Office between him and Secretary Windebank on the subject. The Earl, writing from his house in the Barbican, says that it was his intention to "lend his Majesty 5,000*l.*," but that he has no ready means, and, though he has applied to "several scriveners of his acquaintance," they cannot help him with even 500*l.* In a subsequent letter he says that he has been disappointed of a sum of 1,000*l.* which one scrivener had promised him. His perplexities were increased by Windebank's replies, which were to the effect that, raise the money how he might, the King would expect 10,000*l.* from

[1] Conway Letters in S. P. O., Jan. 1639-40.
[2] Clarendon, 51.

him, and that, if he would give the security of one of his manors or so, with a clear title, Windebank might manage to raise the sum for him, or 7,000*l.* of it, among the usurers. The correspondence closes rather indistinctly, but with something like tears in the Earl's eyes on account of the straits to which he is driven, and with anxiety as to the time when he may expect repayment, so as to be able to arrange for the "payment of his debts and provision for his children."—— When he speaks of the "scriveners of his acquaintance" to whom he had applied for money, one thinks of the ex-scrivener John Milton, and wonders whether, even in his retirement at Horton, the poet's father still did a little in money-lending.[1]

Just two days before the meeting of the Parliament on which so much depended, the King dealt a bold stroke which was meant to tell on that assembly. There had been in London since January a deputation from the Scottish Committee of the Estates, imploring the King to ratify the acts of the late General Assembly, and allow the Scottish Parliament to resume business. This deputation, consisting of Lord Loudoun, the Earl of Dunfermline, Douglas of Cavers, and Provost Barclay of Irvine, had had several meetings with the King, but had effected nothing. There had come into the King's possession, however, a draft of a letter which had been written before the last war by some of the Scottish leaders. It was a letter in French, addressed "*Au Roy*," signed by Montrose, Rothes, General Leslie, Loudoun, and one or two others, and intended apparently to be sent to the French King, Louis XIII., to solicit his and Richelieu's interest in the affairs of the Scots. It does not appear that the letter *was* sent; but the draft was enough. Was not this treason? Would not the English think differently of the Scots on this proof of their having been in communication, or having intended communication, with a foreign power? Summonses were sent to Leslie and others who had signed the draft,

[1] The dates of the letters between the Earl and Windebank, now in the S. P. O., are as follow: Jan. 4, 1639-40; Jan. 7; Jan. 23; Feb. 10. Windebank had called personally upon the Earl in his house in the Barbican about the money.

requiring their presence in London; but, as they were wise enough to stay where they were, the brunt of the King's wrath had to be borne by poor Loudoun. On the 11th of April he was committed to the Tower, where for more than two months he lay, with as near a prospect as ever prisoner had of a chop with the executioner's axe on a scaffold on Tower Hill.[1]

Neither the letter "*Au Roy*" nor all the King's precautions and efforts besides made anything of the Parliament to his purpose. It was a Parliament, the Commons House at least, of that old indomitable English stuff which had sufficiently disgusted the King with Parliaments already. Led by Pym, it entered at once on the vast question of the grievances of the country as they had been accumulated during eleven years of arbitrary licence, and it would not even discuss, until that question should be settled, the twelve subsidies which the King wanted immediately to defray Scottish war-expenses. In a fit of despair the King dissolved the Parliament, after it had sat but about three weeks (April 13—May 5, 1640), and secured for itself a peculiar place in English History under the name of THE SHORT PARLIAMENT.[2]

The chief positive interest attached to this Parliament arose from the fact that the Convocation of the Clergy, which had met at the same time in St. Paul's, did not come to an end with the Parliament, as was the custom, but, by the King's desire, sat on for three weeks longer (till May 29). The extra time thus allowed it was employed in voting a "benevolence" to the King of 20,000*l.* annually for six years, and also on a scheme of Laud's for revising the Canons of the Church so as to adapt them to existing emergencies. It was very dangerous work. Since the Reformation the most

[1] See Rushworth, III. 1120, where there is an English version of the letter "*Au Roy*." In the S. P. O. is a copy of the French original, endorsed by Windebank as follows: "The original of this "letter was delivered to me by his Ma- "jesty at Whitehall the 10th of April, "1640. When I had made this copy of "the Covenanters' letter to be sent to "the Earl of Leicester (ambassador at "Paris), I delivered the original letter, "after this copy had been compared "with it by his Majesty himself, to his "Majesty's own hand, at Whitehall, in "the presence of the Lord-Marquis Ha- "milton, the 11th of April, 1640." The summonses to Leslie, Argyle, &c., to come to London, were issued March 8–10, as appears by copies in the S. P. O.

[2] For proceedings of this Parliament, with lists of members, see Rushworth, III. 1104—1160; and, for briefer summaries, May's Hist. (edit. 1812), 39–41; and Clarendon, 53–56.

extreme jealousy had been shown by the law of England of such separate corporate action of the clergy; and, if the law were to assert itself in this case, high penalties were sure to be the consequence. Accordingly, a good many members of Convocation protested against the preparation of new Canons as beyond their power. But Laud and the majority persevered; and a body of seventeen new Canons, which had been drawn up, was finally authenticated as the Acts of the Synod by the signatures of Laud, fourteen bishops, and eighty-nine inferior clergymen. Among the Canons one of the most important was Canon VI., enjoining an oath to be taken before the 2nd of November following by all clergymen of the Church; two of the clauses of which oath were to this effect:—"I, A. B., do swear that I do approve the doctrine "and discipline or government established in the Church of "England as containing all things necessary to salvation, . . . "nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of "this Church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Arch-"deacons, &c., as it now stands established, and by right "ought to stand." It was the first time, said the opponents of the Canons, that ever men had been required to swear to an *etcetera*. The Canon, in fact, came to be memorable as the *Etcetera Oath*.[1]

Suspecting complicity between the Puritan leaders of the Parliament and the Scottish Covenanters, the King caused several of the former to be arrested immediately after the dissolution, and the houses of others, both peers and commoners, to be searched for papers. With the same view, Loudoun being already safe in the Tower, his two fellow-agents for the Covenanters, Douglas of Cavers and Provost Barclay of Irvine, were subjected to a rigorous examination.[2] What with such

[1] Rushworth, III. 1186-7; Fuller's Church Hist., anno 1640 (where Fuller gives an account of the Convocation from his own recollections); Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, II. 329—336; and Convocation Papers in S. P. O.

[2] The following is from the MS. examination of Douglas of Cavers, signed by himself, in the S. P. O., dated May 9, 1640: "To the first interrogatory he saith that he never had any "conference at all with any of the Lower "House of Parliament, saving that he "met, in the Playhouse at the Cockpit "in Drury Lane, Sir William Wither-"ington and Sir William Carnaby; but "he had no speech with them concerning "any business in Parliament, nor did "anything but salute them." A Scottish Covenanter in a London playhouse!

incidents as these, following the shock of the dissolution of the Parliament, and what with the rage against the Clergy caused by their continued sitting in Convocation and passing Canons after the Parliament had been dismissed, the commotion in London rose to the pitch of riot. "Saturday, May 9," writes Laud in his Diary, "a paper posted upon the Old Exchange, animating the Prentices to sack my house upon the Monday following early;" and again, "At midnight (Monday, May 11) my house at Lambeth was beset by 500 of these rascal routers." They were full two hours at the gates of Lambeth Palace, but did not succeed in getting in. But for several days the riots continued both in the city and in Southwark; and on the 15th White Lion prison and the King's Bench prison were broken open by a mob, and the prisoners released. In connexion with which old London riot take the following little story:—

Documents in the State Paper Office enable me to recognize as one of the rioters a certain John Archer, living in Southwark. He was a poor never-do-well, by trade a glover, ruined by a legacy of 50*l.* left him by a deceased uncle. The money had been left in the hands of a Robert Maynard, of Middlesex, gentleman, with instructions to dole it out to Archer as he required it. About 30*l.* had been already drawn, and early in May, according to Mr. Maynard's statement, Archer had called on him for ten shillings more on account. Since then Mr. Maynard had heard nothing of him, till he learnt by chance that he had been seen among the rioters of Lambeth, acting as their drummer. It was quite true. Archer, conspicuous among all the rest by his drum, had been caught, and sent to White Lion prison. Thence the mob had released him, apparently attacking that prison for the purpose. He had been re-apprehended, however; and the following is a royal warrant relating to him, dated the 21st of May, and addressed "To our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Balfour, Knt., Lieutenant of our Tower of London." The particular attention of the reader is requested to the Warrant, now for the first time made public: "Trusty "and well-beloved: We greet you well. Our will and

"pleasure is that to-morrow morning, by seven of the clock, "you cause John Archer to be carried to the rack, and that "there yourself, together with Sir Ralph Whitfield and Sir "Robert Heath, Knights, our Serjeants-at-law, shall examine "him upon such questions as our said serjeants shall think "fit to propose to him; and if, on sight of the rack, he shall "not make a clear answer to the said questions, then our will "and pleasure is that you cause him to be racked as in your "and their discretion shall be thought fit. And, when he shall "have made a full answer, then the same is to be brought to "us, and you are still to detain him close prisoner until you "receive farther orders. And this shall be, as well to you as "to our said serjeants, sufficient warrant and discharge in this "behalf. Given under our signet, at our Court at Whitehall, "21 May, 1640." Students of the Constitutional History of England may remember what Rushworth states in connexion with the great case of the trial of Felton (Nov. 1628) for the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. It having then been proposed by some of the Council to put Felton to the rack in order to ascertain whether he had any accomplices, and the question of the legality of such a proceeding having been put to the Judges, "all the justices," says Rushworth, "being assembled at Serjeants' Inn in Fleet Street, agreed "in one that he ought not, by the law, to be tortured by the "rack, for no such punishment is known or allowed by our "law."[1] This was eleven years and a half before Charles issued, under his own signet, the above warrant in the case of the Southwark rioter. Whether the warrant was executed my authorities do not enable me to say; but if, as I suppose, Archer was the particular rioter who is mentioned by Laud in his Diary as having been condemned on Thursday the 21st of May, and hanged, drawn, and quartered at Southwark on Saturday the 23rd, then the warrant for his torture must have been issued between his condemnation and his execution.[2]

[1] Rushworth, I. 638.

[2] There are two copies of the warrant in the S. P. O.—one a contemporary draft in Reade's or Windebank's handwriting; the other apparently made by a clerk of Sir Joseph Williamson, Secretary of State after the Restoration, who may have been interested in the document as a curiosity in his office.

THE SECOND "BISHOPS' WAR" WITH THE SCOTS.

Meanwhile the two armies were being mustered and drilled in their respective countries. The English army arrangements were superintended by Lord Conway, who had for some time had his head-quarters at Newcastle; the Scots were coming together more quietly under their old commander, Field-marshal Leslie. "It is just that you know somewhat of the "estate I am in," we find the light-hearted Conway writing from Newcastle, on the 28th of May, to a lady with whom he was keeping up a lover-like correspondence: "I am teaching "cart-horses to manage, and making men that are fit for Bed-"lam and Bridewell to keep the Ten Commandments. So "that General Leslie and I keep two schools: he hath "scholars that profess to serve God, and he is instructing "them how they may safely do injury and all impiety; mine, "to the uttermost of their power, never kept any law either "of God or the King, and they are come to be made fit to "make others keep them."[1] From this description of the English army we should infer that it was composed of elements as ill-assorted and as disaffected for their work as the former army had been. Probably, as before, poverty of supplies had much to do with it. Disappointed of his subsidies from Parliament, the King was employing the most desperate measures to raise such means as, added to the loan from the nobles, the benevolence from the clergy, and the Irish subsidies which Strafford had procured, might maintain the army through a campaign. The City of London had been applied to for a loan of 200,000*l.*; and, for the better raising of this loan, the Aldermen of the several wards had been required to send in lists of all the inhabitants of each ward able to subscribe, with a note of the sum that might be fairly expected from each person. For the contempt of this order four Aldermen had been sent to prison. There were also all sorts of Excise and Customs' devices, ship-money distraints,

[1] Conway MSS. in S. P. O.

sales of patents and monopolies, &c. In particular, there was a rate for clothing and travelling expenses for the troops, under the name of "coat and conduct money," to the levying of which there was much opposition in the counties.[1] It must have been owing to the difficulty of getting in moneys by all these means that there was so long a delay in bringing the English expedition to bear. All through the months of June and July, and during a part of August, Conway was still in the North, doing his best with his levies, the grievous billetting of whom among the inhabitants of Yorkshire and other northern counties led to petitions which Strafford denounced as "mutinous." Strafford, who had returned from Ireland in April, still in a wretched state of health, was giving his services mainly in London; and the Earl of Northumberland, though Commander-in-chief, had also the plea of ill-health for absence from military duty. I suspect that, with the Earl's sentiments, he was glad to have the plea. All rested on Conway.

The delay was to the advantage of the Scots. Punctually on the 2nd of June, to which day their Parliament stood prorogued, they reassembled in Parliament; and though, in consequence of the absence of Traquair, the King's Commissioner, they had to constitute themselves rather irregularly, they sat till the 12th. Leslie was formally reappointed Commander-in-chief, with Lord Almont for his Lieutenant-general; and the direction of the war, with the supreme government of Scotland until Parliament should reassemble in quieter times, was vested in a Committee of forty persons, called "The Committee of Estates." Not long after the Parliament, the Scots held also their third General Assembly. It met at Aberdeen on the 28th of July, with Mr. Andrew Ramsay for Moderator, and sat till the 5th of August, getting through business of detail (some of it of a perplexing nature) which had accumulated since the preceding Assembly.

The arrangements of the Scots at this season were not all

[1] Henry Bulstrode of Horton was among the defaulters for a rate on his property, under this head, of between 2*l.* and 3*l.* (Return for Bucks in S. P. O. of date July 1640.)

deliberative. While Leslie was gathering his army to the South, there was the same necessity as in the former war for taking precautions against such Non-Covenanting elements as still smouldered within Scotland itself.

In the Castle of Edinburgh the King had placed General Ruthven as commander, and it was not so easy to take this castle from Ruthven as it had been to win it before the first war. Ruthven, when summoned to surrender, had even opened fire upon the town; and, as stray shooting went on between the citizens and the soldiers on the ramparts from day to day, eighty persons had been killed. On the whole, it was deemed best to let the castle alone till there should have been a settlement with the English army.——In the disaffected Aberdeenshire districts, on the other hand, Colonel (now General) Monro was taking precautions that were remorselessly effective. While the Assembly was in Aberdeen, Monro was ranging in its neighbourhood as far as the Strathbogie mansion and estates of the Marquis of Huntley, who was then in England with the King; and he did not cease till he had left that dangerous county "almost manless, moneyless, horseless, armless."——It was at this time also that Argyle made that precautionary raid, for the Committee of Estates, through the border-Highlands of Dumbartonshire, Perthshire, and Forfarshire, then the region of the Non-Covenanting houses of Ogilvy, Murray, and Stuart, of which there is such pathetic commemoration in the old ballad—

> "Gin my gude lord had been at hame,
> As this nicht he is wi' Charlie,
> There's no a Campbell in a' Argyle
> Durst hae plundered the bonnie house o' Airly!"[1]

About the middle of August 1640, Leslie, without Argyle in his company this time, but with an army of 22,000 foot and 3,000 horse, besides artillery, was at his old quarters at Dunse, within a few miles of the border. But this time there was no waiting for the King to invade Scotland. There had been communications, the extent of which never can be

[1] Acts of Scottish Parliament; Baillie, I. 247, &c.; Stevenson, 432-3; Spalding, I. 172, &c.

known, but the existence of which to *some* extent can be proved, between individual Scottish leaders and representatives, authorized or self-authorized, of the English Puritans; and, whether influenced by such communications, or simply on calculation what policy would now be the best, both Leslie and the Committee of Estates had resolved that it was for the Scots this time to invade England. From Dunse, accordingly, the word was given—"March." They did march. On Thursday the 20th of August, the Scottish army crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, without opposition, and with the loss of but one man by drowning, the foot-soldiers wading to the middle, while the horse broke the force of the current above them. The first man to cross, and to stand as an invader on the English soil, was the young Earl of Montrose. They wore blue caps, with a prevailing uniform of hodden-grey, and each man had a haversack of oatmeal strapped to his back.[1]

The first resting-place of the Scots was at Cornhill in Northumberland, about a mile from the Tweed. Thence, on the following day, they advanced through the villages of Crooksham and Nethershaw as far as a place called Millfield. "The army began to march from Cornell," writes an English eye-witness, "yesterday about 12 of the clock—the General "first, with some forty or fifty at his back; then, some quarter "of a mile after him, the horse-troops in ranks and very fine "order; and, after them, the foot, in five men deep, from the "first regiment to the last; and then two or three troops of "horse last; and, a little wide of their camp, all their car-"riages of horse-waggons and carts in abundance, with their "provision of beds and victuals. Their number [*i.e.* of the "carriage-waggons, &c.] was of itself like a huge army, being "four pair of butts wide of the way the army did march. "But, for their ordnance and field-pieces, they followed their "companies in order, together with an abundance of carriage-"wheels; every pair thrust along before a man to every pair "of carriage-wheels, and the pieces provided in time of need "all carried in great close waggons, bigger than horse-litters, "and drawn by horses. There was in this march only eight

[1] Baillie, I. 256.

"cannons of brass, drawn with six oxen and two horses to "every cannon, but an abundance of smaller field-pieces, some "long and some short, drawn with one horse in fine light "carriages." As to the total number he could but form a guess, but, at Crooksham where he was stationed, it was five hours, or from three o'clock to eight in the evening, before they had all passed. "One omission I have made," he continues, "which is now remembered—their strength of arms; which "is none at all of their bodies [*i.e.* no body armour], not so "much as a gorget or corslet, I know not whether you call it. "In one word, the horse have all pike-staves, swords, and "pistols; some have petronels, but few; and their horse few "or none at all on great horses: most of them middling nags "and geldings; all the whole, both horse and foot, in blue "caps, saving the lords and some few in jacks. For the foot, "all naked of armour as before; only their muskets and "swords, with short staves, one yard and a half long, with a "pike off either end; and the rest with pikes and swords; and "the Highlanders with bows and arrows, and some have swords, "and some none. They are the nakedest fellows, the High-"landers, that ever I saw." This same eye-witness testifies to the good behaviour of the army. "They are so careful "for doing harm," he says, "by their strict proclamation "of pain of death not to stir man, woman, or child; not so "much as a word to fright any, nor not to steal the worth of "a chicken nor one pot of ale, but to pay for it; and, for corn, "if any man suffer his horse to bite of it, and any seeing him "catch him by the bridle, he shall have him for his pains."[1] This extreme carefulness not in any way to offend the English was in accordance with most special instructions issued by the Committee of Estates. Among several printed papers they had prepared, and which the army carried with them, justifying the invasion, was one addressed to the English people. "As we attest the God of Heaven," said this paper, "that these and no other are our intentions, so, upon "the same great attestation, do we declare . . . that we will

[1] This graphic letter is in the S. P. O., in the bundle of papers for Aug. 1640, but bears no signature.

"not take from our friends and brethren from a thread even "to a shoe-latchet but for our own moneys and the just pay- "ment; that we come among them as their friends and "brethren, very sensible of their by-past sufferings and pre- "sent dangers both in religion and liberties, and most willing "to do them all the good we can, like as we certainly expect "that they, for the like sense of our hard condition and in- "tolerable distress which hath forced us to come from our "own country, will join and concur with us in the most just "and noble ways for obtaining their and our most just 'desires." Scattering this and other proclamations before them, the Scots continued to advance into Northumberland.[1]

On the news of the Scottish invasion Charles and Strafford hurried North. They were at York on the 23rd, whence whatever orders they had to give were sent on to Conway at Newcastle. One such order was sent from York on the 27th, and the messenger carrying it was accompanied by John Rushworth, the Lincoln's Inn lawyer and collector, then on a journey of business or curiosity into those, his native, parts. But, before this order reached Conway, a portion of his forces was already in action with the Scots. The Scots had come as far as Newburn, about four miles from Newcastle, on the north bank of the Tyne, and Conway had sent a body of 5,000 horse and foot to watch their movements and prevent their crossing the river. For about a day nothing was done on either side, the English employing themselves in making two trenches or works for cannon on the south side, and the soldiers on both sides watering their horses without the least sign of mutual ill-will. But, on Friday the 28th, an English soldier having taken a shot at a Scottish officer with a black feather, whose leisurely manner of watering his horse and looking at the English trenches at the same time was too provoking to be overlooked, the battle was brought on. From the crackle of small-arms it came to the boom of cannon. The Scottish cannon being on higher ground, and some of it in the steeple of Newburn church, did most damage; and, as it was then low tide, and one of the English trenches had been

[1] Rushworth, III. 1223—1227, and Appendix to same vol., pp. 283—291.

abandoned, Leslie ordered a troop of his horse to cross. As they were doing so, the English of the other trench, still galled by Leslie's cannon, forsook it, in spite of all that Colonel Lunsford could do to keep them to their work; and, when more and still more of the Scots were seen crossing, even Lunsford's horse, who had shown fight at first, turned and fled. Such was the fight of Newburn. It was the fight to which Milton refers as that in which "the royal forces were routed at the first conflict," and which decided the Second Bishops' War. About a dozen men only were slain on the side of the Scots, while the loss of the English amounted to about sixty slain, and some prisoners, whom the Scots afterwards released without condition. Small as the loss was, the panic must have been great; for, that same night, Conway, feeling himself unable to continue in Newcastle, began to retreat towards Durham. On the following day (Saturday, August 29) the Scots were in Newcastle.[1]

Why such a poor affair as the fight of Newburn, followed even by the taking of Newcastle, should have concluded the war, does not very well appear. Such, however, was the fact. It was, doubtless, on the King's side, a moral rather than merely a military collapse. For a moment the result was but a blaze of indignation against Conway for having permitted the war to begin with a shameful disaster; and Strafford and the King, who had advanced from York, the one as far as Darlington and the other to Northallerton, with the intention of joining Conway at Newcastle, thought of the possibility of retrieving the disaster. But, whether from the hopeless state of the English forces, or from a just diffidence on Strafford's part in his powers of strategy as compared with Leslie's, the thought of farther immediate action was abandoned, and it was resolved (August 30) to leave Northumberland and Durham to the mercy of the Scots, and to withdraw all the King's forces to York. Accordingly, the Scots, spreading themselves over the whole coal region, took possession of Durham, Tynemouth, Shields, and other places, in

[1] Rushworth, III. 1221 and 1236-9; and Baillie, I. 256, 257. Both Rushworth and Baillie were near the spot, but I have chiefly followed Rushworth.

addition to Newcastle. "If the English will now be beasts "and dastardly cowards," writes Baillie at Newcastle, where he then was, with Henderson and other Scottish preachers, "they must lie without any man's pity under their slavish " servitude for ever. We put little doubt but we shall get for " ourselves fair enough conditions, but it will be to our great " regret if we get not all the King's dominions to our happi- " ness."[1] Baillie might have expressed it a little more delicately, but this was the feeling of the whole Scottish army.

CALLING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

The English themselves were of the same mind. This occupation of the North of England by the Scots was the very opportunity for which the Puritans of England, and some who were not Puritans, had been waiting and longing, and which some of the more daring among them had even been helping to bring about. If Charles did not know it before, the evidence of it came fast in upon him at York. There happened to him there, for example, that which but a few days before would have seemed impossible. This was a petition for the immediate assembling of a Parliament. It was not a petition flung anonymously into his chamber: it was a petition deliberately presented, and signed with the names of the Earls of Bedford, Essex, Hertford, Mulgrave, Warwick, Bolingbroke, Lincoln, Rutland and Exeter; of Viscounts Saye and Sele and Mandeville; and of Lords Brooke, Hertford, North, Willoughby, Savile, Wharton and Lovelace. A petition to the same effect from the City of London, sent despite the opposition of the portion of the Privy Council that had been left in town, showed what feelings had been roused among the Londoners by the news from the North. In short, with all England astir behind him, with the Yorkshire gentry immediately around him out of humour, with but the ruin of an army left him and that rapidly deserting, with the Scots watching for his next resolution,

[1] Baillie, I. 258; Rushworth, III. 1239 *et seq.*; and Conway Letters in S. P. O., particularly one of Colonel Arthur Aston, dated "York, Aug. 29."

and with news coming from Scotland of the surrender or approaching surrender of the few castles that had held out for him, Charles had no choice but to yield. This yielding, as was his way, was by inches. First, on the 5th of September, in answer to one of the wonted humble supplications from the Scots, dated this time from "Our Leager at Newcastle," he required them to advance no farther into England, but announced that he had summoned a Great Council of the English Peers to meet him at York on the 24th of September. His wish was still, if possible, to avoid a Parliament, and to make this "Great Council of Peers" serve in its stead. But, finding that this would not in the least satisfy his English subjects, he made the last reluctant concession, and, before the Great Council met, had issued orders for the assembling of a Parliament also, to meet at Westminster on the 3rd of November. Accordingly, when the Great Council did meet, its real business was little more than to make the arrangements immediately necessary for a treaty with the Scots. For this purpose there were appointed, from among the English lords, a commission of sixteen likely to be acceptable to the Scots—to wit, the Earls of Bedford, Hertford, Essex, Salisbury, Warwick, Bristol, Holland, and Berkshire; the Viscount Mandeville; and Lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Paulet, Howard of Escrick, Savile, and Dunsmore. These were to negotiate on the English side. Appointed to meet them on the Scottish side were the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Lord Loudoun, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, Drummond of Riccarton, Bailie Smith of Edinburgh, and Burgesses Wedderburn of Dundee and Kennedy of Ayr, all members of the Committee of Estates; with whom were associated, by special designation, Alexander Henderson and Johnstone of Warriston. The negotiation was first carried on at Ripon. There, by the 16th of October, thirteen preliminary articles had been agreed upon, one of which bound the English to maintain the Scottish army, at the rate of 850*l.* a day, until such time as the Treaty should be complete and the Scots at liberty to return. For this conclusion, however, neither party was in

any hurry. The Scots felt no security in a peace till matters had been pushed a little farther in England; and the English lords (between some of whom and the Scots there was now a perfect understanding) had not yet obtained for their countrymen the full benefit of the Scottish army's presence on English soil. Reluctantly, therefore, the King gave his consent to the transference of the negotiations, first from Ripon to York, and then from York to London. It having been thus agreed to adjourn the final negotiations to London, and the preliminary articles having been signed by his Majesty (Oct. 27), the Great Council broke up (Oct. 28), barely in time for the meeting of the English Parliament in the following week.[1]

No one can have felt more bitterly the untoward turn which affairs had taken than poor Laud. All this time he had been in London, conducting, with Juxon, Finch, Arundel, Cottington, and Windebank, the necessary Privy Council business during the King's absence. Every entry in his singular Diary from the time of the King's departure to that of his return testifies to the old man's restlessness and anxiety. Thus, "Aug. 22: A vile libel brought me, found "in Covent Garden, animating the apprentices and soldiers "to fall upon me in the King's absence." Again, more than once in September and October, there are entries of what he had heard the Scots were threatening against him in the North, or riotous Brownists crying out against him in the streets of London. Lastly, there is this entry, the most characteristic of all, on the day when the King was signing the articles with the Scots at York: "Oct. 27, Tuesday, "Simon and Jude's Eve, I went into my upper study, to see "some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford. In that "study hung my picture, taken from the life; and, coming "in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the "floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged "against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with

[1] Rushworth, III. 1255 *et seq.* and 1286—1306; Burnet's Lives of the Hamiltons, 222—224; Baillie, 263; and Papers in S. P. O.—from one of which it appears that the resolution of the King for a Great Council of the Peers was formed as early as Aug. 31.

"my ruin in Parliament; God grant this be no omen!" There is also in the State Paper Office a little scrap of writing, in Laud's hand, much corrected, erased, and interlined, which it is very touching now to handle and to read. It is a draft of his Archiepiscopal prayer for the opening of the new Parliament, and is as follows:—

"O Æternall God and Mer. Father, as it hath pleased thee to putt his Majestye's hart to Assemble a Parlament for the better settleinge of his affaires both at home and abroad, soe I most humblye beseech thee to bless this great Assemblye, and all their counsells, to ye good both of the Kinge and his people. And to thiss end, Good L:, give the Kinge a Hart of judgment to all yt for his people becomes a good, a gracious, a just, a pious, and a prudent Kinge, and give the Parlament a hart of Dewtye to doe all yt towards ye Kinge which becomes an obedient, a Religious, a moderate, a free, and a wise people: That the K. and his peo., meeting with these affections, maye go on with mutual comfort and contentment, to ye great honor of ye Kinge, ye saftye of ye Kingdome, and ye settlement of true Religion, to the finall extirpation both of superstition and schisme, and ye upholdinge of ye true and meere worship of God in ye land. O, L: grant this, even for Jesus Ch: his sake: Amen."

BOOK II.

NOVEMBER 1640—AUGUST 1642.

HISTORY:—First Two-and-Twenty Months of the Long Parliament.

BIOGRAPHY:—Milton in Aldersgate Street: His Anti-Episcopal Pamphlets.

CHAPTER I.

MEETING OF THE LONG PARLIAMENT—ITS COMPOSITION AND CHIEFS—NINE MONTHS OF GENERAL PARLIAMENTARY ACTION (NOV. 1640—AUG. 1641)—THE ENGLISH CHURCH REFORM MOVEMENT.

ON Tuesday, the 3rd of November, 1640, the Long Parliament met in Westminster. Imagination can yet retrace the sites of the two old Houses in the great area covered by the architecture of the present edifices. The old House of Lords was a building at the south end of Westminster Hall, and parallel with the river. The old Commons' House, St. Stephen's Chapel, was a long, narrow building of the fourteenth century, in a rich ecclesiastical style, at right angles to Westminster Hall, with the entrance at its west end, where it adjoined the Hall, and a large window at the other end. The formalities of the opening of the Parliament were more sombre than usual. The King, having no heart for a procession through the streets, went in his barge from Whitehall to Westminster Stairs. Thence, about one o'clock, accompanied by the Lords, who had joined him there, he went through Westminster Hall to the Abbey to hear a sermon from the Bishop of Bristol; after which, having come to the Lords' House, and having sent for the Commons, he delivered an opening speech, and called upon Lord Keeper Finch to deliver another, explaining his views more at large. The Commons then returned to their own House, where, upon the motion of Secretary Sir Henry Vane, the leading ministerial member in that House, they unanimously elected for their Speaker William Lenthall, Esq., one of the members for Woodstock. He was a Lincoln's Inn barrister of some small note, who had been selected by the King at the last moment for the Speaker-

ship, instead of a more eminent lawyer who had failed to obtain a seat. Already, in the earlier part of the day, the Commons had gone through the ceremony of hearing the writ for the Parliament read, and the names of the members that had been returned called over, by Thomas Willys, Esq., the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery. His deputy, Agar, Milton's brother-in-law, may have been in attendance upon him on such an occasion. During the preceding month or two, at all events, Agar and his subordinates in the Crown Office had been unusually busy with the issue of the writs and with other work connected with the opening of Parliament.

COMPOSITION OF THE TWO HOUSES.

The reader may have seen, at the entrance to the rooms of some Club or Society, a collection of photographs of its more prominent members hung up in one frame. The following is not quite such a frame of photographs, but it may serve a similar purpose. It may be glanced through now for some preliminary general impressions, and it may be referred to afterwards on occasion.

I. The House of Lords.

The Peers of England summoned to this Parliament were 150 in number;—to wit, 26 Spiritual Peers (the two Archbishops and 24 Bishops); and 124 Temporal Peers, of whom *one* (George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham) was an English Duke, *one* (John Paulet, 5th Marquis of Winchester) was an English Marquis, 63 were Earls, 5 were Viscounts, and 54 were Barons. The following distribution represents the House at the time of its assembling:—

I. *The Episcopal Bench.* Although two Archbishops had been summoned, the death of Neile of York, only three days before the Parliament met, left Laud for the time the sole Archbishop. Of the four-and-twenty bishops who had been summoned most are already known to us. They were Juxon of London, John Owen of St. Asaph, Roberts of Bangor, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Skinner of Bristol, Duppa of Chichester, Mainwaring of St. David's, Wren of Ely, Hall of Exeter, Goodman of Gloucester, Coke of Hereford, Wright of Lichfield and Coventry, Williams of Lincoln, Morgan Owen of Llandaff, Montagu of Norwich, Bancroft of Oxford, Towers of Peterborough, Warner of Rochester, Davenant of Salisbury, Curle of Winchester, Thornborough of

[1] Rushworth, V. 1—17.

Worcester, POTTER of Carlisle, BRIDGMAN of Chester, and MORTON of Durham.———Of these twenty-four, however, several, from age or other reasons, never took their seats; Mainwaring refrained, as being under the ban of previous Parliaments; and three died very soon after the opening of the Parliament, viz.: the unpopular Bancroft in February 1640-41; the more unpopular Montagu on the 13th of April, 1641; and the popular and Calvinistic Davenant on the 20th of April, "of a consumption," says his nephew Fuller, "to which the sorrowful times did contribute not a little." As the vacant sees were not at once filled up, the Episcopal strength in the House, when the work was becoming warm, consisted but of about 18 bishops. Even of these some, like Laud himself, were from the first *hors de combat*, as persons under trial. After Davenant's death, the bishop whose antecedents were likeliest to give him favour with the public was Potter of Carlisle, who was called the "Puritanical bishop." But, though he attended Parliament till his death, Jan. 1641-2, his part was not a leading one. Morton of Durham, who had long been a pillar of the Church, and by no means a Laudian, was now, though in his seventy-seventh year, to come forward conspicuously. Warner of Rochester, also, who had been a bishop only since 1637, and was twenty years younger than Morton, was to make himself heard. Undoubtedly, however, the two bishops respecting whose conduct in the Parliament there was most expectation, after the Laudians had been placed *hors de combat*, were Hall of Exeter and Williams of Lincoln.———Of HALL and the state of his mind we have recently had a glimpse. His *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, which had been in circulation eight or nine months when the Parliament met, had not improved his relations with the Puritans. But WILLIAMS! For this irrepressible Welshman, who has already figured so much in these pages, the calling of the Long Parliament was to be a resurrection to life. Even in the Tower he had not held his tongue. What line would he take now that he was again at liberty and in Parliament? No one could tell. His friend Dr. Hacket, indeed, had heard him say in the Tower that he had no fancy for "a Scotch Reformation wherein the harebrains would be engaged along with the Scots." But it was not easy to calculate upon Williams. For the Laudians his reappearance was like the intimation of Richard's return to King John in *Ivanhoe*, "The Devil is loose." He first took his seat in the Parliament on the 16th of November. He was then fifty-seven years of age.[1]

[1] Hacket's Life of Williams, Part II. p. 137, &c.; and Lords Journals, Nov. 16, 1640, where it is distinctly stated that Williams, then a prisoner in the Tower, but summoned by writ to the Parliament under condition of Bail to the King to return to prison when Parliament should be over, was that day sent for by the Lords. This seems to convict of mistake a letter to Conway in the S. P. O. of date May 4, 1640 (*i.e.* the day before the dissolution of the Short Parliament), where I find this passage: "This Monday the Bishop of Lincoln was delivered out of the Tower: the same evening he went to Lambeth."

II. *Lay Ministerial Peers.* Under this modern designation I include all the lay-peers who were of the Privy Council or held great state-offices. With Laud and Juxon, they represented "Government," as we should now say, in the Upper House. At their head was STRAFFORD, *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland;* next after whom may be named FINCH, *the Lord Keeper*, and occupant of the Woolsack, the MARQUIS of HAMILTON (sitting as Earl of Cambridge), and LORD COTTINGTON, *Chancellor of the Exchequer and Master of the Court of Wards.* Other ministers, known to us as such since 1632,[1] were the EARL of MANCHESTER, *Lord Privy Seal;* the EARL of LINDSEY, *Lord Great Chamberlain;* the EARL of ARUNDEL and SURREY, *Earl Marshal;* the EARL of PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY, *Lord Chamberlain;* the EARL of DORSET, *Lord Chamberlain to the Queen;* the EARL of HOLLAND; the EARL of BRIDGEWATER, *Lord President of Wales;* the EARL of SALISBURY; the EARL of SUFFOLK; and LORD NEWBURGH. Peers who had been added to the Council since 1632 were—the young DUKE of LENNOX (sitting as an English Earl); the EARL of NORTHUMBERLAND, *Lord High Admiral;* the EARL of BERKSHIRE; LORD GORING, *Vice-Chamberlain of the Household;* and the EARL of NEWCASTLE, *Governor of the Prince of Wales.* As this last peer is the only one of whom we have not had occasion to take some account already, a word or two about him may be here added:—Two Cavendishes, descendants of Wolsey's faithful attendant and biographer, had been raised, in the reign of James, from the position of country-gentlemen to English peerages—William Cavendish, made Baron Hardwick, Co. Derby, in 1605, and then Earl of Devonshire in 1618; and another William Cavendish, his nephew, who, having nobly entertained James at his seat of Welbeck in Nottinghamshire, was created Baron Ogle in 1619, and Viscount Mansfield in the following year. This second Cavendish, who had acquired great wealth through his marriage, and was but a young man when James died, was created Earl of Newcastle by Charles in 1628. He had lived through the period of "Thorough" with a great reputation for loyalty and for splendid hospitality in those northern parts of England where his estates chiefly lay. An entertainment which he had given to Charles at Welbeck on his coronation-journey to Scotland in 1633, and another which he had given to the King and Queen at Bolsover Castle in 1634, were remembered as the costliest things of the kind ever known, and have left some trace of themselves in literary history in the form of the two masques written for them by Ben Jonson. The Earl of Newcastle, indeed, was Ben's principal patron in his old age, and Ben had not failed to eulogize the Earl's accomplishments in verse, particularly his fencing and his horsemanship. He was also "amorous in poetry and music," says Clarendon, "to which he indulged the greatest part of his time." Hence, in 1638, he had been thought the fittest person to be

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 331—336.

appointed Governor to the Prince of Wales, then eight years of age. He had subscribed handsomely to the two Scottish wars, and had raised a magnificent troop of horse, composed wholly of gentlemen of property, and called "the Prince of Wales's own troop." A question of precedency connected with this troop had caused a deadly quarrel between him and the Earl of Holland. He was now forty-eight years of age, and had two sons and four daughters.[1]

III. *General Body of the Peers.* A few of this body, who were either already conspicuous before the Long Parliament met, or who were to become conspicuous in its proceedings, may be here enumerated. The ten whom we place first were the Peers who, of those that were expected to be Parliamentary leaders of the popular cause, most amply fulfilled that expectation; the others follow in no particular order:—

Francis Russell, 4th Earl of Bedford. This nobleman, Earl since 1627, was universally regarded as the chief peer of the popular party. He owed that distinction partly to his wealth, and his popularity in connexion with a great work for the draining of the Fen Counties which had been going on since 1630, but in part also to his character for wisdom. He had sheltered many of the persecuted Puritan clergy; and, though not of extreme opinions, and personally on good enough terms with Laud, he desired a more liberal system of government in Church as well as in State. His town-house was Bedford House, north of the Strand. Unfortunately he survived the opening of the Parliament only six months.[2]

Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of Essex. Already known to us as Lieut.-General of the King's forces in the first Scottish war, this nobleman, now *ætat.* 48, could look back upon a life calculated to make any man grave and reserved. Restored, in his childhood, by James to the honours of his beheaded father, Elizabeth's celebrated Essex, he had been educated at Eton and at Oxford, had been a companion of the popular Prince Henry "in his books and the great-horse exercise," and had travelled abroad. Returning, in his early youth, to marry, according to arrangement, the young Frances Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, he had experienced a fate which had made him the pity of England. There was the loathing of his bride, then the lover of the King's Scottish favourite, Viscount Rochester, afterwards Earl of Somerset; there was the horrible notoriety of the proceedings for a divorce; and there was the divorce itself in 1613. "Perceiving how little he was beholden to Venus," he had gone abroad to "address himself to the Court of Mars;" and he was serving in the Low Countries when England was again ringing with the name of his divorced wife, then on her trial, together with her new husband, Somerset, for Sir Thomas Overbury's murder. He remained abroad for the most part while

[1] Collins's Peerage by Brydges (under *Dukes of Devonshire*); Collins's English Baronage (1727); Clarendon, 32, 50, 108, &c.; Ben Jonson's Works, and Life by Gifford.

[2] Collins's Peerage by Brydges; Clarendon, 63, 73, 93.

the condemned couple were in prison; from which James released them in 1624. It was while he was serving in the Palatinate war that he became imbued with those Calvinistic principles which he professed during the rest of his life. After his return he had ventured on a second marriage (1630-31) with the daughter of a Wiltshire knight. This marriage, however, was speedily followed by a separation on the same ground that had been pleaded by the first wife. Avoiding the Court since then, he had lived much in the country, occupied with books and field-sports, and patronizing Quarles, Withers, and other Calvinistic poets; till Charles, hoping to have the use of his military experience, called him to a command in the first Scottish war. According to Clarendon, his private hatred to the whole Scottish nation, on Somerset's account, would have reconciled him to such a post, if Charles had known how to treat him. But Charles's coldness, in contrast with the respect shown him by the Scottish leaders, had cured him of any disposition to abet the King's policy; and, before the opening of the Long Parliament, the Scots, as well as the English Puritans, had great hopes from him. Despite the nature of his misfortunes, no man was more popular or more respected. He was somewhat "stern and solemn" in appearance, but "affable and gentle" enough; with no great gift of eloquence, but of superior abilities. His town-residence was Essex House in the Strand, where he had been born. His first wife had died in 1632, but Somerset was still alive. An only daughter of the criminal pair had married the Earl of Bedford's eldest son, Lord Russell.[1]

Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick. Though the elder brother of Holland, he was identified with the popular party. "A man of pleasant and companionable wit and conversation, of an universal jollity, and such a licence in his words and in his actions that a man of less virtue could not be found out;" yet in such high credit with the Puritans, owing to his liberality with his money, and "his being present with them at their devotions," as to have obtained "the style of a godly man"—such is Clarendon's character of him. Less prejudiced historians recognize in him the elements of "an essentially manly character," with something of the sailor's frankness and laxness, his profession being that of the navy. His residence, Warwick House, in Holborn, was a rendezvous for distressed Puritan ministers. He was in his fifty-sixth year.[2]

Oliver St. John, 1st Earl of Bolingbroke. Succeeding his father, in 1618, as 4th Lord St. John of Bletsho, this nobleman had been created Earl of Bolingbroke in 1624. Decidedly, though not in a flashing way, he was of the liberal party.

[1] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, under *Devereux, Visc. Hereford;* Brydges's Peers of James I. p. 96 *et seq.*; Wood's Athenæ, III. 189, 197; and Clarendon, 57, 74, 191, 373, 444, &c.

[2] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, IX. 400; Brydges's Peers of James I. 330—333; Clarendon, 374; and Sanford's Studies of the Great Rebellion (1858), p. 288.

HENRY GREY, 1st EARL of STAMFORD. The branch of the ancient and much-ramified family of the Greys of which this peer was representative had formerly held almost the highest rank in the realm. His great-grandfather, Lord John Grey, had been the brother of that Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, and finally Duke of Suffolk, who was the father of Lady Jane Grey. On the execution of his brother, which followed that of his sister, this Lord John Grey had become the head of the family; but, as its honours had been attainted, he transmitted no peerage. His son, however, had been readmitted to the peerage by James (1603) as Lord Grey of Groby; and *his* grandson, succeeding him in 1614, had been advanced to the earldom of Stamford in 1628. It was thought that "this partial restoration of honours very little satisfied the fallen family of Grey;" and on some such vague principle people were to account for the vehement anti-royalism both of the Earl of Stamford and of his son Lord Grey of Groby in the Long Parliament and throughout the Civil War.[1]

WILLIAM FIENNES, 1st VISCOUNT SAYE AND SELE. Born in 1583, of a family the heads of which had been barons since the Conquest, he had been Viscount since 1624. He was a Puritan of the most pronounced cast—a rarity, in this respect, among the English peers. "Of close and reserved nature," "proud, morose, and sullen," "of a mean and narrow fortune, of great parts, and of the highest ambition," "conversing much with books," is Clarendon's account of him; and the name "Old Subtlety," given him by Anthony Wood, hits off well the general impression of him entertained by his opponents. "The logicals and philosophicals" had been his favourite studies at Oxford, and for astuteness and persistency of intellect he was thought all but unmatched. That he was bold as well as wary had been proved by his resisting the ship-money tax at the same time as Hampden, and subsequently by his positive refusal to aid in the war against the Scots. He and Hampden were supposed to "steer all the designs" of the more advanced portion of the Puritan party; and his house at Broughton in Oxfordshire had long been a place where secret meetings were held and plots hatched. "There was," says Wood, "a room there where there would be great noises and talkings heard," though the servants durst not go near it. In whatever correspondence there had been between the English Puritans and the Scottish Covenanters, Saye and Sele had been a principal. He was now fifty-seven years of age.[2]

EDWARD MONTAGU, LORD KIMBOLTON. Known also by his courtesy-title of Viscount Mandeville, this nobleman, now *ætat.* 37, was the eldest son of the Earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seal. Educated at Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge, he had, from his father's position, been much about the Court, and had accompanied

[1] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, III. 352-9; and Peers of James I. 83, 84.

[2] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, VII. 22 *et seq.*; Wood's Athenæ, III. 546 *et seq.*; Clarendon, 73 and 375.

Charles to Spain. He had been a member of the Commons in Charles's early Parliaments, but had been raised to the peerage, as Lord Kimbolton, in his father's life-time, by an act of special favour. This honour he perhaps owed to his marriage with a relative of the Duke of Buckingham; but, on her death, he had married a daughter of the Earl of Warwick. This connexion had detached him from the Court, and mixed him so much with the Puritans that it was a subject for gossip how the Earl of Manchester, the King's minister, could have two sons of such diverse tendencies—Mandeville or Kimbolton, all for the Puritans, and the younger son, Walter Montagu, a Roman Catholic convert and fanatic. "No man," says Clarendon, speaking of Kimbolton, "was more in the confidence of the discontented and factious party than he, and none to whom the whole mass of their designs, as well what remained in chaos as what was formed, more entirely communicated." Being of free and generous habits, he had got largely into debt, in expectation of his succession to his father; his life had not been by any means "conformable to the rigour of his party," if Clarendon is to be believed; but, according to the same authority, he was of such real goodness of disposition that nothing could spoil him, and of such urbanity and high breeding that all liked him. His town-house was in Chelsea.[1]

PHILIP, 4th LORD WHARTON. This young nobleman, *ætat.* 27, had succeeded to the title in his boyhood, and had manifested Puritan opinions since he had had any to manifest. Much was expected of him, particularly from his high moral qualities.[2]

ROBERT GREVILLE, 2nd LORD BROOKE. Born in 1607, and therefore now *ætat.* 33, this nobleman had been carefully educated by his relative, the celebrated philosophical poet and politician, Fulke Greville, 1st Lord Brooke, whom he succeeded in 1628. His education, and his marriage with Lady Catherine Russell, eldest daughter of the Earl of Bedford, had determined his natural bias towards the popular side; and, with the exception of Lord Saye and Sele, there was no peer more resolutely opposed to Charles's arbitrary policy in Church and State. He had even purposed to emigrate to New England with Saye and Sele; and he had stood by Saye and Sele in the protest against the Scottish war. In reach and depth of intellect he was considered equal to "Old Subtlety" himself, while he had more fervour and enthusiasm.[3]

EDWARD, LORD HOWARD of ESCRICK. He was a younger son of Thomas, 1st Earl of Suffolk, and, in the time of the Duke of Buckingham's ascendency, had married a niece of his, and had, in consequence, been made a baron in his own right (1628). "But, "that dependence being at an end, his wife dead, and he without "any virtue to promote himself," says Clarendon, "he withdrew

[1] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, II. 57 *et seq.*; and Clarendon, 73, 74, and 374.

[2] Sanford's Studies of the Great Rebellion, 289, 290.

[3] Collins's Peerage by Brydges, IV. 351 *et seq.*; Sanford, p. 290; and Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors.

"himself from following the Court, and, shortly after, from wishing it well, and had now delivered himself up, body and soul, to be disposed of by that party which appeared most adverse and obnoxious to the Court and the Government."[1]

JOHN DIGBY, 1st EARL of BRISTOL. The antecedents of this nobleman, now *ætat.* 60, were such that almost necessarily he took, at the opening of the Long Parliament, a front rank in the opposition. It was fourteen years since he had been foiled in his trial of strength with Buckingham, and disgraced by Charles for alleged misconduct in his Spanish embassy; and now he had the opportunity for revenge. For a time, but only for a time, he seemed inclined to use it. According to Clarendon, he was a man of grave aspect and real ability, but self-willed and supercilious, and too "voluminous" in his talk.[2]

WILLIAM SEYMOUR, 11th EARL of HERTFORD. Neither had this nobleman, now between fifty and sixty years of age, much reason to take part with the Court. The romantic story of his youth was in the memory of all. It was remembered how, when only Mr. William Seymour, 2nd son of Lord Beauchamp, he had secretly married the Lady Arabella Stuart, the cousin of King James; how, on the discovery of the marriage, he had been placed in the Tower and the lady in private custody; how in 1611 the two lovers planned a simultaneous escape to the Continent; how, the vessel in which Lady Arabella was having been captured, she was retaken and imprisoned in the Tower which he had just left; and how, while he lived abroad disconsolate, the poor imprisoned lady became insane and died. Permitted then to return to England, and becoming, by the deaths of his elder brother and his father, heir to the earldom of Hertford, he had married, for his second wife, a sister of the Earl of Essex, and had lived habitually in the country; a nobleman of "great fortune, honour and interest," says Clarendon, "of very good parts and conversant in books, both in the Latin and Greek languages," but wholly given up to ease and indolence. The events of 1639-40 had brought him out a little. He had been one of the liberal lords who petitioned Charles at York for a Parliament, and he was also one of the Commissioners for the Scottish treaty. It was fully expected that he would act in the opposition along with his brother-in-law, Essex, for whom he had a great regard.[3]

THOMAS WRIOTHESLEY, EARL of SOUTHAMPTON. This peer, now *ætat.* 31, was the son of Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton, to whom the *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* had been dedicated. He had succeeded his father in 1624. "A great man in all respects," "of a nature much inclined to melancholy," says Clarendon of him, adding that he was a ready and weighty speaker in any sudden debate. As "he had never had any conversation in the Court, or

[1] Clarendon, Hist. 119.
[2] Collins, V. 362; Clarendon, 370.
[3] Peers of James I. pp. 300—307; and Clarendon, 170, 171, 369.

obligation to it, but, on the contrary, had undergone some hardship from it," it was anticipated that he would be in the opposition; but, though he had strong opinions as to the illegality of much that Charles and Strafford had done, Charles was to find in him ere long one of his truest friends.[1]

WILLIAM CAVENDISH, 3rd EARL of DEVONSHIRE. This young peer, now *ætat.* 22, had succeeded his father in 1628; shortly after which his mother had sent him abroad under the tutorship of Thomas Hobbes, who had been his father's tutor twenty years before, and had ever since been attached to the family. He had returned from his travels with Hobbes in 1637-8, to enter on the duties of his rank.[2]

PHILIP DORMER, 1st EARL of CARNARVON. Hitherto occupied chiefly with "those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like, in which the nobility of that time too much delighted," this nobleman had a certain force of character and capacity which was to show itself in the King's cause.[3]

JAMES STANLEY, LORD STRANGE (afterwards 7th Earl of Derby). The son and heir of William, 6th Earl of Derby, this nobleman had been a peer in his own right, as Baron Strange, since 1628, and, by reason of his father's age and infirmities, Earl of Derby in all but the name since 1637, when the management of the family-estates had been made over to him. The acquisition and settlement of these estates, through a series of complicated lawsuits, in which the Countess-Dowager Derby of the *Arcades* and her daughters had borne a part, had been no small part of the business of the 6th Earl's life; but all had at length been arranged, and not only the ancient seats of Latham and Knowsley, with vast lands in Lancashire, Cumberland, Cheshire and Yorkshire, but also the lordship of the Isle of Man, held by former Earls of Derby as "Kings of Man," were now the property of the earldom, and consequently of Lord Strange. He was a man, according to Clarendon, of "great honour and clear courage," only too haughty and imperious, from having lived too little amongst equals. His wife, a fit match for such a spirit, was Charlotte de la Tremouille, daughter of Claude de la Tremouille, duke of Thouars, peer of France, by *his* wife Charlotte, daughter of William I. of Orange and Charlotte of Bourbon. Both the husband and the wife were to be known by their brave deeds for Charles.[4]

Among the other peers may be noted EDWARD SHEFFIELD, 1st EARL of MULGRAVE (an aged peer who had been in service in Elizabeth's reign); THEOPHILUS DE CLINTON, 9th EARL of LINCOLN (whose wife was a daughter of Viscount Saye and Sele); GEORGE MANNERS, 8th EARL of RUTLAND (who lived but to March 1641-2); THOMAS LEIGH, 1st LORD DUNSMORE (father-in-law of the Earl of Southampton); WILLIAM PAGET, 5th LORD PAGET; and THOMAS

[1] Peers of James I. 326-7; and Clarendon, 369-70.

[2] Collins's Peerage by Brydges.

[3] Nicolas's Hist. Peerage; and Clar. 430.

[4] Collins's Peerage; and Clar. 766.

SAVILE, 1st LORD SAVILE of POMFRET (an enemy of Strafford for family reasons). All these had signed the York petition for the Parliament. They therefore at least began in the Parliament as "liberals." To be known more or less on the one side or the other were also—ROBERT PIERREPOINT, 1st EARL of KINGSTON (related to the Cavendishes of Newcastle and Devonshire); SPENCER COMPTON, 2nd EARL of NORTHAMPTON (*ætat.* 39); HENRY BOUCHIER, 5th EARL of BATH; JOHN HOLLES, 3rd EARL of CLARE (brother-in-law of Strafford); THOMAS BELLASIS, 1st LORD FAUCONBERG (*ætat.* 63); and WILLIAM GREY, 1st LORD GREY of WARK.

II. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In Rushworth's list of the original members of the Commons' House in the Long Parliament their number is given as exactly 500. Of these 91 were members for counties, 405 were members for boroughs (London returning 4 members), and 4 were members for the two Universities.[1]

I. *Ministerial Members.* Most of the King's ministers, or Privy Councillors, were in the Upper House; but there were several in the Commons. Chief of these were the two Secretaries of State—SIR FRANCIS WINDEBANK (one of the members for Corfe Castle), and SIR HENRY VANE (one of the members for Wilton). Windebank was faithful to the King and Laud; but Vane had been veering round in the last Scottish war, and had been one of the petitioners for a Parliament. Mr. EDWARD NICHOLAS, one of the clerks of the Council (member for Newton, Hants), may be likewise mentioned as a ministerial member. The only other properly ministerial members of the House were SIR THOMAS JERMYN, *Comptroller of the Household* (one of the members for Bury St. Edmund's), SIR EDWARD LITTLETON, *Chief Justice of the Common Pleas* (one of the members for Staffordshire), and SIR EDWARD HERBERT, *Solicitor-General* (one of the members for Old Sarum). SIR JOHN BANKS, the *Attorney-General*, was not a member of the Commons, but sat by writ in the Upper House, attending the Lord Keeper.

II. *General Body of the Members.* It ought distinctly to be understood that the members of the Commons' House in this most revolutionary, as it was to prove, of English Parliaments, were not,

[1] Rushworth, IV. 1—11. From the changes that happened in the Long Parliament from time to time, it is difficult in some cases to determine who were members at any one time. Mr. Carlyle gives an elaborated list for the whole duration of the Parliament (Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, edit. 1857, Appendix to Vol. II.); Mr. Sanford gives another (Studies of the Great Rebellion, 270—282); and there is a very full and instructive list in the Parliamentary History, II. 599—629. From this last list it appears (unless I have erred in the troublesome task of counting through thirty columns of names, and omitting always those marked †) that the roll of the House, when formally complete, contained 508 members. It was not till some little time after the first day of meeting that the House was thus perfectly constituted. There had to be fresh elections in certain counties and boroughs —the first elections having been declared void for this or that reason.

as is often supposed by persons ignorant of History, a mere collection of political adventurers from all the ends of society. They were the very flower of the English gentry and the English legal profession. Some of them were peers' sons; many of them were knights or baronets; almost all of them were men of estate and education; and very few of them were of the class that would now be called commercial. Farther, it is to be remembered that, if they were not, on the average of their whole number, superior intellectually to a modern House of Commons, they formed collectively a larger proportion of the best intellect of the country than is looked for now in a House of Commons. Now-a-days, when the talent of the country is so multiform, and may be absorbed in a thousand occupations unconnected with Parliament, it is but a small proportion of it that comes within the walls of St. Stephen's. Perhaps also, now-a-days, it is a necessary consequence of the nature of Parliamentary business that a very moderate proportion of the total talent of the country, and that proportion working at but a moderate pitch of intensity, suffices for the performance of the business. The exceptions will be in times of great national exigency, when there may be a rush of the very best minds to the rescue. But in those days not only could a larger relative proportion of the energy and talent of England be within Parliament, and not only were more of the interests of English life locked up in the procedure of Parliament, but the nature of the Parliamentary work in hand roused the energy and talent engaged in it to a higher state of tension. It was then, to a great extent, a work of life and death. The policy a man pursued in Parliament, the votes he gave in it, might lead, as he knew, to his imprisonment, the ruin of his family, or even his death on the scaffold in some hour of retribution. In *our* changed times we have almost lost the power of estimating, by any experience of our own, the effect of this sense of actual life-and-death risk upon a politician's public conduct.——With these remarks, let us proceed to glance at the heads that were to be the most remarkable, in one way or another, among the five hundred that assembled in St. Stephen's in November 1640. Very many of them, it may be added, were not there for the first time, but had been in the Short Parliament of the same year, or in Charles's earlier Parliaments, or in some of the Parliaments of James.

John Pym (Tavistock),[1] *ætat.* 56. Beyond all question this is the name that ought to stand first in the present list. Pym's fame, indeed, was not now to make. He had served in the last Parliament of James, and in all Charles's, and with such energy that, since Eliot's death, the leadership of the popular cause had been universally assigned to him. Not sleeping, but on the watch, through the weary years of "Thorough," he had resumed his proper

[1] There were two members for this borough, as for almost all boroughs and counties; but, to avoid repetition, I here, and in the following paragraphs, insert simply the name of borough or county.

place in the Short Parliament as the orator of the opposition; and, in the intervening months, he had been consulting with Bedford, Saye and Sele, Mandeville and others, corresponding with the Scottish leaders, and stirring up the citizens of London to their petition for another Parliament. This petition he had himself carried to York. So entirely did he rule the House now assembled that he came to be called "King Pym" by the courtiers. Clarendon's testimony is that not only had he "the greatest influence in the House of any man," but he was "the most popular man and the ablest to do hurt" that had ever been in an English Parliament. "He had," says the same authority, "a comely and grave way of expressing himself, with great volubility of words, natural and proper;" to which I may add, on the faith of his preserved speeches, that the characteristic of his eloquence was massive and business-like impressiveness rather than brilliance. In the best portrait I have seen of him (after a miniature by Cooper) there is a calm English massiveness of head and face, with something of a settled seriousness, verging on sorrow. He had vowed to break the neck of the tyranny of his country. He had also fixed ideas as to the means. His leading principle—and it marks his exact place in the Revolution—was that of the necessity of establishing the supremacy and inviolability of Parliament. In respect of the immediate changes to be striven for in Church and State, he was, though perhaps in advance of the Earl of Bedford, by no means of "furious dispositions." Somersetshire has the honour of having produced Pym, and he had been educated at Oxford. He had been a widower since 1620. One of his sons had been with him in the Short Parliament, and another was to be in the Long Parliament after his father's death. Till the meeting of Parliament Pym's usual town-lodging had been in Gray's Inn Lane; but he had removed to "a lodging at Sir Richard Manley's house in a little court behind Westminster Hall." Here Hampden and others met daily to consult with him at a table kept at their joint expense.[1]

JOHN HAMPDEN (co. Bucks), *ætat.* 46. By birth a very wealthy gentleman of Buckinghamshire, and a cousin of Oliver Cromwell, Hampden, like Pym, brought with him the experience of former Parliaments, and a reputation for patriotism acquired in them. He had been an especial friend of Eliot, whose two sons he took charge of during their father's fatal imprisonment. During the period of "Thorough" he had lived mainly in retirement; and what remains of his correspondence during this period reveals a character of unusual piety, conscientiousness, gentleness, and self-command, with a certain graceful and accomplished suavity of phrase, described by Clarendon as "a flowing courtesy to all men." Beneath all, however, there slept an English courage, and a depth of exhaustless machination in aid of that courage. He came forward to fight

[1] Wood's Athenæ, III. 72–80; Clarendon's History, 74, and 474–5; Clarendon's Life (1759), 41; Lord Nugent's Memoir of Hampden (1854), 183 *et seq.*; Forster's Life of Pym in "Statesmen of the Commonwealth."

the ship-money battle in the law-courts, and was ready to spend his whole fortune in feeing lawyers, and in employing against the Crown every ingenuity or delay of the law, rather than pay the few shillings demanded of him. It is his courage that is now thought of when we speak of Hampden; but there was a singular agreement among his contemporaries, both friends and foes, as to his profound craftiness as well. "He was a man," says Clarendon, "of much greater "cunning [than Pym] and, it may be, of the most discerning spirit, "and of the greatest address to bring anything to pass which he "desired, of any man of that time, and who laid the design deepest." He did not speak often, Clarendon continues, and hardly ever at the beginning of a question; but he was a very weighty speaker when he did speak, and had a peculiar art of coming in at the end of a debate and summing up so as to turn all to his own conclusion, or, if that could not be, getting the subject postponed. Also he had a way of "infusing his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn," and of throwing out ideas in advance of the moment, so as to be disintegrating theoretically ahead of the point practically reached. "Of an industry and vigilance," adds Clarendon, with his fondness for superlatives, "not to be tired "out by the most laborious, and of parts not to be imposed on "by the most subtle and sharp, and of a personal courage equal to "his best parts;" and again, "He was indeed a very wise man, and "of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of "popularity and the most absolute faculties to govern the people "of any man I ever knew." Descriptions from other pens convey the same impressions of Hampden. His face, in the only authentic portrait of him, is very fine, firm and thoughtful, with a deep Italian-looking softness in it. He resided in Westminster, to be near Pym; his second wife, whom he had recently married, being generally in town with him, while his family by his first wife were in Bucks.[1]

Denzil Holles (Dorchester), *ætat.* 43. Second son of the late Earl of Clare and brother of the present Earl, Holles also brought into the Parliament a reputation earned in preceding ones; more particularly on that famous occasion of the dissolution of the Parliament of 1628-9, when he held Speaker Finch in the chair by main force while the House passed their "Three Resolutions" (see Vol. I. p. 182). He was "as much valued and esteemed by the "whole party," says Clarendon, "as any man; as he deserved to "be, being of more accomplished parts than any of them." He was rather hampered now, though not so much as his brother the Earl, by the fact that their sister had been Strafford's first wife, and that they were the uncles of Strafford's children.[2]

Sir Philip Stapleton, Knt. (Boroughbridge). "A proper man, "of a fair extraction," so Clarendon introduces him, "who, being a

[1] Wood's Athen. IV. 59—62; Clarendon, 55, 74, 119, 396; Lord Nugent's Memorials of Hampden; Forster's Life; Sir Philip Warwick's Memoir (edit. 1701), p. 240.

[2] Collins by Brydges.

"branch of a younger family, inherited but a moderate estate, about "500*l.* the year, in Yorkshire, and, according to the custom of that "county, had spent his time in those delights which horses and dogs "administer." But, having been returned to the Long Parliament, he in a short time "appeared a man of vigour in body and mind, and to be rather without good breeding than not capable of it."[1]

Sir Benjamin Rudyard, Knt. (Wilton), *ætat.* 68. This veteran, who had served in many Parliaments before, had been, in his younger days, a wit and courtier; and his name is associated with that of Shakespeare's Earl of Pembroke in a volume of verses composed between them. Ben Jonson had also addressed epigrams to Rudyard. He was now a pious and reforming politician.[2]

William Strode (Beeralston, co. Devon). There is some dispute whether this was the Strode who figured, along with Denzil Holles, Eliot, Selden, Benjamin Valentine, William Coriton, and others, in the famous closing scene of the Parliament of 1628-9, and had been imprisoned in consequence. He is described as "a young man," and can hardly have been that elder Strode. At all events he was "one of the fiercest men of his party," according to Clarendon.[3]

Oliver St. John (Totness), *ætat.* 42. He was the son of a Bedfordshire knight, related to the Bolingbroke family, and was a Lincoln's Inn lawyer. In that profession he had won immense celebrity as Hampden's counsel in the ship-money case. "He was," says Clarendon, "a man reserved and of a dark and clouded countenance, very proud, and conversing with very few, and these men of his own humour and inclinations." In allusion to his gloomy looks they called him the "dark-lantern man" of the Puritan party. He had married, for his second wife, a cousin of Oliver Cromwell.[4]

John Selden (Oxford University), *ætat.* 56. The sketch already given of this great scholar and keen thinker (Vol. I. pp. 482—487) will serve for our cognizance of him at his entry into the Long Parliament. His was certainly one of the weightiest reputations in the House. That he would be on the side of Reform was augured by his antecedents in former Parliaments, by his anti-clerical spirit, and by the motto he had chosen, "Liberty above everything;" but his peculiar interpretation of that motto, and his cool and sceptical temper, were to lead him to a policy rather of varying criticism of both parties than of thoroughgoing devotion to either.

Nathaniel Fiennes (Banbury), *ætat.* 32. This celebrated member, the second son of Viscount Saye and Sele, was regarded as a milder edition of his father—equally thoroughgoing in his

[1] Clarendon, Hist. 119.

[2] Wood's Athen. III. 455 *et seq.*

[3] Wood's Athen. III. 176—178; Forster's Hist. and Biog. Essays (1858), I. 20, 21; Sanford's Studies, 396—400; Forster's "Arrest of the Five Members," 198, and "Grand Remonstrance," 187—189. Wood's date, 1578, for the birth of *this* Strode, must be an error.

[4] Clarendon, 74, 75; and Carlyle's Cromwell (edit. 1857), I. 77—79.

Puritanism, but personally more prepossessing. He came to be called "Young Subtlety." Educated at Winchester and Oxford, he had travelled in Switzerland and Scotland, making Calvinistic observations. He was an especial companion of Hampden. "Broad face, bluntish nose, hair brown and sleeked over the forehead," are my notes from a portrait of him.[1]

Sir Arthur Haselrig, Bart. (co. Leicester). He was an intimate friend of Fiennes and worked with him in Parliament. He had been married twice—his second wife being a sister of Lord Brooke.[2] He was of "a rude and stubborn nature," according to Clarendon; which means that he was very resolute and of extreme political opinions.

Francis Rous (Truro), *ætat.* 61. A zealous Puritan of former Parliaments, and known by various pious writings, Rous had not yet given to the world the production by which he ought now to be best known, viz.: his metrical version of the Psalms. A portrait of him which I have seen presents him with grey hair and beard, a large round hat on, and his eyes near together.[3]

Oliver Cromwell (Cambridge), *ætat.* 42. Though this was Cromwell's third Parliament, he entered it a comparatively undistinguished man. He was known, however, in the Fen-counties, where he had been residing (at Ely since 1636) as a zealous gentleman-farmer of Puritan principles. He was a cousin of Hampden and of Waller, and related to St. John the Lawyer and others in the House; and Hampden could certify that he was no ordinary man, but "would set well at the mark." If his letter, written two years before, to his cousin, St. John's wife, could have been produced, it would have given a better idea of him than anything else. "I live, you know *where*," he had there said in reply to some letter of the lady expressing admiration and affection for him—"in Meshec, which they say signifies Prolonging; in Kedar, "which signifies Blackness; yet the Lord forsaketh me not. Though "He do prolong, yet He will, I trust, bring me to His tabernacle, "to His resting-place. My soul is with the congregation of the "First-born, my body rests in hope; and, if here I may honour my "God either by doing or by suffering, I shall be most glad. . . . "You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in "and loved darkness, and hated light; I was a chief, the chief of "sinners. This is true: I hated godliness, yet God had mercy "on me." It was not long before the fervour which breaks out in these lines attracted notice in the House. "The first time I ever "took notice of Mr. Cromwell," afterwards wrote Philip Warwick, member for Radnor, in an often-quoted passage, "was in the very "beginning of the Parliament held in Nov. 1640, when I vainly "thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers

[1] Wood's Athen. III. 877—881; and Clarendon, 936 (Life).

[2] Debrett's Baronetage.

[3] Wood's Athenæ, III. 466; and Mr. David Laing's "Notices regarding Metrical Versions of the Psalms," in appendix to Baillie's Letters (III. 532 *et seq.*).

"valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came into the "House one morning, well-clad, and perceived a gentleman speak- "ing, whom I knew not—very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a "plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill "country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; and I "remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which "was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hat- "band. His stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to "his side; his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp "and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour." Clarendon also tells us how he found Cromwell "rude" and "tempestuous," beyond all bounds of courtesy, in one of his first encounters with him in a Committee. All Cromwell's children had been born before the Long Parliament, and he had lost his eldest son, Robert, about eighteen months before.[1]

Sir Henry Vane, Junior, Knt. (Hull), *ætat.* 28. The life of this young man, the eldest son of Secretary Sir Henry Vane, had already been singular in the eyes of the world. Sent to Oxford from Westminster School, he had astounded the authorities by refusing, though but a boy, to take the required oaths. Perplexed by the precocious ultra-Puritanism of his son, the elder Vane had sent him abroad; and in his twenty-third year he had emigrated to America. He had been received there with much respect as the son of a Privy Councillor; and in 1636 he had been elected Governor of Massachusetts, the fourth in its series of Governors. During his year of office the colony was much distracted by a controversy occasioned by the public preaching of a Mrs. Hutchinson, the clergy declaring the usurpation of the preaching function by a woman to be monstrous and unscriptural, and also denouncing her doctrines as Antinomian. The young Governor Vane, and a minority with him, stood out for Mrs. Hutchinson and liberty, and he maintained a discussion on the subject in printed letters with the ex-Governor Winthrop. In the following year the majority re-elected Winthrop to the Governorship, and Vane returned to England, leaving, however, a very favourable opinion of him among the colonists. He married, sat in the Short Parliament for Hull, had been knighted by Charles (June 1640), and had been appointed to the lucrative post of joint-treasurer of the navy. It was probably hoped that he was now tamed, and would act as became his father's son. But there was hardly a young head in England with such a quantity of undeveloped theory in it. "He was a man," says Clarendon, "of extraordinary parts, a pleasant wit, a great understanding "which pierced into and discerned the purposes of other men "with wonderful sagacity, whilst he had himself *vultum clausum*, "that no man could make a guess of what he intended." This character was given after farther knowledge; but Vane's peculiar

[1] Carlyle's Cromwell (edit. 1857), I. 79—90, and I. 54, 55 (note); Forster's Hist. and Biog. Essays, I. 334, 335 Clarendon, Life, 936.

visage seems to have struck people from his first appearance in the House. It came partly from his father and mother, "neither of whom," says Clarendon, "were beautiful persons;" but there was something in it beyond the natural.[1]

HENRY MARTEN (co. Berks), *ætat.* 38. Belonging also to the knot of the more extreme speculative spirits of the time, this Henry Marten, son of Sir Henry Marten, Dean of the Court of Arches, was distinguished from all of them by a certain moral difference. Educated at Oxford, and a member of one of the Inns of Court, he had been provided by his father with a very rich wife, from whom he had separated. He had been living an easy, and, as was said, a very lax life about town, or on his property in the vale of the White Horse in Berks, where his generosity made him very popular. "He was a great lover of pretty girls," says the gossip Aubrey, writing of him long afterwards, but while he was still alive, "and as far from a Puritan as light from darkness." But "he was," adds the same gossip, "a great and faithful lover of his country." Aubrey goes on, "He was of an incomparable wit at repartees;" and Sir Edward Baynton was wont to say that "his company was incomparable, but that he would be drunk too soon." His speeches were never long, but "wondrous pertinent, poignant, and witty;" and he would often turn the whole House by some happy jest. "He was wont to sleep much in the House—at least "dog-sleep. Alderman Atkins made a motion that such scan- "dalous members as slept should be put out. H. M. starts up: "'Mr. Speaker, a motion has been made to turn out the *nodders*: I "desire the *noddees* may also be turned out.'" From which scraps of gossip it may be seen that Marten was from the first more of what we should now call a free-thinker than a Puritan. In the end they came to call him an Atheist, a Communist, and what not. It was from Marten, at all events, that Hyde, who knew him well, first heard anything like an expression of Republican opinions. Meeting him in Westminster churchyard soon after the beginning of the Parliament, and jesting with him on his connexion with the Puritans, Hyde had heard him say, "I do not think one man wise enough to govern us all." The speech took away Hyde's breath.[2]

BULSTRODE WHITLOCKE (Marlow), *ætat.* 35. Connected, as we already know, with the Bulstrodes of Horton (Vol. I. p. 520), Whitlocke had for some time been an eminent lawyer when he was chosen to serve in the Long Parliament. Although he had been educated in St. John's College, Oxford, when Laud was President of the College, and retained some affectionate recollection of Laud on that account, his dispositions were with the party of Reform. To that party he remained faithful on the whole; but his character

[1] Wood's Athen. III. 578—587; Clarendon, 75 and 442; Sanford, 392—395; and Life of Vane by Charles Wentworth Upham, in Sparks's series of American Biographies (1835).

[2] Wood's Athen. III. 1237—1244, with Bliss's additions; Aubrey's Lives; and Clarendon (Life), 937.

was of a kind to be swayed pretty easily by personal considerations, and by events as they turned up.[1]

Sir Samuel Luke, Knt. (Bedford). It would be wrong not to take note of this zealous Presbyterian member of the Long Parliament, if only on account of his being the supposed original of Butler's *Hudibras*. I have seen in the State Paper Office a petition from Sir Samuel Luke, in 1638, to Laud, for leave for himself and family to attend divine service at any one of three parish churches near his mansion of Woodend in Bedfordshire, instead of his own parish church of Copthall, the distance of which was inconvenient, especially in winter. Laud (July 2, 1638) grants the petition, on condition that the family shall still attend the communion at Copthall Church. Butler seems about this time to have been residing in Luke's household, as secretary or the like.

Sir Edward Deering, Bart. (co. Kent). This gentleman, afterwards a zealous royalist, entered the Parliament as a Puritan, particularly vehement for Church Reform. He was called "the silver trumpet of the House," having a fine voice, which he liked to use. "A man of levity and vanity," Clarendon calls him, "easily flattered by being commended."[2]

George, Lord Digby (co. Dorset), *ætat.* 28. This young nobleman, who was to play a dashing part in the Parliament, ultimately for the King, was the eldest son of the Earl of Bristol, and had been in Madrid when his father was ambassador at the Spanish Court. He had been educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he had been intimate with Peter Heylyn, then Fellow there. Of "very extraordinary parts by nature and art," of "graceful and beautiful person," of "great eloquence and becomingness in his discourse," and "equal to a very good part in the greatest affair, but the unfittest man alive to conduct it, having an ambition and vanity superior to all his other parts," is Clarendon's character of him from his own knowledge. A portrait of him by Vandyke represents him as very handsome, with rich, full face, and long curled fair hair.[3]

Sir John Colepepper (co. Kent). In the course of events this gentleman, like his colleague Deering, was to go over to the King's side, but with a weight of character and influence far greater than Deering's. Clarendon's character of him is that he was "a "good speaker, being a man of an universal understanding, a quick "comprehension, a wonderful memory, who commonly spoke at the "end of a debate, when he could recollect all that had been said of "weight on all sides with great exactness, and express his own sense "with much clearness, and such an application to the House that "no man more gathered a general concurrence to his opinion than "he; which was the more notable because his person and manner of

[1] Wood's Athen. III. 1042.

[2] Forster's "Arrest of the Five Members," 228 *et seq.*; and Clar. 95.

[3] Wood's Athen. III. 1100; Collins by Brydges, V. 365 *et seq.*; and Clar. 137, 138.

"speaking were ungracious enough." In another place Clarendon adds such particulars as these—that "he was of a rough nature, a hot head, and of great courage," had been in military service abroad and had fought many duels, had long been known as an active man of business among the Kentish gentry, and had now entered Parliament with a determination to make himself felt. He had, however, "a fancy so perpetually working" that, though he might agree to a project to-day, he would have to-morrow a new budget of doubts about it—which, Clarendon thinks, was his chief fault.[1]

Edward Hyde (Saltash, Cornwall), *ætat.* 32. Hyde's antecedents are known to us as far as to the year 1632 (Vol. I. pp. 494-5). Since then he had been diligent in his profession as a lawyer, and had acquired as much practice as he cared for, so as, with a competent estate of his own to boot, to be leading "a very pleasant and plentiful life." But "he had ambition enough," he says, "to keep him from being satisfied with his own condition;" and to this ambition, together with his fastidious and intellectual tastes, he owed, he hints, his moral salvation. "There never was an age," he says, "in which, in so short a time, so many young gentlemen who had "not experience in the world, or some good tutelar angel to protect "them, were insensibly and suddenly overwhelmed in that sea of "wine and women, and quarrels and gaming, which almost over-"spread the whole kingdom." Happily escaping a fate to which a certain luxuriousness of disposition might have exposed him, and retaining his many friends among the lawyers and wits, and above all his affectionate intimacy with Lord Falkland and the rest of the thoughtful "Latitudinarian" group, he had of late been extending his acquaintance in the direction of the Court. Among the noblemen, he knew Essex, Pembroke, Hertford, Manchester, Holland, Dorset, Mandeville, and Conway; and circumstances had brought him into somewhat confidential communication with Laud. He fancied that Laud did a great many unpopular things from having no friend about him candid enough to explain matters to him and to tell him his faults of manner and temper, and he seems to have thought that, if he himself were much with the old man, there was a fund of reasonableness in him that might be managed for good. Still, on the whole, Hyde took his place in the Parliament, as in its predecessor, decidedly as a reformer; and, as a lawyer, he had reform-hobbies of his own. He was a first-rate speaker; "if not a little too redundant," says Sir Philip Warwick.[2]

Sir Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland (Newport, Isle of Wight), *ætat.* 30. Always close to Hyde in the House, in a place near the Speaker which was kept for them by a tacit understanding, sat his dear friend Falkland, whom he admired and loved more than any other man in the House. (The Falkland peerage, being Scottish, did not exclude Falkland from the Commons.) Nor was it long

[1] Clarendon, 136 (History), and 940 Life); Warwick's Memoir, 195-6.

[2] Clarendon, 932 *et seq.* (Life); and Warwick, 196.

before those qualities of head and heart which Hyde, Chillingworth, Hales and others, had for years been admiring in the young nobleman in private arrested the attention of the House, and made him, though perhaps the most diminutive and insignificant-looking person in it, one of its leading minds. In politics he was, on the whole, in advance of Hyde. "He had not the Court in great "reverence, and had a presaging spirit that the King would fall "into great misfortune;" and, though "he had a better opinion of "the Church of England and the religion of it than of any "other church and religion, and had extraordinary kindness for "very many churchmen," yet "he had in his own judgment such "a latitude of opinion that he did not believe any part of "the order or government of it to be so essentially necessary to "religion but that it might be parted with." Here Hyde was at variance with him; but Falkland's characteristic wish that it could be brought about that all necessary reforms should come from the Crown itself kept him and Hyde together to the end.[1]

ARTHUR CAPEL (Hertfordshire), *ætat.* 40. This gentleman took his place in the Commons as a reformer, and was actually the first to stand up there and complain of the grievances of the country. Very soon, however, his Royalist tendencies were to declare themselves; and he was but eight months in the Commons when (Aug. 6, 1641) he was transferred to the Lords as Baron Capel of Hadham, co. Herts. It is, consequently, as the Royalist Lord Capel, brave to the death, that he is now remembered. "He had always," says Clarendon, "lived in a state of great plenty and general estimation, "having a very noble fortune of his own by descent, and a fair "addition to it by his marriage with an excellent wife, a lady of "very worthy extraction, of great virtue and beauty, by whom he "had a numerous issue of both sexes, in which he took great joy "and comfort, so that no man was more happy in all his domestic "affairs." A picture of him by Jansen, still extant, represents him with his family about him.[2]

EDMUND WALLER (St. Ives, Cornwall), *ætat.* 35. Since we parted with him last in 1632 (Vol. I. pp. 465—467) this well-known poet had been living the life of a very wealthy young widower, chiefly on his estates in Bucks, occasionally turning out a copy of graceful verses, addressed to the King, the Queen, or some courtier or lady, but, on the whole, preserving his independence. Unsuccessful in his suit of Lady Dorothy Sidney, the "Saccharissa" of his poems, he had married, for his second wife, a lady of humbler rank. He had reentered public life in the Short Parliament with such dispositions as might be expected in one who was a kinsman of Hampden and Cromwell, and yet of cool intellectual tastes and a friend of Hyde and Falkland. "He was a very pleasant discourser," says Clarendon,

Clarendon, 939-40, and 966 (Life); and see Vol. I. pp. 495-6.

[2] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 466; Rushworth, IV. 29; Clar. Hist. 703; Picture No. 794 in National Portrait Exhibition of 1866.

"in earnest and in jest, and therefore very grateful to all kind of "company." In the House he at once took a prominent part. "Having a graceful way of speaking, and by thinking much upon "several arguments (which his temper and complexion, that had "much of melancholic, inclined him to), he often seemed to speak "upon the sudden when the occasion had only admitted the oppor- "tunity of saying what he had thoroughly considered—which yet "was rather of delight than weight." The terrible moral defects which, according to Clarendon, mingled with all his good qualities —to wit, "a narrowness in his nature to the lowest degree," and his "abjectness and want of courage to support him in any virtuous undertaking"—were subsequent discoveries.[1]

Sir William Waller, Knt. (Andover), *ætat.* 43. Possibly a relative of the poet, and of a good family in Kent, this Waller had been educated at Oxford, had served in the earlier stages of the great German war, had been knighted by James in 1622, and, having married twice since that time, had been living as a country-gentleman of decidedly Presbyterian opinions. Entering Parliament as "an active person against prerogative and everything that looked that way," he was to be better known ere long in a military capacity. That he was a man of talent and of serious and thoughtful mind is proved, not only by his subsequent career, but by meditative writings of his later years which may still be read, and which Coleridge admired. He was a very little man, fair and rather florid, with brown hair, tending to grey.[2]

Sir Ralph Hopton, K.B. (Wells). He was the son of a Somersetshire squire, and, after having been for some time at Oxford, had gone abroad in his youth to serve in the first stage of the great German war. He had been Sir William Waller's companion in arms there. He was present at the Battle of Prague (Nov. 8, 1620), and had helped gallantly in the escape of Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia (daughter of James I. of England) after that crushing defeat of her and her husband's cause. Returning to England, he had been made K.B. at the coronation of Charles I., and had served in several of Charles's Parliaments, so that, when he appeared in the Long Parliament as member for Wells, it was with some acquired political experience. He was decidedly for destroying the system of "Thorough" and liberalizing the Government; and it was not till mere discussion had turned into civil war that his conscience led him on the whole to declare for the King. Then his military talents came into request, and he was to prove perhaps the very ablest officer the King had. "A "man superior to any temptation," Clarendon calls him; "of good "understanding, a clear courage, an industry not to be tired, and a "generosity not to be exhausted;" and the testimony is uniform to

[1] Waller's Life in Johnson's "Lives of the Poets" (where there is a mistake as to Waller's burgh); Clarendon, 927, 928 (Life).

[2] Wood's Athen. III. 814; Warwick's Memoir, 254; and Clarendon, 401.

the same effect. A portrait I have seen represents him in a ruff, with short fair hair, and a small fair beard.[1]

FERDINANDO, LORD FAIRFAX (co. York), *ætat.* 56. The Fairfaxes were an ancient and important family in Yorkshire. Sir Thomas Fairfax of Denton in that county, a soldier and diplomatist in his earlier years, but latterly leading the life of an active country-gentleman, had been created Baron Fairfax of Cameron in the Scottish peerage in 1627. Ferdinando, his son, had been knighted by James in 1607, when he was twenty-three years of age, had in the same year married Lady Mary, daughter of Lord Sheffield, President of the North, and had since then lived also chiefly in his native county. To him and his wife there had been born a large family—their eldest son being Thomas Fairfax (born 1612), afterwards the celebrated Commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary Army. Edward Fairfax, the poet and translator of Tasso, was the brother of the old peer, and, living much in Yorkshire till his death in 1632, had had some share in the education both of his nephew, Sir Ferdinando, and of his grand-nephew, the future general. In the year of the poet's death, the future general, though only twenty years of age, was already a conspicuous member of the family. After four years at Cambridge he had gone abroad for military service in the Netherlands under Lord Vere, and he had just returned with some reputation so acquired, and with the name among his relatives of "fiery young Tom." In 1637 he had married Anne, daughter of his late commander, Lord Vere, and taken up his home with her in Yorkshire, beside his grandfather, the old peer, and his father, Sir Ferdinando. All the three Fairfaxes, therefore, were in Yorkshire at the time of Charles's first expedition against the Scots (1639); and two of them, as we have seen, had been active in the King's service in that expedition—Sir Ferdinando as colonel of a Yorkshire foot-regiment, and Thomas as a commander of horse. Thomas's horse-troop was known as "The Yorkshire Redcaps," and his service with them was so marked that Charles, before returning from the bootless expedition, knighted him. It was not till May 1640 that the old peer died, and Sir Ferdinando became Lord Fairfax. He, and his son, Sir Thomas, took some part again for Charles in the second Scottish campaign in that year, though by that time Lord Fairfax's political reluctance had begun to appear. When he entered the Commons House in the Long Parliament (from which his peerage, being Scottish, did not exclude him), it was understood that he would belong to the party of Reform. He had already, as Sir Ferdinando, been in one of Charles's early Parliaments, and also in the Short Parliament of April 1640. He is described as "a man of good average ability, with "great powers of application, steadiness of aim, and unswerving "honesty of purpose;" and his portrait presents him as handsome, light-haired, and good-humoured. He is less memorable on his

[1] Dugdale's Baronage, II. 469; Markham's Fairfax, 262; Clar. 482.

own account, however, than as the father of his son, Sir Thomas, who was not then in Parliament, but in Yorkshire (a young husband of twenty-seven, with one or two children), waiting the call of events.[1]

Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Knt. (Sudbury), *ætat.* 38. Since we saw D'Ewes as a student at Cambridge (Vol. I. pp. 228-230), he had been called to the Bar of the Middle Temple (1623), had become known as a zealous antiquarian, had married, been knighted by Charles, and, having succeeded his father in the property of Stow Hall, Suffolk, had been living as a well-to-do country knight. He had been high sheriff of Suffolk in 1639, and was known to his neighbours as a pious gentleman of Puritan views. Having completed, as early as 1632, his "Journals of the Parliaments of Elizabeth" (not published till half a century afterwards), he was anxious to be chosen for the Long Parliament. Having succeeded in obtaining a seat just after the first meeting of the Parliament, he entered it with some real reputation as an authority in questions of Parliamentary precedent and privilege; which reputation his vanity disposed him to overtax, till the House began to regard him as a bore. But his indefatigable habit of note-taking enabled him to do posterity a service. On the very first day of his taking his seat he produced his note-book and began to jot down details of the incidents and speeches. Though a little inconvenienced by his being short-sighted, and by a certain jealousy of the House in the matter of reporting its proceedings at all, he persevered in the practice steadily, till, what with his notes in the House, and what with expansions of them by himself or his amanuensis in his lodgings (first in Millbank Lane and then in Goat's Alley), the result was those folio volumes of MSS. now in the British Museum, in which inquirers into the history of that period find so much interesting material in such a confused state and in such a dreadfully cramp handwriting. D'Ewes, however, was not the only note-taker among the members. Sir Ralph Verney (Aylesbury), Framlingham Gawdy (Thetford), and one or two others, also took notes.[2]

To the foregoing list of members individually may be added the following names, some of them known to us already, and others important enough to be known, but for which a collective reference will suffice here:—I. *Country Gentlemen.* In this category may be mentioned—Sidney Godolphin (Helston, Cornwall), the friend of Hyde and Falkland; Sir Dudley North (co. Cambridge), son and heir of Dudley, 3rd Lord North; Sir John Strangeways and Sir Walter Earle (colleagues for Weymouth); Sir John Hotham (Beverley), and his son John Hotham (Scarborough);

[1] Life of the Great Lord Fairfax, by Clements R. Markham, F.S.A. (1870), pp. 1—41.

[2] English Biography, Vol. V.; and *Edinburgh Review* for July 1846 (where a very interesting account of D'Ewes in connexion with the Long Parliament was given by the late Mr. John Bruce); Harl. MSS. 162, 163, *et seq.*

Sir John Wray (Lincolnshire); Sir John Evelyn (Ludgershall, Wilts), and his namesake Sir John Evelyn (Bletchingley, Surrey); Sir Robert Pye (Woodstock, with Speaker Lenthall for his fellow-member); Sir Thomas Barrington (Colchester), a cousin of Cromwell; Sir William Masham (co. Essex), also Cromwell's kinsman; Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir John Clotworthy (colleagues for Malden); William Pierepoint (Great Wenlock), second son of the Earl of Kingston; Sir Robert Harley (co. Hereford); Lord Philip Lisle (Yarmouth, Isle of Wight), eldest son of the Earl of Leicester; Sir Henry Ludlow (co. Wilts), the father of Edmund Ludlow; and Sir John Dryden (co. Northampton), the uncle of the poet Dryden, who was then a boy of nine years of age.——II. *Eminent Lawyers.* In this category, besides those already mentioned, may be noted—John Maynard (Totness); John Glynn (Westminster), Recorder of London; John Glanville (Bristol); Geoffrey Palmer (Stamford); John Wylde (Worcestershire); Edward Bagshaw (Southwark); Robert Holborn (Michell, Cornwall); and Harbottle Grimstone (Colchester).——III. *Army-men.* Some of the country-gentlemen mentioned had had military training; but Army-men in a more especial sense were—Henry Wilmot (Tamworth), who had been Commissary-general in the second army against the Scots; Henry Percy (co. Northumberland), brother of the Earl of Northumberland; Henry Jermyn (Bury St. Edmunds), master of horse to the Queen; Colonel George Goring (Portsmouth), son of Lord Goring; Colonel Ashburnham (Ludgershall, Wilts); and Captain Pollard (Beeralston).——IV. *Citizen-merchants.* Of this class were Isaac Pennington, Thomas Soame, John Venn, and Samuel Vassal, aldermen of the city of London and members for the city, and perhaps one or two aldermen from other towns. Pennington was certainly the most conspicuous man of the class, highly popular with the citizens of London, and at the same time deep in all the counsels of the Puritan leaders in Parliament.[1]

NINE MONTHS OF GENERAL PARLIAMENTARY ACTION.

Imagine the two Houses, in November 1640, settled for their work. Imagine the Lords in their House, with Lord Keeper Finch on the woolsack (though not to occupy it long), and with Thomas Willys, the Clerk of the Crown, and John

[1] Convinced as I am that such a counting of the eminent heads of any time or moment as that which I have attempted for the Long Parliament is worth, for genuine historical purposes, hundreds of pages of mere narrative or disquisition, I have taken great pains with the list. Yet I may not have been able to avoid errors. — Original portraits or most of the celebrities of the Long Parliament were in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866.

Browne, the Clerk of the Parliament, in constant attendance. Imagine the Commons in St. Stephen's Chapel, at one end of which, under the great window, is the chair on which Speaker Lenthall sits, with Henry Elsyng, Clerk of the Commons, and John Rushworth, the assistant-clerk, at a table immediately in front of him, while the great body of the members sit in rows at the sides, or some of them at the ends under the galleries, or some even in the galleries themselves. Gradually the members fix upon places according to their tastes. Pym sat on the Speaker's left, but at some distance from him; and on the same side, but nearer the Speaker, sat the younger Vane, St. John, Holles, D'Ewes, Henry Marten, and Edmund Waller. On the other side sat the elder Vane, Hyde, and Falkland (these three always close together near the Speaker), also Rudyard, Strode, Isaac Pennington, and Cromwell. Selden usually sat under the gallery at the entrance; Haselrig and Holborn usually *in* the gallery.[1] Business began every morning with prayers at eight o'clock, and for a time it was tried to end by about one o'clock. This, however, was found impossible, and afternoon sittings became habitual, extending often till dusk. Such afternoon-sittings, however, were rarely attended by the younger and idler members; who would be off to the parks or to bowls or tennis after their early dinner. A system of fines was tried, to compel afternoon-attendance and punctuality at morning prayers. It had to be given up, but seems from time to time to have been renewed.

In the first nine months of their sittings, or between Nov. 3, 1640, and August 1641, the two Houses, partly by the agency of numerous Committees on different subjects, got through a vast quantity of work. A minute student, desirous of ascertaining every particular of their discussions or determinations during these nine months, might spend nine months of his own life in mere reading for the purpose. In the following summary I shall but mass together,

[1] D'Ewes is the authority for such particulars; and some of them are from an article on D'Ewes in the *Edinburgh Review* (by the late Mr. John Bruce), July 1846.

under five heads, what it seems desirable to know of the nature and results of their action in various general departments, before following them into one department of paramount interest, where our inquiries must be more express and laborious:—

I. RELEASE AND COMPENSATION OF VICTIMS.—Meeting as they did avowedly to break the neck of "Thorough," the Parliament, led by the Commons, addressed themselves, first of all, to the business of liberating and solacing such victims of the late tyranny as were still in durance. Among the many cases of immediate relief to individuals one dwells, with chief interest still, as all England did at the time, on some five or six. There were Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, who had been lying in their separate prisons in the Channel Islands and the Scilly Islands since their public torture and mutilation in 1637; there was young John Lilburne, who had been whipt through the streets in 1638 for distributing Prynne's writings, and had been in prison since then; there was the poor Scot, Dr. Alexander Leighton, father of the future Archbishop Leighton, who had been in prison since his horrible mutilation for an Anti-Prelatic pamphlet so long ago as 1630. On the 7th of November, the first real day of business in the Commons, most of these cases came up. Lilburne's petition was presented by Cromwell; and it was on this occasion that Sir Philip Warwick first saw Cromwell, and took note of his untidy appearance, his swollen, reddish face, and his harsh and fervid manner. That very day Lilburne and Leighton were at large; and within little more than a month Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick were back from their more distant prisons amid vast cheering of the citizens, who poured out in huge crowds, on horse, in coaches, and on foot, all with rosemary branches, to meet them. Burton and Bastwick were restored to their wives, and Prynne, who had no wife, to his chambers in Lincoln's Inn. In due time came compensations of 5,000*l.*, 6,000*l.*, and like sums, with Burton's restoration to his church in Friday Street, and Prynne's to his barristership. Something was also done for the stout London citizen and merchant

Richard Chambers, and for other victims of the Star-chamber.[1]

II. PUNISHMENT OF DELINQUENTS.—Of longer duration and more intricate difficulty were proceedings, as natural and necessary, for the trial and punishment of the chief agents of "Thorough." Under a constitutional government, freely working by changes of ministry and the like, the practice of the impeachment and punishment of eminent political delinquents on retrospective charges has come to seem meaningless or ridiculous. The politicians who were *in* go *out*, and the politicians who were *out* come *in;* and all shake hands and begin again. But, in a nation where there has been "a tyranny," where certain men have held and used power for a long period against the will and struggles of the community, then, when the tables have been turned, these men have to expect a severe reckoning. How should it be otherwise? So long as *Præmium* and *Pœna* rule the world, it seems impossible that the trial and punishment by a community of those whom it has marked in such circumstances as eminent political delinquents can be anything else than a necessity. At all events, in England two centuries and a quarter ago this principle was in operation. When the Long Parliament met, it was as impossible for it to avoid bringing Strafford, Laud, Cottington, Windebank, and a few others to account, as it would be now to allow alleged criminals of another order to escape the law.

Bloodthirstiness was not a characteristic of the Parliament. There was but one of Charles's confidential junto of ministers respecting whom Pym and the other leaders had made up their minds that nothing short of his death would satisfy the national need. This was Strafford. Him they struck first. Charles's selfishness or his infatuation had given them the opportunity. Strafford, foreseeing what

[1] Rushworth, IV. 20 and 228–9; May's Hist. of Long Parl. (1812), 54, 55; Neal (edit. 1794), II. 366–368; and documents in S. P. O. Among these documents are two petitions, dated Nov. 7, 1640—one from "Susanna Bastwick, wife of John Bastwick, Doctor of Physic, close prisoner in the Isle of Scilly;" the other from "Sara Burton, wife of Henry Burton, now close prisoner in the Island of Guernsey." Mrs. Bastwick says she had never been allowed to see her husband, had "many small children depending on her," and had been in great straits and misery.

must happen, had begged, had implored, that he might be permitted to return to Ireland, or to remain with the wrecks of the English army in Yorkshire, so as to be absent from the Parliament. But, the King having replied that Strafford's presence was necessary, and having given his royal word that "not a hair of his head should be touched," the brave man had dared the worst. On the 9th of November he was in London. On the 11th, coming straight from the King, he entered the House of Lords "with a proud, glooming countenance." He was "making towards his place at the board-end" when he found Pym and other deputies from the Commons already there, in the act of impeaching him and demanding his arrest. Driven back to the door by outcries, he was readmitted, only to be called to his knees and delivered to the custody of the Black Rod. This custody was exchanged on the 25th of November for the sterner one of the Tower.[1] From the moment of his arrest it may be said that the reign of "Thorough" was definitely at an end, the King cowed and crippled, and the Parliament supreme in England for all farther action whatsoever. Had Strafford remained at large, a dissolution of the Parliament, with some new high-handed attempt by the King, might have come any day, and all might have been lost or thrown confusedly back. Hence the profound sagacity, as well as the boldness, of the policy of making his impeachment for treason almost the first act of the Commons. The proposal was Pym's. It was the masterstroke by which he inaugurated and assumed his Parliamentary leadership.

Strafford having been disposed of, the proceedings against his chief fellow-culprits were more leisurely. Secretary Windebank, who had been in trepidation since the opening of the Parliament, took flight in the night of the 1st of December, to avoid certain arrest in the House the next day; and, after skulking about the Kentish coast for a day or two, he escaped to France, by crossing the Channel on a dark foggy night, with his nephew and secretary, Reade, in a small

[1] Rushworth, IV. 42, 43; May, 59, 60; Baillie, I. 272.

boat.[1] Lord Keeper Finch, against whom charges of treason were in preparation, escaped, or was let escape (Dec. 22) into Holland. The Marquis of Hamilton and Lord Cottington, against both of whom proceedings had at first been threatened, were also allowed to withdraw themselves on their good behaviour.———With Strafford in the Tower, and Hamilton forgiven, there remained of the so-called Triumvirs only Laud. The resolution how to deal with him seems to have been formed gradually. Attacked in the Commons on the 10th of December by Sir Edward Deering, again more formally attacked on the 18th by Denzil Holles, and complained against from time to time by the Scottish Commissioners before the Lords, it was not till the 1st of March, 1640–41, that he was removed from the house of Mr. Maxwell, the Usher of the Lords, where he had for some time been in custody, to his closer prison in the Tower. The rabble hooted him through Cheapside and as far as the Tower-gates.——By that time the Commons had marked or struck down most of the other prime delinquents. Six or seven of the Judges, against whom there were charges of misconduct, had been formally accused and held to bail. Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Pierce, Bishop of Bath and Wells, with two or three other churchmen who had been especially rigorous in prosecuting the Puritans, had also been accused and threatened.

Much of all this was merely *in terrorem*. Even in sending Laud to the Tower there was no settled purpose against the old man's life. It was enough that he and a few others, who might have been able to organize an opposition to the new course of affairs, should be put effectually *hors de combat*. Only in the case of Strafford was there a determination for more.

The trial of Strafford was for several months the all-engrossing subject of public interest. Many pages would be required for all the particulars of that superlative story.

[1] House of Commons order in S. P. O. of date Dec. 1, for examination of Windebank on the morrow; and Letter of Reade, of date "Calais $\frac{1}{11}$ Dec. 1640," in the S. P. O., describing the flight and its difficulties. There are subsequent letters from France from Reade, and Windebank himself, telling the sad straits to which they were put in their exile, and asking remittances.

Three whole kingdoms, as the historian May says, were the accusers. It was the long labour of a committee of twelve of the Commons, headed by Pym, and including Hampden, Selden, and Whitlocke, to prepare the first indictment. Scotland, through her commissioners, and Ireland, through accusers who came over for the purpose, contributed information which swelled the indictment to a total of eight-and-twenty articles. On Monday, the 22nd of March, 1640–41, the trial began, and it was continued for fourteen days without interruption. As one walks now in the noble Hall of Westminster, and thinks of the many great scenes of English History which those massive walls, that vast pavement, and that high arched roof have witnessed, one remembers most of all that here the Earl of Strafford was tried. One can imagine still the Hall as it was fitted up for that occasion. The farther end of it was converted into a great stage, with seats of green frieze, whereon sat the Peers as Strafford's judges in their robes of crimson and ermine, with Arundel, as High Steward, on the woolsack. Behind this stage were little trellised rooms for the King, the Queen, and the Court ladies, in one of which the King was often seen anxiously taking notes. In the middle of the Hall, in a space at the end of the stage, was the prisoner himself, dressed in black, in the custody of the Keeper of the Tower, with his counsel and secretaries about him; and in the same space stood the witnesses as they were summoned, and the committee of the Commons and others managing the prosecution. The rest of the Hall, from the stage to the door, was nearly filled with the Commons, with their heads uncovered, seated on rows of benches rising lengthwise from the floor upwards to the walls. To the Scottish and Irish commissioners and other privileged persons were assigned the two highest benches, railed off from the Commons; and there was a miscellaneous audience in galleries, or other spare places, including many ladies. The proceedings began every morning at eight o'clock, by which time Strafford had been brought from the Tower in a barge; but such was the crush that it was necessary for all but the highly privileged

to be in their places by five o'clock. After that hour no egress was possible till between two and four in the afternoon, when the day's business usually closed. "It was daily," says Baillie, who was present, "the most glorious assembly "the Isle could afford; yet the gravity not such as I "expected. Oft great clamour without about the doors; in "the intervals, while Strafford was making ready for answers, "the Lords got always to their feet, walked and clattered— "the Lower House men too loud clattering; after ten "hours much public eating, not only of confections, but of "flesh and bread—bottles of beer and wine going thick from "mouth to mouth without cups; and all this in the King's "eye." Of the ladies present, most of whom, "moved by pity proper to their sex," took Strafford's side, not a few, says May, "had pen, ink, and paper in their hands, noting the passages, and discoursing upon the grounds of law and state." And so, for fourteen full days, the trial went on. Among the host of witnesses, English, Scottish, and Irish, that had been examined, were the Marquis of Hamilton, Bishop Juxon, the Earls of Northumberland, Holland, and Berkshire, Lord Conway, the elder Vane, and other Privy Councillors, all released on the occasion by the King from their oath of secrecy. At length, all the twenty-eight articles of the impeachment having been gone through, there remained only the final speeches for the defence and the prosecution.

At this point (April 8) there occurred a break in the proceedings, favourable to Strafford. Granted that all the alleged acts of the indictment were proved, argued Strafford and his counsel, was it possible to bring any of them, or all together, within the very precise definition of treason by the Statute of Treason passed in the reign of Edward III.? Was any such generality as "subverting or endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom" recognized among the treasons of that statute, or was the life of a subject to be sacrificed to a mere theory of "constructive treason," by which a series of acts not treasonous individually might be regarded as treason in their sum? To help the Commons through this difficulty there was revealed to them at the last

moment, by the younger Sir Henry Vane, a startling piece of new evidence which he had had in his possession for some time. This was a memorandum in his father's handwriting, accidentally found by him among his father's papers, and purporting to be a "copy of notes taken at a junto of the Privy Council for Scots affairs about the 5th of May last." In a conversation in which the King, Strafford, Laud, and Cottington were the speakers, Strafford, according to this memorandum, had then given the King the following advice with reference to the dissolution of the Short Parliament then resolved on: "Your Majesty having tried the affection of "your people, you are absolved and loose from all rule of "government, and to do what power will admit. Your "Majesty, having tried all ways and being refused, shall be "acquitted before God and man; and you have an army in "Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to "obedience, for I am confident the Scots cannot hold out "five months." The appearance of this new piece of evidence, and the peculiar circumstances of it, placing the two Vanes in such a strange relation to one another, caused profound sensation. Glynn, on the part of the prosecution, applied for a re-opening of the evidence on the 23rd article of the impeachment, with a view to fortify it with the new proof. To this there was demur on the part of Strafford's counsel, unless they should have liberty to re-open the case, on their side, not only on that article, but on any or all. The Lords favouring the view of Strafford's counsel, there was an extraordinary excitement among the Commons. They rose (April 10) in a fury on both sides of the Hall, putting on their hats and calling out "Withdraw," "Withdraw." One or two adjournments, separate meetings of the two Houses, and conferences between them, followed. The result was that the trial was permitted to exhaust itself, after the mere production of Vane's notes in Court, but without fresh examination of witnesses, on the 13th of April; on which day Strafford made his last speech in defence, and Glynn and Pym concluded in reply. For by this time it had been resolved not to trust to the trial in that form, but to resort to another

mode of procedure of which there had been the option from the first.

From the first the Commons had had the choice of two methods of bringing such a State criminal to justice. There was the ordinary method by Impeachment, in which they should be the accusers and the Peers the judges; and there was the less ordinary method of procedure by Bill of Attainder, by which the Commons might themselves judge and condemn Strafford as a public enemy, and then send up the Bill to be passed or rejected by the Lords and the Crown, like any other Bill. This second method, constitutional authorities now assert, would have been the more proper in a case like Strafford's; and the other method had been preferred chiefly because it did not require the King's co-operation, as a Bill of Attainder would. But, the procedure by Impeachment having run aground, the Commons now resorted to the alternative method in order to make sure. A Bill of Attainder was brought in on the 10th of April, the very day when the Commons had begun to fear the issue of the trial.

It took a whole month to reach the conclusion by this new route. Read a second time on the 14th of April, the Bill was carried in the Commons on the 21st by 204 votes against 59. This minority of fifty-nine consisted by no means of men who desired to see Strafford escape punishment, but only of men who could not make up their minds to the extreme vote for his death. In the passage of the Bill through the Upper House it naturally encountered more of this anxiety to be merciful. Nay, the King himself interposed. Paying a visit to the Lords on the 1st of May, he made an appeal to them not to send the Bill up to him precisely as it stood. "In my "conscience," he said, "I cannot condemn him of high treason; "yet I cannot say I can clear him of misdemeanour; therefore "I hope that you may find a way to satisfy justice and your "own fears, and not to press upon my conscience. My lords, "I hope you know what a tender thing conscience is. . . . "I must confess, for matter of Misdemeanour, I am so clear "in that, that, though I will not chalk out the way, yet let "me tell you I do think my Lord Strafford is not fit hereafter

"either to serve me or the Commonwealth in any place of "trust, no not so much as that of a constable." What might have been the result of this appeal, acting on the hesitating dispositions of the Lords, needs not now be inquired. At the very moment when it was made, there was a discovery which frustrated it. It was the discovery of an "Army-Plot"—in other words, of a plot in which the little group of Army-men in the Commons, whom we have named together in our account of the composition of the Parliament, had been engaged along with the poets Suckling and Davenant, and one or two more, and not without the knowledge of the Queen. The aim of the plot was to bring up part of the English army from Yorkshire to overawe the Parliament, or at all events to make an attempt upon the Tower for Strafford's release. The plot having been discovered, and those concerned in it having fled, the consequent indignation of the two Houses, backed by a perfect tumult in London, and cries of "*Justice, Justice,*" from excited mobs in the streets, was fatal to Strafford. Knowing this, and that an attempt to bribe the Lieutenant of the Tower had failed, he himself wrote, on the 4th of May, to the King, expressing resignation to his fate, and only recommending his four young children to his Majesty's protection. On the 8th the Bill of Attainder passed the Lords in a thin House. All then depended on the King.

It is not for a historian to be very ready with opinions as to what a king, or any other person, might, could, or should have done on this or that occasion. But here there can be no doubt. All the sophistication in the world cannot make a doubt. If ever there may be a moment in a man's life when, with all the clamour of a nation urging to an act, all personal and State reasons persuading to it as expedient, and all the pressure of circumstances impelling to it as inevitable, still even they who would approve of the act in itself must declare that for *that* man to do it were dastardly, such a moment had come for Charles. To dare all, to see London and England in uproar, to lose throne, life, and everything, rather than assent to the death of his minister, was Charles's plain duty. Strafford had been his ablest minister by far, had laboured for him with

heart and head, had made the supremacy of the Crown the cause of his life; not an act he had done, one may say, but was with Charles's consent, or his implied command and approbation; and it was in trust in all this, and in the royal promise that "not a hair of his head should be touched," that Strafford, against his own better judgment, had run the risk of coming to London. If the words "honour" and "fidelity" have any meaning, there was but one right course for the King. How did he behave? On Sunday the 9th of May he had a consultation with Juxon, Usher, and Williams, as spiritual advisers, and with his Privy Councillors generally, respecting his scruples of conscience. Juxon and Usher gave him the manly advice that, if his conscience did not consent to the act, he ought not to do it; Williams drew some distinction or other between "public conscience" and "private conscience." The sophistry helped Charles. He appointed a commission, consisting of Arundel and other lords, to give his assent to the Bill the next day. On the 11th, however, he sent the young Prince of Wales to the Lords with a last message in Strafford's behalf. It would be "an unspeakable contentment," he said, if the Lords and Commons would agree to change Strafford's punishment into close imprisonment for life, on pain of death without farther process on the least attempt to escape or to communicate with the King. "If no less than his life can satisfy my people," the letter ended, "I must say *Fiat justitia;*" and then there was a postscript, suggesting at least a reprieve till Saturday. Neither request was granted; and on Wednesday, the 12th of May, that proud curly head, the casket of that brain of power, rolled on the scaffold on Tower Hill.[1]

Among those who were most zealous in the prosecution of Strafford, it must never be forgotten, were not only the men

[1] The most graphic account of Strafford's trial is undoubtedly Baillie's (I. 314—350); but Rushworth, besides the references to it in his general collections, made it the subject of a distinct folio volume. But see also Hallam's Const. History, the Parliamentary History, and (for some interesting particulars, derived from D'Ewes's notes), Mr. Forster's essay "The Civil Wars and Oliver Cromwell" in his *Historical and Biographical Essays*, I. 252—262. See also Clarendon, 72—104, and Whitlocke (edit. 1853), I. 121—133.

whom we are accustomed now to think of as the chiefs of the Revolution, but many also whom we remember mainly as Royalists. Of the fifty-nine "Straffordians," as they were called, who voted against his death in the Commons, and would have been content with some less punishment, the leader was Lord Digby; and Selden, Holborn, and Sidney Godolphin were of the number. But the list did *not* include Hyde, or Falkland, or Colepepper. It was Hyde, too, that was sent up to the Lords from the Commons to demand a stricter guard over Strafford in the Tower after the discovery of the Army-Plot. Hyde would, indeed, have gratified the King at the last by consenting to the imprisonment and degradation of Strafford instead of his capital punishment, and he tells a story of a pleading he held on this subject one day in Piccadilly with the Earls of Bedford and Essex, when Bedford was not unwilling to agree, but Essex stopped the conversation by signifying that his mind was made up, and adding emphatically, "Stone-dead hath no fellow." In fact, the death of Strafford was an act not of this or that party in the Parliament, but of the Parliament as a whole. The feeling of the most moderate seems to have been very much that expressed at the time in the first lines of a rough epitaph on Strafford by the Royalist poet Cleveland:—

> "Here lies wise and valiant dust,
> Huddled up 'twixt fit and just."

III. MEASURES FOR THE SECURITY AND PERPETUATION OF PARLIAMENT.—What if the King, summoning up courage, or availing himself of some unexpected turn of affairs, should dissolve this Parliament, as he had dissolved its predecessors? All then would be in vain, all would be flung back! Accordingly, in Pym's very first speech, he had put this matter of the security of Parliament in the foreground. Not only must there be full liberty of discussion, exemption from arrest and the like, for the members of this Parliament; it must also be secured against abrupt dissolution. Nay, more than that, this Parliament must arrange, if possible, for a guaranteed succession of Parliaments for the future, and so transmit a perma-

nent agency that should render impossible in future generations any such tyranny as that under which the existing generation laboured! The deliberations on this important subject took shape at last in the famous Bill for Triennial Parliaments passed in the Commons Jan. 20, 1640-41, and which, after passing the Lords, received the King's reluctant assent on the 16th of February. By this Bill, strongly urged by Cromwell and Strode, and one of the most strenuous supporters of which was Lord Digby, it was provided that, if the King did not summon a Parliament every third year at least, then the Lord Chancellor or Lord Keeper should be bound to issue writs for a new Parliament, or it should be lawful for any twelve Peers to issue writs in the King's name, or for the mayors, sheriffs, &c., or for the citizens themselves, to cause elections to be made as if such writs had been issued; and it was also provided that no Parliament should be dissolved or prorogued, unless with its own consent, until after it had sat at least fifty days. By the very terms of this Bill it is evident that the Parliament then sitting might have been legally dissolved at the time the Bill was passed. It had then sat more than three months. There seemed no likelihood, however, at that time, that the King would resort to such a course. But, as Strafford's trial went on, and especially after the discovery of the Army-Plot had spread alarm among the Commons, the Parliament became more suspicious. On the 3rd of May, 1641, in the very midst of the commotion caused by the discovery of the Army-Plot, the Commons adopted a *Protestation*, or *Resolution for the Common Safety*, which was very much like a copy of the Scottish Covenant in miniature. The document ran as follows: "I, A. B., do, in the presence "of Almighty God, promise, vow, and protest to maintain "and defend, as far as I lawfully may, with my life, power, "and estate, the true Reformed Protestant Religion expressed "in the doctrine of the Church of England, . . . also the "power and privilege of Parliaments, . . . and, further, "that I shall, in all just and honourable ways, endeavour to "preserve the union and peace betwixt the three kingdoms "of England, Scotland, and Ireland." On the very day on

which the Protestation was drawn up, it was signed by 429 of the Commons, Digby, Selden, Colepepper, and Falkland among them; on being sent to the Lords, it was signed by upwards of one hundred in that House, including fifteen bishops; and it was then circulated through the shires that it might be signed by the whole nation. Nor was this enough, nor was it even enough that the Parliament arranged to have a trusty guard at hand near the Houses in case of danger. Under the same excitement caused by the Army-Plot there was introduced into the Commons, on the 6th of May, a Bill enacting that the existing Parliament *should not be dissolved at all except with its own consent.* This extraordinary measure, trenching more deeply on the rules of the English constitution than any other that the Long Parliament adopted in its earlier stage, was eagerly supported by Colepepper, Falkland, and Hyde. The Lords would have amended the Bill by limiting its duration to two years; but, the Commons adhering to the Bill as it stood, it passed both Houses on the 8th. That Charles should have assented to this Bill, which, in terms at least, "rendered the House of Commons," as Hallam says, "independent of their sovereign and their constituents," can be accounted for, that writer suggests, only "by his own shame and the Queen's consternation at the discovery of the late Plot." He did assent to it (May 10), empowering the same Commissioners to pass it whom he had empowered to pass the Bill condemning Strafford. Thus the Parliament, which met Nov. 3, 1640, was converted into "The Long Parliament," indissoluble except by its own act.[1]

IV. MISCELLANEOUS CIVIL REFORMS AND REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.— In his first set speech in the Parliament (Nov. 7, 1640) Pym had made a masterly enumeration and analysis of the grievances of the country. This speech, in fact, was the programme of the Session. To overtake the main grievances individually, however, was a work of time. The ship-money grievance was among the first discussed. Mr. St. John having presented the report of a committee on

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 702 *et seq.*; Rushworth, IV. 244—258; Hallam's Const. Hist. (10th edit.), II. 112 *et seq.*

the subject on the 7th of December, resolutions declaring the tax illegal and annulling the judgment that had been given in Hampden's case were unanimously adopted, Lord Falkland being one of the most emphatic speakers on the subject; and by this and subsequent proceedings, in which the Lords took part, the grievance of ship-money was swept out of the Statute Book. There was also, of course, a raid against the swarming monopolies by which Charles, to raise money for the Crown, had crippled and molested the trade of the nation. Pym had broken this ground at the outset; but perhaps the most effective in his denunciations of monopolies was Colepepper. "These, like the frogs of Egypt," he said, "have "gotten the possession of our dwellings, and we have scarce a "room free from them. They sup in our cup, they dip in our "dish, they sit by our fire; we find them in the dye-vat, wash-"bowl, and powdering-tub; they share with the butler in his "box; they have marked and sealed us from head to foot." As far as the crude Political Economy of those days permitted, monopolies also were swept away, the patent for wines and the soap-monopoly among the first. The abolition of the Court of Starchamber and the Court of High Commission was harder to accomplish; but an Act to which the King gave his assent July 5, 1641, virtually abolished both. The regulation of Tonnage and Poundage was the subject of a vote passed June 22, 1641, by which it was declared that "it is and has been the ancient right of the subjects of this "realm that no subsidy, custom, impost, or any charge what-"soever ought to be laid or imposed upon any merchandise "exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without "the common consent of Parliament." The Act is memorable as being, according to Hallam, "the last statute that has been "found necessary to restrain the Crown from arbitrary taxa-"tion." Finally, by various Acts in the first nine months of the Parliament, several anomalous jurisdictions, the effect of which had been to "deprive one-third of England of the privileges of the Common Law," were either utterly abolished or made innocuous. Among these were the Court of the President and Council of Wales, the Court of the President and

Council of the North, and the Courts of the Duchy of Lancaster and the County Palatine of Chester.[1]

V. CONCLUSION OF THE SCOTTISH TREATY.—How was it, the reader may have naturally been asking, that the Parliament was able to carry all before it in this fashion? How was it that Charles found himself so suddenly bound hand and foot, and hurried along like a log in the current? That the English nation was roused from end to end, and ready in the mass to rally round its Parliament, is true. But there was a more distinct and visible cause of the weakness of Charles and of the strength of Parliament during those nine important months. That Scottish army, the victorious presence of which in the North of England had led to the assembling of the Parliament, and had been hailed so gladly by the English as furnishing them the required opportunity for self-liberation, was still in the North of England to serve its purpose, and was willing to stay there as long as it might be wanted. Negotiations, it will be remembered, had been begun between Charles and that army, with a view to its return home; but, at the time of the meeting of the Long Parliament, these negotiations had got no farther than a certain preliminary treaty or truce of thirteen Articles agreed upon at Ripon (Oct. 16). One of these Articles provided that the Scottish army should remain in England, to be paid from the English exchequer at the rate of 850*l.* a day, until the Treaty should be brought to completion; and, in order to the completion of the Treaty, it had been agreed that the Scottish Commissioners should come to London, there to continue the negotiation with the English Lords Commissioners.

Leslie's Scottish army, then, still remained in and about Newcastle, not only occupying the attention of the broken relics of Charles's English army in Yorkshire, so as to make them useless for any private purpose of his Majesty, but actually taken into the service of the English liberals, if we may so say, by a retaining fee. There was a perfect understanding on the subject between the Scottish leaders and the leaders of the English liberals. The Scots, on their part,

[1] Parl. History, II. 639 *et seq.*

were willing, for neighbourly benevolence, the interests of true religion, and 850*l.* a day, to remain in England, so long as the English thought fit; and it was for the English Parliament to contrive that their stay should not be too soon brought to an end. The expense, indeed, was considerable. Besides the 850*l.* per diem to the Scots, there was the accompanying expense of the maintenance of the residue of the English army in Yorkshire, which could hardly, for shame's sake, be disbanded while an army nominally of invaders was on the English soil. But what was even such a double bill running on, compared with what it could purchase? The Parliament was content, says May, "to be at so great a charge rather than suffer the Scots to go till businesses were better settled." Accordingly, utterly ignoring and even resenting the hints given them by Charles and by Lord Keeper Finch, in their speeches at the opening of the Houses, that their first business ought to be "the chasing out of the rebels," the Parliament studiously contrived for as long a stay of the Scots as possible. The immediate conduct of the Scottish Treaty, indeed, did not lie with Parliament, but with the sixteen English Lords Commissioners whom the King had appointed. It was for these Lords Commissioners, acting for the King, to continue the negotiations with the Scottish Commissioners—the Earls of Rothes and Dunfermline, Lord Loudoun, Sir Patrick Hepburn, Sir William Douglas, Drummond of Riccarton, Bailie Smith, Burgesses Wedderburn and Kennedy, Alexander Henderson, and Johnstone of Warriston—all of whom had come up to London for the purpose. But, besides that most of the English Commissioners were among the liberal leaders in Parliament, there were means by which Parliament could directly control the negotiations. It was for the Commons to pay the bill, and their policy was to be in no hurry to pay it. They undertook at once to be responsible for the 850*l.* per day, so as to extend the truce of Ripon beyond the 16th of December, which was its original term; and, in addition to this, they voted, on the 3rd of February, a farther indemnity of 300,000*l.* to be paid to "our brethren of Scotland" in consideration of their losses by the war. But the indemnity,

though voted, was not raised, and Parliament, while sending the Scots sums on account, left the debt running on.

The presence of the Scottish Commissioners in London for so long a period (Nov. 1640—June 1641) was important in more ways than one. In order that Henderson might not be the only representative of the Scottish clerical element in the Commission, there had been associated with it, but non-officially, three other eminent Presbyterian ministers, Robert Baillie, Robert Blair, and young George Gillespie. The reception of the Scottish visitors, fourteen in all, by the Londoners had been extremely cordial. Lodgings had been provided for them first in Covent Garden; but the corporation insisted on having them, or at least most of them, as their own special guests. Accordingly, during the entire period of their stay in London, Henderson, Baillie, Blair, and Gillespie, with some at least of the lay-commissioners, lived in the city, hospitably lodged and entertained at the expense of the corporation. The Commissioners were lodged, Clarendon tells us, "in the heart of the city, near London Stone, in a house which "used to be inhabited by the Lord Mayor or one of the sheriffs, "and was situated so near the church of St. Antholin's that "there was a way out of it into the gallery of the church." This church, accordingly, was virtually made over to Henderson, Baillie, Blair, and Gillespie, with whom there were also a Mr. Borthwick and a Mr. Smith, for their sermons on Sundays and Thursdays. "To hear these sermons," says Clarendon, "there was so great a conflux and resort, by the citizens out "of humour and faction, by others of all qualities out of "curiosity, and by some that they might the better justify "the contempt they had of them, that, from the first appear-"ance of day in the morning on every Sunday to the shutting "in of the light, the church was never empty." The sermons, though probably uncouth at first to the English ear as coming in a North-British accent, can hardly have been so contemptible in their Calvinistic kind as Clarendon superciliously imagined. Henderson, as Mr. Hyde had reason to know, was a man of as massive and well-educated an intellect as was to be found among the clergy of the three king-

doms; and Mr. Robert Baillie (though Hyde could not have known this) was then writing, in the form of letters to friends, accounts of those times, which, though in rather homely style and full of Presbyterian prejudice, are now read with admiration for a graphic power of narrative to which there is hardly a parallel in our literature, and which checks and illustrates even the superb pages of a certain Lord Clarendon.——It was part of the business of Henderson and his colleagues not only to enlighten the Londoners as to the proceedings and claims of the Scots, but also, if possible to inoculate them with Presbyterian sentiments. For the same purpose, they were in frequent consultation with the English Puritan ministers of the city and neighbourhood. They and the other Commissioners also were in constant intercourse with the Parliamentary leaders of both Houses. Of the lay commissioners, Loudoun and Johnstone of Warriston were the most active; for the Earl of Rothes, whose name stood first in the Commission, and who had been to this time perhaps the most conspicuous of the Covenanters, had begun to yield to Court-influences. "He is likely," writes Baillie, June 2, 1641, "to be the greatest courtier either of Scots or English. "Likely, he will take a place in the Bedchamber and be little "more a Scottish man. If he please, as it seems he inclines, "he may have my lady Devonshire, a very wise lady, with "4,000*l.* sterling a year." As Rothes's first wife had died about a year before, there was nothing to prevent this consummation. It would have given Rothes one of the best and most sensible women in England for his wife, made him stepfather to the young Earl of Devonshire, and brought him into connexion with that famous *attaché* of the Devonshire family, the tutor of both this Earl and his father, Hobbes the philosopher.[1]

It was not till June 1641 that the Parliament, having been informed by the King that the negotiations of the Commissioners were approaching a conclusion, took steps for permitting the Scots to return home. On the 18th of that month there was passed by the Commons the extraordinary and long

[1] Baillie, I. 269 *et seq.*, 295 *et seq.* and 354; Clarendon, 76, 77, and 112.

unheard-of measure of a Poll-tax for the payment of the Scottish arrears and indemnity. By this tax every English male, above the age of sixteen, and not a pauper, was assessed in a particular sum, according to a graduated scale of ranks. A Duke was to pay 100*l.*; a Marquis 80*l.*; an Earl or Bishop 60*l.*; a Viscount 50*l.*; a Baron or Dean 40*l.*; the Lord Mayor of London 40*l.*; the Aldermen of London, and all Baronets, Knights, Judges, Serjeants-at-Law, King's Counsel and Canons-resident, sums ranging from 30*l.* to 20*l.*; Esquires, Prebendaries, Doctors of Law, or of Physic, 10*l.* each; Common Councilmen, Liverymen of the first twelve Companies, and all persons of 100*l.* a year income, 5*l.* each; Liverymen of the other Companies 2*l.* 10*s.*; "every man that may dispend 50*l.* per annum" 1*l.* 10*s.*; freemen of the first twelve Companies 1*l.*; freemen of other Companies, and merchant-strangers trading by sea, 10*s.*; other traders, English or foreign, and "every man that may dispend 20*l.* per annum," 5*s.*; ordinary English householders, 2*s.*; and finally every handicraftsman, or person whatever, above sixteen years of age, not a pauper, and not included in the foregoing rates, "6*d.* per poll," unless he were a foreigner, in which case, if a Protestant, he must pay 2*d.* only, but if a Papist, 4*d.*[1] There was thus brought home very effectively, but perhaps somewhat disagreeably, to every English household and family, the sense of national indebtedness to the Scots; and, having nothing more to do in London, Henderson, Baillie, and others of the Scottish Commissioners, returned home (June 1641). Certain other details as to the times and mode of payment had to be arranged, so that it was not till August that the Treaty was formally signed and the two armies in the north were disbanded.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH-REFORM MOVEMENT.

One great department of affairs in which, while the Scottish Commissioners had been in London, Parliament had been progressively active, and their activity in which had mingled

[1] I have copied the rates from a printed copy, in the S. P. O., of the House of Commons' order for the tax. But see *Commons' Journals*, June 18, 1641.

inextricably from day to day and week to week with all their other proceedings as hitherto related, had been that of Church Reformation. Here the story becomes more complex; diversities of opinion and tendency, not observed hitherto in other departments, present themselves; and we come in sight of problems of national polity which even to our own day have proved insoluble.

In Pym's first great speech in the Parliament he had made "Prejudice of Religion" one of the three main heads in his survey of the grievances of the nation. "Let Religion be our *primum quærite*, for all things else are but etceteras to it," the veteran Rudyard had said in his pious speech on the same occasion. And so, from the first day onwards, there is found, intermingled with the general debates, an amount of theological discussion, of religious observance by the Parliament corporately, and of reference to ecclesiastical questions, infinitely greater than has been usual in English Parliaments in later times. There were fast-days by Parliamentary appointment; there were arrangements by which the members of the two Houses might partake of the Communion at a communion-table and not at a Laudian altar; and there were regular sermons on Sundays and on fast-days before the Commons by select Puritan preachers. Almost immediately, too, the Houses, and especially the Commons, broke ground by specific enactments, intended to afford relief to Puritan consciences, and to discourage Laudism. One speedy blow at the Laudian party collectively was in connexion with the conduct of the Clergy in the preceding spring, when they had presumed to sit in Convocation after the dissolution of the Short Parliament, and to frame a body of new Ecclesiastical Canons. That procedure of the former Convocation having really brought all concerned within the reach of the law, the new Convocation which met at the same time as the Long Parliament was weak and pusillanimous in comparison. "The Convocation meets twice a week," writes Baillie, Dec. 12, 1640, "but do nothing." On the 15th and 16th of the same month there were unanimous Resolutions in the Commons condemning the late canons as illegal, and declaring the clergy absolved from

all obedience to them; and so for the time that matter rested. Other specimens of the vigilance of Parliament from the first in ecclesiastical matters were such as these:—Dec. 1, "Bill read in the Commons for reform of the Ecclesiastical Courts;" Dec. 22, "Committee of Commons appointed on the state of the Universities as to Religion;" Jan. 20, 1640-41, "Commons resolve that the statute, passed twenty-seven years before, requiring young students at Cambridge to subscribe the 36th canon of 1603, is illegal;" Jan. 23, "Ordered by the Commons that commissions be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments and relics of idolatry out of all churches and chapels."[1] There were also enactments for the better observance of the Lord's Day, and, of course, again and again, for the more rigid control of the Roman Catholics.

All this, however, was, as one may say, in the programme. Over this extent of ground, and a good deal more, the Parliament may be considered to have been carried pretty unanimously by the impetus communicated to it at its first assembling. But it was different with the great ecclesiastical question which had been gathering like a cloud in the Houses from the first, and which soon burst into a tempest rolling all else in its midst. This was the question of a Reform of the entire constitution of the Church of England.

Laud being *hors de combat*, and Laudism pure and simple a rejected impossibility, there were, in the months of November and December 1640, so far as observation can discern, three parties in England on the Church question.

In the first place there was what may be called a HIGH CHURCH PARTY. It consisted of all those Laudians who, though now bereft of their chief, and of the hope of preserving his system in its completeness, were yet resolute for retaining whatever of his system could be retained, together with all those who, though they had not been Laudians theologically, had of late been approximating to Laud ecclesi-

[1] Parl. Hist.; Baillie, I. 282; Rushworth, IV. 100—111.

astically. At the head of this party was indubitably Hall, Bishop of Exeter. Hall's treatise, *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, concocted between him and Laud in the preceding year, and now in circulation for some ten months, had been the proclamation of a union between the Laudians and the non-Laudian lovers of high Episcopal government. It was the manifesto of their united policy. Most of the other Bishops, so far as they were at liberty to act publicly, may be considered as effectives of this party under Hall's leadership. The party was also strong at the two Universities, particularly that of Oxford; and generally it was strong among the churchmen of superior rank. Of the nine thousand and odd parish-clergy of England I should suppose that 4,000 were of this party, holding by Episcopacy as of divine right, either in Laud's high sense of transmitted Apostolical order, or in Hall's nearly as high sense, or in some sense that disposed them to stand firmly for the supreme excellence of Episcopal rule. But, though strong in the Church, the party was very far from being strong among the laity. A few of the stateliest Peers, and a family among the gentry here and there, may have had a real affection for Episcopacy as such. There were perhaps more in the same ranks who loved a rich ritual in the Church service, as they loved the ivy that clothed the old church porches, and who identified, as Laud did, not only the liturgy, but the white surplices, the altar, the music, the painted windows, and all symbols and ceremonies, with the true and perfect beauty of holiness. But these were the exceptions. The great body of the laity, whether in or out of Parliament, were by no means so conservative.

A far larger mass of the laity belonged to a second party, which may be called the MODERATE or BROAD CHURCH PARTY. This party, though attached, on the whole, to Episcopacy and to its appertaining forms of worship, as intermingled with the traditions and the habits of English life, were yet not only ready for very considerable changes in the government and worship of the Church, but also convinced that the time for such changes had arrived. There were many subsections in this party; but, with allowance for gradations of view, all of

them may be considered as aiming at a "Limited Episcopacy," instead of the Episcopacy then established. In both Houses of Parliament the representatives of the party were numerous. In the Upper House, with the exception of the Bishops, and perhaps a very few lay Peers, even those who were the soundest Church-of-England men were Church-of-England men in a moderate sense. While they would preserve the Episcopal organization of the Church, they would do so from no belief in its absolutely divine or apostolical right, but on simpler grounds of expediency and national fitness; and they would at the same time press for a great reduction of the power of the Bishops, and of the clergy generally. Still more in the Commons was this the type of Church-of-Englandism that prevailed. Falkland, Colepepper, Lord Digby, Rudyard, Selden, Harbottle Grimstone, and others, both country gentlemen and lawyers, who were thought among the soundest Church-of-England men in the House, had this reputation simply because, while advocating retrenchments of the clerical and Episcopal power, they were still for retaining an Episcopal constitution of the Church as the fittest for England. Even Hyde, who was considerably more of a High-Churchman than his friend Falkland, had all a lawyer's contempt for the political pretensions of the clergy, and for clerical jurisdictions in the State. Nor was this Moderate or Broad Church Party without a large representation among the clergy themselves. If we take the party in its widest extension, it was perhaps as numerous among the parish-clergy as the High Church party; but, if Falkland's or Digby's views were made the standard of the party, then its numbers among the parish-clergy were probably much less. Among the clergy themselves, however, the party had at least two leaders of note.——One of these was Archbishop Usher. Although of the Irish Church, Usher was, both from his high character and his reputation for colossal learning, a prelate to whom all England would, in any case, have listened with respect. As it chanced, however, he had recently come over from Dublin, in Strafford's train, for some literary researches in the libraries in Oxford and London, and had taken up

his stay in England, never to return. Usher's views on Episcopacy were not now to be ascertained for the first time. All the world knew him, from his former writings, to be one of those who did not believe in the absolute divine right of Episcopacy, or even in its essentially Apostolical origin, but only in its high convenience and advantages. He was one of those who maintained that in the primitive Church there had been no distinction, or next to no distinction, between Presbyter and Bishop, and whose ideal of a proper Church government was a system of limited Episcopacy, in which, while there should be Bishops as presidents over districts, they should be aided by councils of Presbyters, and even controlled by synods of Presbyters. During his Irish Primacy, it is true, he had been overborne by the ascendancy of Laud, and had seen, with grief, the Protestant Church of Ireland deprived of her Calvinistic independence, and assimilated to the Church of England. But, now that affairs had changed their direction in England itself, it was not impossible that the services of this meek and learned man, who had no feeling towards Laud and Strafford in their downfall but that of faithful respect and pity, should be in request for the purposes of mediation. The King had begun to be aware of this fact, and to regard Usher's presence in England as not unimportant.[1]——There was, however, among the English Bishops themselves, one to whom, whether as a colleague in the work with Usher, or as a likely leader by himself, the eyes of all the Moderate or Broad Church Party might have been turned. This was our old friend, Williams of Lincoln. Restored to public life by the meeting of the Long Parliament, it was in accordance with all that was known of the character of this Bishop that he would not miss the opportunity of reminding men of his existence and of his former suddenly-eclipsed greatness in the State. He was sure in some way or another to try a flashing part. It was equally certain that, whatever part he might take, it would not be in support of the Laudian system. But, on the other hand, it was tolerably certain that a crusade against

[1] Elrington's Life of Usher prefixed to his "Works," pp. 207—209; the Works themselves, XII. 927; Rushworth, IV. 187; Baillie, I. 287.

Episcopacy would have no countenance from Williams. While in prison, he had scouted the idea of a reformation of the English Church after the Scottish model; and, since his release, he had been heard to say of the Presbyterian system that it was "a government fit only for tailors and shoemakers, and the like, and not for noblemen and gentlemen."[1]——In short, if a new organization of the Church of England was wanted, differing from the existing organization, or from anything that Laud or Hall would have considered tolerable, but still preserving the features of Episcopacy and stopping short of ecclesiastical democracy, Williams was the man to offer to be the inventor.

Distinct from both the High Church party and the Moderate or Middle Party was a third and extreme mass of Englishmen, to whom may be given the name of the ROOT-AND-BRANCH PARTY. I adopt this name because "root-and-branch" was a favourite phrase of their own; but, with almost equal accuracy, I might, for the nonce, call them simply The Presbyterian Party. They desired the abolition of Episcopacy, "root and branch," the annihilation of all dignities in the Church above that of simple presbyter or parish-minister, a simplification of the ritual of the Church to correspond, and the appropriation of all the ecclesiastical revenues that would be available after the abolition of Bishoprics, Deaneries and Chapters, Archdeaconries, and the like, to humbler religious uses, or to the general uses of the State. As the recent revolution in the Scottish Church was the freshest and nearest example for imitation in this direction, and as, indeed, sympathy with that revolution was for the time the omnipotent feeling of the party, the aim which it mainly proposed to itself was the establishment in England of a Church, as nearly as might be, of the Scottish Presbyterian fashion. There was no perfect or precise agreement as to the degree of similarity to the Scottish Kirk which might be consistent with the conditions of English life. There were even seeds, as we shall see, of theories which were in the end to declare Presbyterianism insufficient and to quarrel with it. But at the exact time now

[1] Clarendon, Hist. 140.

under notice (Nov. and Dec. 1640) the collective tendency of the party was indubitably to such a total re-organization of the English Church as should bring it into union and correspondence with that of the Scots on the basis of a common Presbyterianism for the whole island.——This Radical or Root-and-Branch party was numerically, perhaps, the strongest of the three. Among the Clergy, indeed, it was comparatively very weak. About thirty of the clergy then assembled in Convocation were considered to belong to it or to be tending to it;[1] and, if as many as 1,000 or 1,500 of the more extreme Puritans among the parish clergy of England were considered as either belonging to it or convertible to it by circumstances, that was perhaps an exaggerated calculation. But among the laity it was enormously and growingly powerful. Not without a sprinkling among the nobility and wealthier gentry, it had a large number of adherents among the minor gentry, while in the great body of the people it counted its tens of thousands. London was its stronghold and head-quarters, the traditional Puritanism of that city having now almost avowedly taken the form of a phrenzy for Presbyterianism. Most of the other considerable towns were centres of the same feeling; and there were particular counties, more especially the eastern counties of Essex, Suffolk, Cambridge, Huntingdon and Bedford, and the north-western counties of Lancaster and Chester, where Root-and-Branch principles were distinctly predominant among the farmers and tenantry.[2]——And who were the leaders of this powerful popular party? On first thoughts it might be supposed that those who had done and suffered so much as pioneers of the party during the recent ascendancy of "Thorough"—the Leightons, the Prynnes, the Burtons and the Bastwicks—would now step forth as the leaders. But public feeling is capricious, and at the same time shrewd, in such matters. Though it had been for expressing sentiments which thousands of their fellow-

[1] Baillie, I. 282: "There is some thirty of them well minded for removing of Episcopacy, and many more for paring of Bishops' nails and arms too:" Dec. 12, 1640.

[2] The proofs for these statements are various and scattered. Some exist in the shape of petitions from counties in printed collections of the time, or still in MS. in the S. P. O.

countrymen were now expressing without danger that these men had had their noses slit and their ears cropped off, yet there was a feeling that men who had fared so ignominiously, however it had happened, would not do for leaders. Accordingly, though Prynne continued to be an indefatigable writer of Presbyterian pamphlets, of the heavy and learned sort, in his Lincoln's Inn chambers, and although young Lilburne continued to be a popular favourite under the name of "Free-born John," it was among men of a different stamp that the Root-and-Branch party sought its real chiefs. Quite as unfit for the duty were most of those new pamphleteers who, availing themselves of the sudden liberty of writing by the break-down of the censorship, were now daily venting, and for the most part anonymously, repetitions of Prynne's and Bastwick's arguments. It was among the members of the two Houses, and among such of the Puritan clergy of the most advanced type as had the greatest reputation for sagacity and learning, that the true leaders presented themselves. In the Upper House there were Viscount Saye and Sele, Viscount Mandeville, and Lord Brooke, all three in advance of the Earl of Bedford in their notions of Church-Reform, and in effect, for the present, Presbyterians. In the Lower House, gradually influencing Pym himself, whose constitutional inclinations were more moderate, were men like Hampden, Cromwell, and Vane. Cromwell, we find, was about this time expressing his interest in certain papers which the Scots had put forth, arguing for a conformity of Religion between the two countries.[1] Among the English Puritan clergy were some half-dozen or more, either ministers of London parishes, or then up in London for the Convocation or for other purposes, who formed a kind of working committee of the Root-and-Branch party. A chief man among these was Mr. Cornelius Burges, rector of St. Magnus, London, and vicar of Watford; but also notable individually were these five—Mr. Stephen Marshall, minister of Finchingfield in Essex; Mr. Edmund Calamy, minister of St. Mary Aldermanbury, London; Mr. Thomas Young, vicar of Stow-

[1] Carlyle's Cromwell (edit. 1857), I. 85.

market in Suffolk, once Milton's preceptor; Matthew Newcomen, minister of Dedham in Essex; and Mr. William Spurstow, minister of Hampden in Bucks, the parish of John Hampden. In constant intercourse with these ministers, and with conspicuous London citizens of similarly Presbyterian tendencies, were the clerical members of the Scottish deputation, Henderson, Baillie, Blair, and Gillespie. They shared in all the counsels of the Root-and-Branch party, and were its Scottish advisers and auxiliaries. "The root of Episcopacy," Baillie writes home, in December 1640, to the brethren of his Presbytery in Ayrshire, "will be assaulted "with the strongest blast it ever felt in England. Let your "hearty prayers be joined with mine and of many millions "that the breath of the Lord's nostrils may join with the "endeavours of weak men to blow up that old gourd wicked "oak."[1]

Properly, I ought now to go on to narrate in this chapter the first efforts made in Parliament and out of it to accomplish the feat which Baillie thought so desirable. That story, however, though chronologically it belongs in part to this chapter, will be best reserved for the chapter after next.

[1] Baillie, I. 286-7.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOUSE IN ALDERSGATE STREET:

WITHOUT as yet knowing it, the Root-and-Branch party had a possible leader at hand in one Englishman who, though neither in the Church nor in Parliament, and though with a character and thoughts of his own which might have made his party services at any time difficult either to obtain or to keep, yet did at this time assent with his whole soul to the Anti-Prelatic movement. He hailed that movement among his countrymen, and he was willing to bring to its aid a genius compared with which the utmost clerical abilities of the Burgeses, Calamys and Spurstows, and even the higher and more liberal intellect of the Parliamentary Hampdens and Vanes, were but as honest homely web, or some richer native fabric, compared with cloth of Arras. He was a man well known to Mr. Thomas Young of Stowmarket, for he had been Young's pupil some eighteen years before; and, had it been necessary, Young could have introduced him to his associates in the committee of English Puritan ministers, then acting, along with the Scottish Commissioners, in behalf of Root-and-Branch opinions. Probably no such introduction was necessary. London was a smaller place then than it is now; and John Milton, M.A. of Cambridge, and a Londoner born and bred, was probably, at thirty-two years of age, better known among the clergy and scholars of the city than Young himself.

We left Milton in lodgings in St. Bride's Churchyard near Fleet Street, among his books and papers, with his younger nephew, Johnny Phillips, boarding with him, and the other

nephew, Edward Phillips, coming in for his lessons. But he was now no longer in that locality. "He made no long stay," says Edward Phillips, "in his lodgings in St. Bride's Church-"yard: necessity of having a place to dispose his books in, "and other goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome "house, hastening him to take one; and, accordingly, a pretty "garden-house he took in Aldersgate Street, at the end of an "entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, besides that there "are few streets in London more free from noise than that." Phillips does not give the date of this removal; but, if it was in the winter of 1639–40 that Milton went into his St. Bride's Churchyard lodgings, it is implied that his stay there cannot have extended to the following winter, but that before the opening of the Long Parliament he was in Aldersgate Street. We know, at all events, that he was there, a settled London householder, paying rates and taxes, very shortly after the opening of the Parliament. We know more than this. It is possible to fix with something like precision the part of Aldersgate Street in which Milton lived. Taking a walk in that portion of the present London,—now uninviting enough, given over as it is to second-rate shops of all sorts, with an occasional distillery or other such place of business interspersed, while a ceaseless roll of omnibuses and heavily-loaded waggons proves how irredeemably it is included in the noisiest core of the city,—one can yet, with the aid of the antique houses of Milton's day which still remain in it, realize what it was when Milton liked it for its quiet, and daily passed through it to or from his dwelling.

From St. Martin's-le-Grand, where the Post Office now stands, and makes a much clearer space than once existed between Cheapside and Aldersgate, the present Aldersgate Street (thanks to the discretion of the Great Fire) stretches away northwards very much as the old one did. It stretches away northwards a full fourth of a mile as one continuous thoroughfare, until, crossed by Long Lane and the Barbican, it parts with the name of Aldersgate Street, and, under the new names of Goswell Street and Goswell Road, completes its tendency towards the suburbs and fields about Islington.

Two centuries and a quarter ago the line of direction was the same. There was the same general aspect of a main street, with one or two smaller streets and a good many lanes, alleys, or entries, branching out of it on both sides; nay, the situations of these streets, alleys, and entries, and their names where they had any, were very much as now. Little Britain was on the one side as now, and Jewin Street on the other, with Trinity Court, Westmoreland Alley, Black Horse Alley, Half-moon Court, &c., on the Little Britain side, and Cooks' Hall Court, Greyhound Court, Ball Alley, Golden Lion Court, Maidenhead Court, Angel Alley, &c. on the Jewin Street side. But, with all this sameness of the general arrangement, and even with houses then standing in the street which stand there still, the Aldersgate Street of that day was very differently related to the rest of London from the present street, and very different-looking. In the first place, at the entrance to the street from St. Martin's-le-Grand, and distinctly marking the street as being beyond the city-wall, there was then to be seen the actual Gate from which the street derived its name. It was one of the seven well-known Gates which had given access from the country to the original city at different points of its circuit, and which were still conspicuous inlets from the sparser fringe of streets beyond the walls to the central block within them.[1] The Gate then standing was but a recent structure, having been erected as lately as 1617 instead of a far older gate, "Alders' Gate," which had long fallen into ruin, though it had served in Elizabeth's time as premises for John Day, the printer. In compliment to King James, who had entered London at this point when he first came from Scotland, the city-authorities had made a rather fine thing of the new Gate. It consisted of two square towers of four storeys at the sides, pierced with narrow portals for the foot-passengers, and connected by a curtain of masonry of the same height across the street, having the main archway in the middle. On both faces of this masonry over the archway, as well as in the niches in the

[1] The seven gates were, Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Moorgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and Ludgate.

towers, there were sculptures of King James (on horseback on the Aldersgate Street side, as coming to take possession, but on his throne judging the people on the St. Martin's-le-Grand side, as then actually in possession); together with figures of the prophets Samuel and Jeremiah, and relevant texts from their books.

After passing through so imposing a gateway from St. Martin's-le-Grand, you would expect the street to which it led to be of a superior suburban character. Accordingly, on the left side, just beyond the Gate, was St. Botolph's Church, the predecessor of the present church of the same name, but, I hope, handsomer; and, passing it, you had nearly a third of a mile of "fair buildings" on both sides "till ye come to Long Lane," as Stow wrote in 1603. Describing the street in 1657, Howell could say, "This street resembleth an Italian "street more than any other in London, by reason of the spa-"ciousness and uniformity of the buildings and straightness "thereof, with the convenient distance of the houses." This suggests that, though there were off-alleys and passages from the street, as now, and mostly at the same points, and with the names that are still to be read over them, there was on the whole greater airiness between the houses, and at their backs considerable open spaces, in lieu of that close network of dingy and populous courts, with here and there a small bit of mouldy wall or queer angular courtyard, in which even the postman must now lose himself. In these back-spaces, reached by courts or by blind entries from the street, there might well be "garden-houses," or houses with small gardens attached to them; and in one such garden-house, "at the end of an entry," and therefore well secluded, Milton lived.

It is possible that the entry may remain. On this chance, one would gladly go up all the present courts and entries on both sides of Aldersgate Street rather than miss what might be the right one, though not in one of them would there be the least hope of identifying the garden-house. But no such vague exploration through the whole length of the street is necessary. The Wards of London, or districts represented by Aldermen, are subdivided into smaller portions, called

Precincts, each represented by a Common Council-man; and Aldersgate Ward in its totality consisted of eight precincts, four within the gate and four without the gate. The four precincts without the gate, including the whole of Aldersgate Street with its courts and purlieus, were called respectively the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Precincts of St. Botolph's Parish; and it was in "the Second Precinct of St. Botolph's Parish" that Milton resided. That is, he resided in some entry going off from that part of the street which was nearest the Gate, and which is to be paced now between St. Martin's-le-Grand and Maidenhead Court on the right side of the street, and between Little Britain and Westmoreland Alley on the left side. One would like to determine on which side of the street it was; but, though the old maps have given me an impression that there was most room for "garden-houses" on the right side, and particularly near Golden Lion Court, where an old house still faces the street, I must leave the matter uncertain.

Whether Milton's house was on the right side of Aldersgate Street, or on the Little Britain side, he had very respectable neighbours. In the same Second Precinct with himself, and therefore within a few houses from him, lived his old friend and teacher, Dr. Alexander Gill, now dismissed by the Mercers from the head-mastership of St. Paul's School on a retiring allowance of 25*l.* a year, and keeping a private academy. Besides Gill, in the same Precinct, were the following miscellaneous persons—Mr. Vernon, a counsellor; Richard Musckle, a weaver, and his wife; Richard Dawson, an attorney; Mrs. Pallavicini, widow, a relation of Cromwell's; John Welsford, parish-clerk of St. Botolph's, and his wife; Prosper Rainsford, gentleman; Jokay Matthews, gentleman, with his wife, and four servants; Justinian Povey, auditor, with his wife, daughter, and four servants; John Birch, gentleman, and his wife; and Sir Thomas Cecil. Not in the same Precinct, but quite near, in Little St. Bartholomew Parish, to be reached through Little Britain, lived Dr. Theodore Diodati, the father of Milton's deceased friend. In the Poll-tax return from which these names are taken Milton appears among them

under the designation "Jo. Milton, gent.," and as having one servant named "Jane Yates." If there were other persons in the household, they must have been under sixteen years of age. But, in "a pretty garden-house," handsomely furnished, as Phillips tells us it was, Milton, even with but one servant, was probably as well off as most of his neighbours. Besides the houses of Mr. Jokay Matthews, Mr. Auditor Povey, and Sir Thomas Cecil, there were, indeed, farther up Aldersgate Street, but giving dignity to the whole street, houses of more aristocratic rank than Milton's. In the street, or immediately off it, on one side, was Thanet House, the town-house of the Earls of Thanet, and, on the other side, Peter House, the town-house of the Earl of Kingston, while in the adjacent Barbican was the town-house of the Bridgewater family. Taking a walk out of Aldersgate Street towards the country, Milton would pass these houses, and the fine grounds about the Charter House, also the Bell Inn and one or two other inns, and, much sooner than one can now fancy in that neighbourhood, would be footing the open fields.[1]

In the house in Aldersgate Street, with Jane Yates to keep it in order, Milton continued the tuition of his two nephews. "Here first it was," says Edward Phillips, "that his "academic erudition was put in practice and vigorously "proceeded, he himself giving an example to those under "him (for it was not long after his taking this house ere his "elder nephew was put to board with him also) of hard "study and spare diet." Phillips, the elder nephew here spoken of, introduces at this point a sketch of that "academic erudition" of Milton's, or peculiar and original system of teaching, of which he and his brother John began about this time to have the full benefit. As the system was continued

[1] My authorities for this account of the Aldersgate Street house are:—Life of Milton by Phillips; Hunter's Milton Gleanings (1850), pp. 24, 27, where information is cited from an Exchequer Record entitled "A Book of the names and surnames, degrees, ranks, and qualities of all the inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, London, July 1641," drawn up for the Poll-tax for the Scottish indemnity; Stow's London by Strype; Maps of Aldersgate Ward, giving the boundaries of the precincts; minute personal comparison of these maps with the present Aldersgate Street; Cunningham's Hand-book of London; Wood's Athenæ, III. 42–43. I have made inquiries after any remaining Ward-papers that might give me a trace of Milton in Aldersgate Street, but none were to be heard of.

into subsequent years, when there were more pupils to benefit from it than the two Phillipses, we shall have a better opportunity hereafter of adverting to that interesting subject. In the meantime, what Phillips adds respecting Milton's relaxations from his own hard studies and from his trouble with the two boys is more to the purpose. "Only this "advantage he had," says Phillips, "that once in three weeks "or a month he would drop into the society of some young "sparks of his acquaintance, whereof were Mr. Alphry and "Mr. Miller, two gentlemen of Gray's Inn, the beaux of "those times, but nothing near so bad as those now-a-days "[*i.e.* in 1694, when Phillips was writing]. With these gen- "tlemen he would so far make bold with his body as now and "then to keep a gaudy-day." Why Phillips should have recollected, among his uncle's acquaintances of the Aldersgate Street period, these two gentlemen in particular (whom I identify with a "Thomas Alfray of Catsfield, Sussex," and a "John Miller of Litton, Middlesex," admitted of Gray's Inn in the years 1633 and 1628 respectively[1]), does not appear. Perhaps it was because, as being the beaux of those times, they made a greater impression upon the two boys than more important men. For, whatever acquaintances Milton may have had of this sort, they interfered little with those occupations to which, since his return to England, he had secretly pledged himself. What they were we already know. He was ruminating that great literary work which posterity should not willingly let die; and, having made up his mind that it should be some great English poem, he was collecting all sorts of Scriptural subjects, and subjects from British History making notes for each, and weighing them against each other. Those pages of Jottings, now preserved at Cambridge, which we have seen him busy over in his lodging in St. Bride's Churchyard, accompanied him into his house in Aldersgate Street.

Probably for no mind in England had the opening of the Long Parliament sounded a proclamation of great coming

[1] Lists of Admissions to Gray's Inn, Harl. MS. 1,912, f. 85 and f. 127.

changes more rousingly than for Milton's. A Puritan by family-training from his boyhood, he had been so much of a Puritan in his subsequent youth, after a higher and rarer fashion of his own devising, that he had shrunk from entering the Church for which he had been destined by his parents. He had preferred the prospect of a solitary intellectual life, unattached, undignified, and apparently "cut off from all action," rather than launch himself on a career which he considered that Laud and the like of him had blasted, made dishonourable, and indeed nauseous. It had become a career to be shunned, as he says daringly, by all consciences save such as "could not retch," and his was not such a conscience. He had resolved not to be a Churchman. But the reasons for the resolution were always in his memory. During the eight years which had elapsed since he had taken it, his conduct had been that of a man "church-outed by the Prelates," and with a fund of rage in him on that account against the existing system in Church and State, though compelled, like the rest of his countrymen, to be silent and prudent. Among his friends, doubtless, he had spoken out; but in anything he had published it was only the general tone, and perhaps a passage here and there, too obscure and subtle to alarm the censorship, that had revealed the strength of his politics. Of all that he had written, perhaps a passage in his *Lycidas*, published in 1638, had approached the nearest to what Laud, had it been brought to his notice, would have pronounced to be a libel. It is that passage in which, among the various lamentations of the death of Edward King, there is introduced one supposed to be spoken by St. Peter, as the representative of the Church:—

"How well could I have spared for thee, young swain,
Enow of such as, for their bellies' sake,
Creep and intrude and climb into the fold!
Of other care they little reckoning make
Than how to scramble at the shearers' feast
And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!

What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
And, when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw.
The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly and foul contagion spread,
Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said.
But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more."

What did Milton mean by the last two lines? What was that metaphorical "two-handed engine" which was to break open the door of the corrupted Church and let in reform and light. Commentators have been sorely puzzled. The "axe of the Gospel," say some; "the literal axe that was to smite off Laud's head," say others more foolishly; the sword of the Archangel Michael which he wielded with "huge two-handed sway," say a third party, all in the clouds and vague. May not Milton, whatever else he meant, have meant a coming English Parliament with its two Houses? Whatever he meant, his prophecy had come true. As he sat among his books in Aldersgate Street, the two-handed engine at the door of the English Church was already on the swing. Once, twice, thrice, it had swept its arcs to gather energy; now it was on the backmost poise, and the blow was to descend.

Milton's own words give the best description of the state of his mind at this moment. "As soon as might be, in affairs "so disturbed and fluctuating," he says, "I, looking about for "a place in which to establish myself, hired (*conduxi*) a house "in the city sufficiently large for me and my books, and there "betook myself happily enough to my intermitted studies, "committing the issue of affairs to God in the first place, "and to those next to whom the people gave that duty in "trust. Meanwhile, the Parliament proceeding with the busi-"ness strenuously, the pride of the Bishops was brought down. "As soon as the liberty of speech at least began to be granted, "all mouths were opened against the Bishops; some to "expostulate on the vices of the men, others on the vice of "the order itself—that it was an unjust thing that he English

"should differ from all Churches, as many as were Reformed, "and that it was fit that the Church should be governed by "the example of the brethren, but most of all according to "the will of God. Roused by the cognizance of these things, "inasmuch as I perceived that the true way to liberty fol- "lowed on from these beginnings, these first steps—that the "advance was most rightly made to a liberation of the entire "life of men from servitude, if a discipline taking its rise "within religion should go forth thence to the manners and "institutions of the Commonwealth—and inasmuch also as "I had so prepared myself from my youth that above all "things I could not be ignorant what is of divine and what "of human right, and had asked myself whether ever I should "be of any use afterwards if then I should be wanting to "my country, yea, to the Church, and to so many brethren "exposing themselves to danger for the cause of the Gospel— "I resolved, though I was then meditating certain other "matters, to transfer into this struggle all my genius and all "the strength of my industry. First, accordingly, I . . ."[1] Here I interrupt the quotation, leaving the exact results of these deliberations of Milton to appear presently.

During the months of November and December 1640, and thence onwards, let the reader fancy Milton passing from and to his house in Aldersgate Street, with such thoughts in his mind as he has himself described. Now and then, perhaps, he is a spectator, with others, at the doors of the two Houses in Westminster, while Bedford, Saye and Sele, Pym, Hampden, Cromwell and others are entering. Certainly, at this time he is in the habit of seeing Young, Calamy, and others of the Root-and-Branch Puritan ministers in London. He sees *them*, I should say, more frequently than the two Gray's Inn beaux, Messrs. Miller and Alphry.

[1] Defensio Secunda pro Pop. Angl.: Works, VI. 289, 290.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHURCH QUESTION IN AND OUT OF PARLIAMENT—BISHOP HALL AND *SMECTYMNUUS*—BISHOPS' EXCLUSION BILL—SCHEMES OF LIMITED EPISCOPACY—A ROOT-AND-BRANCH BILL.

THE Root-and-Branch party made the first great move. As early as Nov. 13, 1640, there had been petitions to the Commons for Church-reform from the "nobility, knights, gentry, ministers, &c.," of the counties of Bedford and Warwick; and other petitions had followed. But on the 11th of December there came what was then considered a monster petition. It was a petition from the City of London, signed by no fewer than 15,000 persons (Milton probably one of them), and presented by Alderman Pennington, one of the members for the City, whom a great crowd had accompanied to the House. "Whereas the government of Archbishops and "Lord-Bishops, Deans and Archdeacons, &c., with their courts "and ministrations in them, hath proved prejudicial and very "dangerous both to the Church and Commonwealth," so the petition began; and, after a few more sentences of accusation, supported by an appended schedule of twenty-eight particulars, it wound up: "We therefore most humbly pray and "beseech this Honourable Assembly, the premises considered, "that the said government, with all its dependencies, roots, "and branches, may be abolished, and all laws in their "behalf made void, and the government according to God's "word may be rightly placed among us." This petition was very respectfully received by the Commons, as were also subsequent petitions more or less in the same strain. On the 12th of January there were Anti-Episcopal petitions simultaneously from three counties, one being the county of Kent;

on the 19th there was a similar petition from the city of Gloucester; and on the 23rd there was a petition as notable as even the London petition. It was called "The Ministers' Petition," and was signed by 700 ministers of the Church of England. Without actually praying for the abolition of Episcopacy, it urged the removal of the Bishops from Parliament, and of Clergymen generally from all secular offices, and also the revision of the offices and revenues of Deans and Chapters, and the admission of the body of the Clergy to a share in ordination and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Possibly some of those who signed it shrank as yet from absolute Root-and-Branch.[1]

Stunned at first by the mere meeting of the Long Parliament, the High Church party had hitherto not dared to speak, but had waited to know the amount of humiliation to which they were to be subjected. But, after the London and the other petitions, with the commentary upon them furnished by daily pamphlets, Bishop Hall thought that longer silence would be culpable. In the last week of January there appeared from his pen a pamphlet of 43 small quarto pages with this title: "*Humble Remonstrance to the High Court of Parliament: By a Dutifull Sonne of the Church.*"[2] Though Hall did not give his name, it was at once known to be his, both from the style and as being published by the same Nathaniel Butter who had published Hall's larger treatise of the preceding year, *Episcopacy by Divine Right.*

The *Humble Remonstrance*, in form an appeal to the two Houses, was in substance a reassertion of the principles of Hall's former treatise, with just so much of abatement as was to be accounted for by the absence of Laud's tight supervision this time, and by the general change of circumstances. "Whilst the orthodox part in this whole realm," it said, "hath (to the praise of their patience) been quietly silent, as "securely conscious of their own right and innocence, how

[1] Rushworth, IV. 93—96 and 135; Parl. Hist. II. 673—678; Commons Journals; Baillie, I. 280.

[2] "London: Printed for Nathaniel Butter in Paul's Churchyard at the Pyde Bull near St. Austin's Gate: 1640." A reference to the pamphlet by Baillie determines the exact date of the publication. Writing Jan. 29, 1640-41, Baillie speaks of it as published "this week."

" many furious and malignant spirits everywhere have burst " forth at sclanderous libels, bitter pasquins, railings, pamphlets " (under which more presses than one have groaned), wherein " they have endeavoured, through the sides of some misliked " persons, to wound the sacred government which (by the " joint confession of all Reformed Divines) derives itself from " the times of the blessed Apostles, without interruption " (without the contradiction of any one congregation in the " Christian world), unto this present age!" After more pages of such prefatory matter, Hall proceeds to reply to the attacks of the other side, more particularly under the two heads of the Liturgy and Episcopacy. He gives eight pages to the defence of Liturgies and of the English Liturgy especially, and twenty-five to the defence of Episcopal Government, the recent attacks on which, he says, have so " confounded " him that he can but ejaculate, in the Saviour's words, " Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." He contrives, however, to protract the ejaculation through the five-and-twenty pages. On the whole, the tract is not creditable to the English Seneca. It shows far too much of that habit of mere assumption of being in the right, and of reliance on epithets, which always marks a weak reasoner. " The King likes it weel," says Baillie, " but all else pities it as a most poor piece." Laud, who was no such rhetorician as Hall, would have done the thing far better.

It was on Monday the 8th and Tuesday the 9th of February that the first great debate on the whole subject of Church Reform took place in the Commons. The debate was *à-propos* of the various petitions that had been presented on the subject, and more particularly of the two typical petitions, that of the City of London praying for Root-and-Branch, and that of the 700 Ministers praying for the limitation of Episcopal power. In the main, the debate was between the partisans of the more moderate and those of the more vehement petition, with scarcely a voice in behalf of the High Church party. The best speaking was on behalf of Limited Episcopacy as against Root-and-Branch Reform. Among the speakers on this side were Lord Digby, Lord Falkland, Sir

Benjamin Rudyard, and Mr. Harbottle Grimstone. Lord Digby's speech and Lord Falkland's were the great ones. "There is no man within these walls," said Lord Digby, "more sensible of the heavy grievance of Church-government "than myself, nor whose affections are keener to the clipping "of those wings of the Prelates whereby they have mounted "to such insolencies." Nevertheless, he was against the prayer of the London petition, which seemed to him as "a "comet or blazing star raised and kindled out of the stench, "out of the poisonous exhalation, of a corrupted hierarchy:" nay, "methought the comet had a terrible tail with it, Sir, "and pointed to the North." Because wine made some men drunk, was wine to be absolutely abjured? "Let us not "destroy Bishops, but make Bishops such as they were in the "primitive times. Do their large territories, their large re-"venues, offend? Let them be retrenched: the good Bishop "of Hippo had but a narrow diocese! Do their courts and "subordinates offend? Let them be brought to govern, as in "primitive times, by assemblies of their clergy! Doth their "intermeddling in secular affairs offend? Exclude them "from the capacity: it is no more than what reason and "all antiquity hath interdicted them." So argued Lord Digby, and Lord Falkland spoke in the same strain. The first part of his speech was one tremendous onslaught on the Bishops and their adherents. They had been "the destruction of unity under pretence of uniformity;" they had "tithed mint and anise, and left undone the weightier matters of the law;" they had been "like the hen in Æsop," fattened with barley till it could lay no more eggs; they had been, some of them, so "absolutely, directly, and cordially Papists, that it is all that fifteen hundred pounds a year can do to keep them from confessing it;" they had been, in respect of their action upon English liberties, the successors of those who, "in the darkest times, had excommunicated the makers of Magna Charta;" they had been the cause of that Scottish Service-Book the particular author of which had "no doubt long since wished, with Nero," that he had never known how to write; they had been "the almost sole abettors" of

Strafford's tyranny, first in Ireland, "where he had committed so many mighty and so manifest enormities and "oppressions as the like have not been committed in any "government since Verres left Sicily," and next in England, during that time when "all things were governed by a Junctillo, and that Junctillo was governed by him." Taking breath after an outburst of accusations of which this is but a fraction, Falkland proceeded to show why yet he could not vote for the Root-and-Branch abolition of Episcopacy. "If not the first planters of Christianity," he said, "yet the first spreaders and the first and chief defenders of it had been bishops;" nay, in the worst of times, and even recently in England itself, there had been good bishops; and, though he did not believe bishops to be *jure divino*, nay, believed them "not to be *jure divino*," yet neither did he believe them, if wisely regulated, "to be *injuriâ humanâ*." Wise regulation was everything. Let Bishops be deprived of "their temporal title, power, and employment," even to their exclusion from Parliament; but let not the name and office of Bishop be abolished in England! So spoke Falkland, and so spoke others; Selden, who did not himself come forward as a speaker, assisting the speakers, and supplying them with arguments. Against such a phalanx of orators, supported by such an encyclopædia of learning, the Root-and-Branch speakers seem to have come off but second-best. Nathaniel Fiennes was the chief speaker on this side, but the younger Vane and Mr. Bagshaw (member for Southwark) also stood up with some effect. But, though comparatively deficient in speaking-power, the Root-and-Branch party was strong in voting-power; and at the end of the debate it was carried by a majority of 35 to refer not only the Ministers' Petition, but also the London Petition and all the others, to a Committee of Religion already appointed by the House, and to which the names of Mr. Fiennes, the younger Vane, and several other Root-and-Branch men were now added. They were to consider the Church Reform question in its entire depth and breadth, and report to the House.[1]

[1] Rushworth, IV. 170—188; Commons' Journals; Neal, II. 396—404; Baillie, I. 302.

For about a month the Committee sat three times a week. They were unanimous for measures of Church Reform which should completely alter the nature of Episcopacy in England; but, as to the utter abolition of Episcopacy, there was a division of opinion. The Root-and-Branch members of the Committee were in a minority. In these circumstances it was considered most important by the Root-and-Branch leaders that the pressure from without should be increased. Accordingly, while the Committee sat, there appeared several pamphlets written expressly in the interest of Root-and-Branch opinions, and against any preservation of Episcopacy with whatever limitations. Even before the debate in the Commons there had appeared (Jan. 29) a tract of this kind, written, at the request of the Puritan ministers in London, by Alexander Henderson, and entitled *The Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Prelacy or Perpetual Presidency in the Church.* As the pens of the Scottish deputation were naturally readiest for the service, and it was necessary to do everything to counteract at once the advantage which Limited Episcopacy views might have gained by the circulation in print of the recent speeches of Digby and Falkland, and by the great respect due to Selden, there were now added to this tract of Henderson's a new edition by Baillie of his *Canterburians' Self-Conviction*, adapted for English readers, and a further essay by Baillie on the *Unlawfulness and Danger of Limited Episcopacy*, intended as a sequel to Henderson's. There appeared, moreover, "a short treatise, much wanted," by Henderson, on *The Discipline of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland*, a pamphlet by Gillespie on *The Grounds of Presbyterial Government*, and one by Blair in reply to Bishop Hall's *Humble Remonstrance.*[1] But, though it was well to have such auxiliary tracts from the Scottish deputies in London, it was time that the English Puritan ministers of the Root-and-Branch party should be making some literary demonstration for themselves. In fact, such a demonstration was forthcoming; and the Scottish tracts were but a stop-gap till it should be ready. At length it was ready, and on

[1] Baillie, I. 292 and 303.

or about the 20th of March, 1640–41, there were lying in a bookseller's shop in Pope's Head Alley, and finding their way thence into the houses of the citizens, copies of a small quarto of 104 pages, with the following portentous title: "*An Answer to a Book entituled 'An Humble Remonstrance,' in which the originall of Liturgy* [and] *Episcopacy is discussed and quæres propounded concerning both, the parity of Bishops and Presbyters in Scripture demonstrated, the occasion of their unparity in Antiquity discovered, the disparity of the ancient and our modern Bishops manifested, the antiquity of Ruling Elders in the Church vindicated, the Prelaticall Church bounded: Written by* SMECTYMNUUS."[1]

> "SMECTYMNUUS! The goblin makes me start.
> I' the name of Rabbi Abraham, what art?"

So wrote the satirist Cleveland on the appearance of the pamphlet, expressing the half-comic wonder with which the name SMECTYMNUUS was everywhere greeted. Yet there seems to have been no especial mystery made about the authorship. Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow, had determined on a joint pamphlet on the Church-question, which should take the form of a reply to Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*. When the pamphlet was finished (and we have the means of knowing that Young had the largest hand in it[2]), there was naturally some difficulty in finding a name to put on the title-page, and there occurred to the five friends the bright idea of combining their initials thus: S. M., E. C., T. Y., M. N., U. U. (for W.) S. Hence the goblin that made Cleveland start. Cleveland, it is pretty clear, knew all about it, for a good part of his poem consists of all sorts of jokes on the birth of such a monstrosity as this quintuple organism of the wits of five Puritan parsons rolled into one. He compares it to some case, like that of the Siamese Twins of a later day,

[1] "London: Printed for J. Rothwell; and are to be sold by T. N. at the Bible in Pope's Head Alley: 1641." I find the book registered at Stationers' Hall as the property of "Mr. Rothwell, junr.," and as licensed by Sir Edward Deering in the name of a Committee of the Commons for licensing books. This determines the date of publication.

[2] Baillie, I. 366; where Young is called "the author of *Dies Dominica* and of the *Smectymnuus* for the most part." Baillie's authority is decisive on this point.

which had recently been imported from Italy, and exhibited at fairs:—

> "The Italian monster pregnant with his brother,
> Nature's diæresis, half one-another,
> He, with his little sidesman Lazarus,
> Must both give way unto Smectymnuus.
> Next Sturbridge fair is SMEC's; for lo! his side
> Into a fivefold Lazar's multiplied:
> Under each arm there's tucked a double gizzard;
> Five faces lurk under a single vizard."

Nay, farther:—

> "The Sadducees would raise a question
> Who must be SMEC at the Resurrection."[1]

The very oddity of the name, however, helped the circulation of the pamphlet, and it seems to have at once found its way to Cambridge (where probably Cleveland saw it) and to Oxford. It is on the whole a rather heavy and leathery performance, about five times as long, if we allow for the smaller print, as Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*, to which it professes to be an answer, and indeed involving as well Hall's previous and larger treatise, *Episcopacy by Divine Right*. But it is distinguished not disadvantageously from Hall's later tract by a closer reasoning of the matters discussed. It is addressed, like Hall's Remonstrance, to the Parliament. "Most "Honourable Lords," it begins, "and ye, the Knights, "Citizens, and Burgesses of the Honourable House of Com- "mons, although we doubt not but that book which was "lately directed to your Honours, bearing the name of *An* "*Humble Remonstrance*, hath had access unto your presence, "and is, in the first approaches of it, discovered by your dis- "cerning spirit to be neither Humble nor a Remonstrance, "but a heap of confident and unfounded assertions, so that to "your Honours a reply may seem superfluous, yet," &c. In five pages of such preliminary matter there is farther criticism on Hall's style as "swelled with passionate rhetorications," instead of real arguments. "It was a constitution of these

[1] Cleveland's Works (edit. 1661), pp. 37—41.

" admired sons of justice, the Areopagi, that such as pleaded " before them should plead without prefacing and without " passion: had your Honours made such a constitution, this " Remonstrance must have been banished from the face of " your Assembly." The critics then pass on to Hall's two heads of the Liturgy and Episcopacy. To the subject of the Liturgy only nine pages are devoted, the general conclusion being that Liturgies are at best but helps, and that the existing Liturgy, if retained at all, would require great revision. About seventy pages are then given to the question of Episcopacy; and there is a Postscript, of twenty pages, giving a summary sketch of the history of Bishops in England from Augustine downwards, intended to show that they had always been the causes of disloyalty to the Crown, and of general turbulence. The argument is pursued in a grave, plodding manner, with abundance of learned quotations from the Fathers and of marginal references, and with a close following of Hall's assertions, one by one, cited in his own words. Sometimes there is a little briskness; as when, in answer to Hall's assertion that by "the joint confession of all Reformed Divines" Episcopacy was derived from the Apostles, they exclaim, " What! All Reformed Divines? Was Calvin, Beza, " Junius, &c., of that mind? Are the Reformed Churches of " France, Scotland, Netherlands, of that judgment?" Not content with these interrogations, they proceed in words which fall on the ear with very unfortunate effect now: " We shall " show anon that there is no more truth in this assertion than " if he had said, with Anaxagoras, 'Snow is black,' or, with " Copernicus, 'The Earth moves and the Heavens stand still.'" Strange to find that in 1641 the Copernican theory could still be cited as a universally admitted example of delusion!—— We may add that the writers of the pamphlet observe the etiquette of the anonymous, and never directly name Hall as the author of the Remonstrance. The Remonstrant, they say, had surely conspired with Bishop Hall to repeat all the assertions made in *Episcopacy by Divine Right;* and, though they could not of course "enter the lists with a man of that learning and fame that Bishop Hall is,"

yet with his echo, the Remonstrant, they would stand on no ceremony!

Before the pamphlet of Smectymnuus was out, the Committee of the Commons had brought in their Report (March 9). It propounded for the consideration of the House three distinct courses of Parliamentary action as necessary to anything like a complete solution of the Church-question. *First*, there must be an exclusion of the Bishops, and the clergy generally, from all State offices and employments; *secondly*, there must be a limitation of the power of the Bishops in the Church itself, and an introduction of more of the democratic element into the system of Church-government; and, *thirdly*, there must be a reduction and application to State purposes of the great revenues of Deans, Chapters, and other ecclesiastical foundations. For a Report stopping short of complete Root-and-Branch, nothing could well be more revolutionary. Nor did the House merely receive the Report and keep it in reserve. At once they proceeded to give effect to its recommendations under at least the first of the three heads, submitted to them. On March 10 they resolved, after debate, "That the Legislative and Judicial power of Bishops in the "House of Peers in Parliament is a great hindrance to the "discharge of their Spiritual functions, prejudicial to the "Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill;" and this was immediately followed by similar resolutions declaring that the service of Bishops or any clergymen whatever in Commissions of the Peace or in any Civil Courts, and their presence in the Privy Council, were equally "hindrances to the "discharge of their Spiritual functions, prejudicial to the "Commonwealth, and fit to be taken away by Bill." Nay, one Bill comprehending the general drift of these Resolutions was brought in, entitled "A Bill to restrain Bishops and others in Holy Orders from intermeddling with secular affairs." It was brought in March 30, 1641, and read a second time April 1. This Bill, accordingly, became for the time the *pièce de résistance* of the whole controversy. It by no means included all, it will be observed, that the Commons had in meditation, according even to the Report of their Committee.

It embodied only the Resolutions of the Commons on the first of the three heads of the Report, leaving the other two questions open. But one Bill at a time was enough.[1]

The delay in the progress even of the one Bill caused by Strafford's trial gave opportunity to those whom the Bill alarmed for expressing that alarm. Among the petitions from counties and cities which had been dropping in, some were decidedly Pro-Episcopal. From an examination of these Pro-Episcopal petitions (of which there were to be in all, before the controversy was over, thirteen from English and five from Welsh counties), Mr. Hallam is disposed to think that the Root-and-Branch reformers were very far from forming a numerical majority in the nation. He refers particularly to one petition to the Lords from Somersetshire, signed by 14,350 freeholders and other inhabitants, in which, while the petitioners "heartily wish" for a restoration of the Church to "its former purity," and for the punishment of "the wittingly and maliciously guilty" among the bishops and clergy, they remonstrate against "the destruction of the Government." Now, it would be difficult, from such statistics as the petitions of the period furnish, to come to a sound conclusion as to the relative strength of the Root-and-Branch and the Moderate-Reform parties throughout the entire nation; and, as regards certain parts of England, Mr. Hallam's conjecture may be right. That he has underrated, however, the strength of the Root-and-Branch party as a whole is rendered probable by various evidences. Among them may be cited that furnished by a comparison of two conflicting petitions from the single county of Chester (April 2). While what may be called the Pro-Episcopal petition purports to be signed by four noblemen, fourscore and odd knights-baronets, knights, and esquires, seventy divines, over 300 gentlemen, and over 6,000 freeholders and other inhabitants, the Anti-Episcopal petition from the same county purports to be signed almost exactly two to one—*i.e.* by eight noblemen, 199 knights-baronets, knights, and esquires, 140 divines, 757 gentlemen, and over 12,000 freeholders and other inhabitants.[2]

[1] Commons' Journals of dates cited; Rushworth, IV. 206–7; Baillie, I. 307–8.

[2] Printed copies of both petitions in S. P. O. under date April 2, 1641.

I call this latter petition Anti-Episcopal because of its strong expressions against "the lordly prelates," their "white rochets," &c.; but it is possible that, though it thus looks in the main Root-and-Branch, many of those who signed it may not have contemplated an absolute abolition either of Bishops or of the Liturgy.

It was at this moment that Bishop Williams came characteristically to the front. The Lords, though they had, of course, discussed matters of religion as well as the Commons, had yet abstained, in the main, from any investigation of the Church-problem for themselves, and waited till the solution of the problem by the Commons should come up for their criticism. But, now that the nature of the solution by the Commons was pretty well known, it was natural that the Lords should begin to bestir themselves. Might it not be well that, before the Bill of the Commons should reach the Upper House, that House should have shaped out some conclusions of its own with which to receive and compare the Bill? Availing himself of these feelings, or perhaps exciting them, Williams had procured the appointment by the Upper House, on the 1st of March, or about a month before the actual introduction of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill into the Commons, of a Committee of ten Bishops, and about thirty lay peers, with himself as chairman, to consider and report to the House on the means of settling the peace of the Church. This Committee was empowered to call before it divines and doctors of all shades of opinion, and to examine them and confer with them on all matters, as well of doctrine as of discipline. It is curious to observe the different judgments on this scheme of Williams's, pronounced from opposite quarters. To Laud in his prison it seemed simply detestable; to Baillie and his party, on the other hand, it seemed "a trick of the Bishops." There were others, however, such as the historian Fuller, who believed that good might come from the conferences of the Committee if they were rightly managed. And Williams spared no pains to make them successful. Day after day, for six days at least, there met at his house, the Deanery of Westminster, in the

famous room known as the Jerusalem Chamber, about as eclectic a gathering of divines as could be got together. They met there, not so much to be merely examined as witnesses by the Bishop and his fellow committee-men of the Lords, as to sit along with them deliberating confidentially, and partaking all the while of "such bountiful cheer" as Williams knew how to bestow. In addition to Williams himself, Bishop Hall, and Bishop Morton of Durham, there were present the following, among others:—Usher; Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney-Sussex College, Cambridge; Dr. John Prideaux, Dean of Exeter College, Oxford, and Vice-chancellor of the University; Dr. William Twisse, Rector of Newbury, Berks; Dr. Robert Sanderson, chaplain to the King; Dr. Daniel Featley, Provost of Chelsea College and Rector of Lambeth; Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge; Dr. Richard Holdsworth, Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge; Dr. John Hacket, Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, and Prebendary of St. Paul's; Mr. Thomas Hill, Rector of Tichmarsh, Northamptonshire; Dr. Cornelius Burges of Watford, and another Puritan minister of note, Mr. John White, of Dorchester, called "Patriarch White;" nay, actually at least three of the Smectymnuans—Marshall, Calamy, and Young. What a "happy family" the assembly must have been may be imagined from the fact that the three Smectymnuans, while seated opposite Bishop Hall, may have had proof-sheets of their pamphlet against Hall, or completed copies of it (for it came out that very week), in their pockets!——On the whole, the conferences led to little. Under the head of "Innovations in Doctrine" it was agreed that, during Laud's supremacy, the Church had backslidden into Popish tenets and become clouded with Arminianism; under the head of "Innovations in Discipline" it was agreed that ceremonies had been needlessly multiplied, and that there had been a mischievous and inquisitorial harshness on the part of bishops; respecting the Liturgy, some revision at least was contended for by most; and, as regarded the great matter of the future reorganization of the Church with a view to adapt Episcopacy to the spirit of the age—why, on that subject Bishop Williams himself

was preparing a "draft," which he hoped would satisfy the brethren! Of one thing people might be sure. Whatever might be the nature of Williams's "draft," and however far it might go in the direction of a Broad Church, it would not exclude Bishops from Parliament and from State offices. Of all men living Williams was the least likely to hear of such a proposition with patience. Had he not himself sat on the woolsack, and was it not his ambition even now to re-enter the world of politics, and show what a head for State affairs might be covered by a mitre?[1]

Before Williams could bring the result of his Conferences to bear, or have his draft of Church Reform ready, the dreaded Bill from the Commons came up to the Lords. It passed the Commons on the 1st of May, Hyde opposing it on the third reading, but his friend Falkland supporting it with a vehemence which astonished Hyde. It was the moment of the very crisis of Strafford's fate. Hence, though the Bill was introduced into the Lords on May 1, it was not till the 14th of May, or two days after Strafford's death, that the Lords began the discussion of it on the second reading. For three weeks, in the House or in Committee, the discussion was continued. Both Hall and Williams spoke against the Bill. Hall pronounced it "the strangest bill he had ever heard since he sat under that roof," admitted that perhaps the power of bishops in judicatures might be conveniently abridged, but defended their presence in Parliament. Williams, though he conceded that the exclusion of churchmen from the Council-table and Commission of the Peace might be carried "without the regret of any wise ecclesiastical persons," was equally emphatic on the main point. Had not Calvin and Beza, he asked, intermeddled with State affairs, "carrying all the Council of the State of Geneva under their gowns?" Nay—and here he made a really clever homethrust—"you have all heard (and, I know, much "good by his former writings) of a learned man, called Mr. "Henderson, and most of your lordships understand better "than I what employment he hath at this time in this

[1] Lords' Journals; Fuller's Church History, XI. 46; Baillie, I. 308—9.

"kingdom." Among the lay peers the most strenuous opponent of the Bill was the Earl of Kingston, while the chief speaker for it was Saye and Sele. On the minor enactments of the Bill, excluding Bishops from the Privy Council, from Commissions of the Peace, &c., the Lords, with but two dissentient voices, were willing to go with the Commons; but, on the main provision, excluding the Bishops from Parliament, they stood unexpectedly firm. A conference ensued between them and the Commons; and the Commons tried to shake their firmness by offering them (June 4) formal Reasons for the removal of Bishops from Parliamentary power. All in vain! Williams prepared replies to these Reasons of the Commons, which were afterwards printed; and the Lords showed their disregard for them by their final vote on the third reading. That vote occurred June 8, when the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was rejected in gross by the Lords, in a pretty full House, by a clear majority of sixteen, besides the votes of the Bishops themselves.[1]

There were other evidences, besides this rejection of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill by the Lords, that the wain of Church Reform had reached a point where it would be in danger of sticking fast unless there were many shoulders to the wheels. Not only on the question of the civil power of Bishops was there a gathering of conservative resistance. There was the same resistance on those other two questions on which the Commons had reserved legislative action—the question of Deans and Chapters, or the reduction of Cathedral Establishments; and the question of the best future model for the government of the Church so as to limit Prelacy. On the 12th of May, for example (the very day of Strafford's execution), there had been presented to the Commons, with quite unusual solemnity, two most important petitions from the Universities. The petition from the University of Oxford, adopted "*in celebri conventu Doctorum et Magistrorum, omnibus et singulis assentientibus*," deprecated any attack on Cathedral Establishments, vindicating them as ancient and approved founda-

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 774–776, and 792–811; Lords' Journals; Rushworth, IV. 231–2; and Fuller's Church Hist. (ed. 1842) III. 423.

tions, as "a motive and encouragement" to students, especially in divinity, and as affording not only the fittest means of reward for "some deep and eminent scholars," but also "a competent portion, in an ingenious way, to many younger brothers of good parentage who devote themselves to the ministry of the Gospel." But not only did the petition vindicate Cathedral Establishments: it ventured on a comprehensive reference to the question of Church Government, begging leave for the petitioners "in all humility to desire "the continuance of that form of government which is now "established here, and hath been preserved in some of the "Eastern and Western Churches, in a continued succession "of Bishops, down from the very Apostles to the present "time." While the Oxford petition was thus Pro-Episcopal, as well as in favour of Deans and Chapters, the petition from Cambridge confined itself to the question of Deans and Chapters, and said nothing on the wider question, except by implication. But there were not only the petitions themselves. By the leave of the House Dr. Hacket was heard in favour of the views of the petitioners as regarded the preservation of Deaneries, Canonries, Prebends, &c., while Dr. Cornelius Burges was heard as spokesman for the Puritan ministers on the other side. Dr. Hacket's speech was thought a masterpiece. "He insisted," says Fuller, "on the advance-"ment of learning as the proper use and convenience of "cathedrals, each of them being a small academy for the "champions of Christ's cause against the adversary by their "learned pens. Here he proffered to prove, by a catalogue "of their names and works which he could produce, that "most of the excellent labours in this kind, excepting some "few, have proceeded from persons preferred in the Cathe-"drals or the Universities. Now, what a disheartening it "would be to young students if such promotions were "taken away!" [1]

The wide sympathy and applause with which Hacket's speech was received by many in Parliament, as well as out of doors, was a sign of such a joining of forces in the ranks of the

[1] Fuller, III. 418—423; and Rushworth, IV. 270—273, and 280—282.

High Church Party and the Middle Party as could hardly have been anticipated. Usher himself was coming forward to the rescue from Root-and-Branch. From time to time since the opening of the Parliament this learned Primate's views had been cited and appealed to on different sides. It was rumoured that, with the King's approval, he had been drawing up plans for an ecclesiastical conciliation; and, on one occasion (Feb. 9), he had complained to the Commons of the unauthorized publication, in his name, of some such plan. But, now that all men's minds were in confusion, and that the real question might be not between a better or a worse form of Episcopacy, but between Episcopacy in any form and its abolition, it was eagerly desired by all the defenders of Episcopacy that Usher should openly help them. Hall, overburdened with the work, was especially anxious for the co-operation of the popular Low-Church Archbishop. "That which fell from me yesterday suddenly and transcursively," we find him writing to Usher, "hath since taken "up my after-midnight thoughts, and I must crave leave "what then I moved to importune—that your Grace would be "pleased to bestow one sheet of paper upon these distracted "times, on the subject of Episcopacy, showing the Apostolical original of it, and the grounds of it from Scripture and "the immediately succeeding antiquity. Every line of it, "coming from your Grace's hand, would be *super rotas suas*— "as Solomon's expression is, very apples of gold with pictures "of silver, and more worth than volumes to us." The good Archbishop was persuaded; and about the 21st of May there had appeared, in a shop in Fleet Street, exactly such a sheet of matter as Hall had desired, under this title, "*The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes touching the originall of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed out of Antiquity, by James, Archbishop of Armagh.*"[1] But this was not all. It was quite true that Usher had been preparing a practical scheme for the settlement of the Church of England on the basis of a retained

[1] "London: printed by G. M. for Thomas Downes, and are to be sold by William Lee at the Turke's Head in Fleet Street." I ascertain the date of the publication from the Register in Sationers' Hall, where it is entered May 21. See also Elrington's Life of Usher, prefixed to his "Works."

but greatly modified Episcopacy. The tract of the publication of which he had complained is believed to have been an imperfect copy of this scheme, which had been purloined from his desk; but the perfect copy, long afterwards published from his manuscript, under the title of *The Reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of Synodical Government received in the Ancient Church*, appears to have been in private circulation in May and June 1641, and to have affected the discussions then going on in the Commons. In this project of Usher's, in the drawing up of which Dr. Holdsworth of Cambridge, and perhaps some others, had a part, the management of the Church was to be by graduated courts as follows:—(1) A Weekly Parochial Court in every parish, consisting of the Incumbent and Churchwardens. (2) Monthly Courts in districts, or subdivisions of dioceses, corresponding to the Rural Deaneries; every such court to consist of the assembled Rectors or other Incumbents of the parishes of the district, presided over by a Suffragan for the district, corresponding to the ancient *Chorepiscopus*. (3) Diocesan Synods, once or twice a year, consisting of the Suffragans of districts and representatives of the parish clergy, and presided over by the Bishop, or by one of the district Suffragans deputed by him. (4) Provincial Synods, every third year, consisting of the Bishops, the Suffragans, and elected parish Ministers from each of the two ecclesiastical Provinces of England, under the presidency of the Archbishop of the Province, or a Bishop deputed by him; and with power to the two Provincial Synods, if meeting at the same time as Parliament, to coalesce into a General Assembly or National Council for ultimate regulation of Church affairs.[1]

All these incidents, concurring about the end of May and the beginning of June 1641, produced a sense of distressing imbroglio, and almost of dead-lock. It would have been of dead-lock entirely but for the natural rousing of the pugnacity

[1] This *Reduction of Episcopacy*, by Usher, was first printed from the original MS. in 1658 by Dr. N. Bernard, and will be found in Usher's Works by Elrington, Vol. XII. It was brought forward again publicly, and with some hope, after the Restoration. (See Baxter's Life, ed. 1696, pp. 238, *et seq.*) See also Elrington's Life of Usher in Usher's Works, I. 208–9; and Whitlocke's Memorials, June 1641.

of the Commons and of their adherents against such an accumulation of obstacles. In the Commons the roused feeling took shape in two forms: (1) *Condemnation of Cathedral Establishments.* Although Hacket's defence of Cathedral Establishments had been so masterly that there was an impression, says Fuller, that, if the vote had been taken when it was made, Cathedral Establishments would have had a majority of sixty in their favour, yet no sooner was the Bishops' Exclusion Bill thrown out by the Lords than the Commons forgot the speech. On the 15th of June, they resolved "that all Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, "Prebendaries, Chanters, Canons, and Petty Canons, and their "officers, shall be utterly abolished and taken away out of "the Church," and "That all the lands taken by this Bill "from Deans and Chapters shall be employed to the advance-"ment of learning and piety, provision being had and made "that His Majesty be not a loser in his rents, first-fruits, "and other duties, and that a competent maintenance shall "be made to the several persons concerned, if such persons "appear not peccant and delinquents to this House."[1] (2) *A Root-and-Branch Bill.* The story of this Bill is one of the most curious in the annals of the Long Parliament, and it brings Cromwell before us in a relation to the proceedings of the Commons at this time which has escaped notice. On the 27th of May—that is, before the rejection of the Bishops' Exclusion Bill by the Lords, but when it was pretty well known that they would reject it—Sir Edward Deering was in his place in the Commons as usual. He had by this time earned his name, "the Silver Trumpet," by his fine voice and his fondness for using it; and he had been conspicuous as one of the first accusers of Laud, and generally as one of the most eager for Church-Reform, short of absolute Root-and-Branch. As he was in his place, thinking of nothing in particular, Sir Arthur Haselrig came up to him with a draft of a very short bill, which Haselrig had that moment received from Sir Henry Vane and Mr. Oliver Cromwell. "He told me," says Deering, "he was resolved that it should go in, but was earnestly urgent that I would

[1] Rushworth, IV. 285-290.

present it." Deering took the bill from Haselrig, with a natural desire to see what it was before complying with the request. "The bill," he says, "did not stay in my hand so "long as to make a hasty perusal. Whilst I was overviewing "it, Sir Edward Ayscough delivered a petition out of Lin-"colnshire, which was seconded by Mr. Strode in such a "sort as that I had a fair invitement to issue forth the Bill "then in my hand. Thereupon I stood up"——He stood up, in fact, like an innocent, and became the mouthpiece of Vane, Cromwell, and Haselrig. "For the utter abolishing "and taking away of all Archbishops, Bishops, their Chan-"cellors and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, "Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Chanters, Canons, and all other "their under-officers"—such was the title of the Bill. It was, in short, a Root-and-Branch Bill, with which the extreme spirits in the House, hitherto detained in the background, had resolved now to make an experiment on their own account. Even while proposing the Bill, Deering seems to have trembled. "I am now the instrument," he said, "to "present unto you a very short, but a very sharp, bill, such "as these times and these sad necessities have brought forth. "It speaks a free language and makes a bold request. I give "it you as I take physic, not for delight, but for a cure." Nay, though he now presented the Bill, and would vote for it, yet, "should his former hopes of a full reformation revive," he would "divide his sense upon this bill and yield his shoul-ders to underprop the primitive, lawful, and just Episco-pacy." It mattered little to Vane, Cromwell, Haselrig, and the rest of the Root-and-Branch men, what Deering *said* about the Bill. Their purpose was sufficiently answered by its introduction, and by the vote which followed. That same day (May 27) the Bill was not only read the first time, but also passed the second reading by a majority of 139 Ayes to 108 Noes. This result, which may have surprised the Root-and-Branch men themselves, was probably intended by some of the majority only as a menace to the Lords should they reject the Bishops' Exclusion Bill.[1]

[1] Commons' Journals, May 27, 1641; Parl. Hist. II. 814, 815; and Deering's Speeches, published by himself.

For many days the Root-and-Branch Bill was the subject of discussions in Committee and references to the House. The Committee, of which Mr. Hyde was Chairman, sat usually from nine in the morning till four in the afternoon, then "reporting their several votes of that day to the House." According to Clarendon, this piecemeal mode of procedure was favourable to the Root-and-Branch party, for they always sat on to the end to make a House, whereas those who abhorred the Bill went off at dinner-time; which made Falkland say that "they who hated bishops hated them worse than the devil, and they who loved them did not love them so well as their dinner." Nevertheless, it was in the power of Hyde, as Chairman of the Committee, to do much to impede the Bill, and he takes credit for having used this power to the uttermost. The most important debates were on the 11th and 12th of June, and again on the 21st. On the 11th the preamble of the Bill was agreed upon as follows: "Whereas the government of "the Church of England by Archbishops, Bishops, their "Chancellors and Commissaries, Deans, Archdeacons, and "other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found, by long expe- "rience, to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation "and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the civil "state and government of this kingdom." Resuming the debate at this point the next day, the Committee and the House proceeded to the great question whether the government thus condemned by them should be utterly abolished. Sir Henry Vane led the debate that day on the affirmative side in a speech which was immediately published, and the poet Waller spoke on the other side. The abolition clause was also voted; but on one point or another the discussion was continued in Committee and in the House till June 21, when it had reached a degree of complexity which will be best indicated by an account of the speech then made in Committee by the original mover of the Bill, Sir Edward Deering. "You have here a Bill," he began, "but such an "one as is like to be short-lived, and not to grow into a "perfect Act, unless you please to add thereunto some very

"important, very significant provisoes; such wherein we "may have, or whereby we may be assured in another Bill "to have, a future government in the room of this that goes "out." When Sir Edward had got so far, there was a little interruption, and there was tabled an addition to the Bill, longer than the Bill itself, explaining the "provisoes" by which the Root-and-Branch party intended to supplement the Bill. They were in substance that "a proportional number of clergy and laity" should be appointed as Commissioners in every diocese, to exercise all ecclesiastical jurisdiction until a future government should be resolved on. With such an "interregnum of Commissioners" Sir Edward, who had probably repented by this time the part he had been made to play in the original introduction of the Bill, professed himself quite unsatisfied. This Bill, he said, took away the existing Episcopacy: the vote of the Commons went as far as that, and he went with it. But there was another Episcopacy, which he, for one, would like to see substituted for that which they had voted to abolish. It was the primitive genuine Episcopacy, which had existed in the Church so close to the time of the Apostles that it might claim, if not Apostolic institution, at least Apostolic permission. Here Deering gave a sketch of the "primitive Episcopacy," with quotations from Ignatius and other Fathers. To put his views in a practical form with reference to England, he would recommend, he said, *first*, a redivision of the country into dioceses smaller than the existing ones, and, as near as might be, coincident with the shires; *secondly*, the appointment by Parliament in each of these districts or shires of a permanent body of some twelve or more grave divines, who should act as an ecclesiastical council "in the nature of an old constant primitive Presbytery;" and, *thirdly*, the appointment over this Presbytery of one to direct and guide them, who might be called "Bishop," or (if that name disturbed people) President, Overseer, Moderator, Superintendent, Ruling Presbyter, or anything else. Deering was eager that some such new constitution should pass along with the Bill abolishing the existing Episcopacy, so that there

might be no period of anarchy. "In strict and plain English," he said finally, "I am for abolishing of our present Episcopacy, "both dioceses and diocesans, as now they are. But I am "withal, at the same time, for the restoration of the pure pri- "mitive Episcopal Presidency. . . . Down, then, with our "Prelatical Hierarchy, or Hierarchical Prelacy, such as now "we have! . . . This do, but *eâ lege*, on this condition, that "with the same hand, in the same Bill, we do gently raise "again, even from under the ruins of that Babel, such an "Episcopacy, such a Presidency, as is venerable in its an- "tiquity and purity, and most behoveful for the peace of "our Christendom." It is to be understood that at this point Deering and the real Root-and-Branch men parted company.[1]

Whatever interest there might be in having Bishop Williams's long-promised draft of a new Church-organization in hand, in order to compare it with the Root-and-Branch Bill of the Commons, or with Usher's "Reduction of Episcopacy," was very soon gratified. Williams's scheme for "regulating of Bishops and their Jurisdiction" was submitted to the Lords on the 1st of July. It certainly proposed great limitations of the Episcopal power. Bishops were to remain in Parliament; but no Bishop (save the Bishop of Lincoln, as Dean of Westminster, *i.e.* Williams himself) was to be on the Commission of the Peace. Every Bishop, in addition to his Dean and Chapter, was to have twelve assessors in his diocese for jurisdiction and ordination, four to be appointed by the King, four by the Lords, and four by the Commons. In cases of vacant bishoprics, these assessors, together with the Dean and Chapter, were to nominate three clergymen for the see, from whom the Crown was to select one. All ecclesiastical canons and constitutions were to be drawn up by a committee of sixteen learned persons, of whom the King was to appoint six, the Lords five, and the Commons five. These and some other provisions formed Williams's long-expected Draft. Whatever

[1] Commons' Journals of dates cited; Parl. Hist. II. 822-8, and 838-40; Rushworth, IV. 263-6; Clarendon, 95, 96; and Deering's Speech.

might have been thought of it earlier, it was now too late. "The Bill," says Fuller, "was read but once in the Lords, and no great matter made thereof."[1] And no wonder, if we consider the state of confusion, of mutual pressure and conflict, at which, by the time the Bill had been brought forward (July 1641), parties had arrived. As clearly as I can represent this state, there were now four distinguishable parties, instead of the three described at the outset. (1) There was the High Church Party, headed by the King, and represented by Hall, most of the other Bishops, the Oxford Divines, &c., anxious for conserving as much of the existing Episcopacy and its appurtenances as possible. (2) There was the Higher Middle Party, represented by Williams, anxious for the retention of Bishops in Parliament, the preservation of Cathedral Establishments, and the like, but willing for a reorganization of the Episcopal government of the Church after Williams's scheme, or something tantamount. (3) There was the Lower Middle Party, represented by the majority of Church-Reformers in the Commons, including even Falkland and Selden, resolute for the ejection of Bishops from Parliament and all civil offices, and also for the reduction of Cathedral Establishments, but satisfied with the retention of Episcopacy if it were restored to some imaginary resemblance to primitive Episcopacy, like that upon which Usher had set his heart. (4) As before, there was the real Root-and-Branch Party, represented by the Vanes, Cromwells, and Haselrigs in the Commons, and by Saye and Sele, Brooke, and others in the Lords, desiring the entire abolition of Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, Prebendaries, Canons, and all ecclesiastical ranks above that of the parish-clergy, and, so far as they were agreed as to the system that should be substituted for such a hierarchy, seeing nothing so likely as the Scottish Presbyterian system, or some modification thereof.

[1] Lords' Journals, July 1, 1641; Fuller's Church Hist. (edit. 1842), III. 426.

CHAPTER IV.

THREE ANTI-EPISCOPAL PAMPHLETS OF MILTON.

It was into the midst of the confusion of Parliamentary parties on the Church-question that there was thrown a pamphlet, of 90 small quarto pages, bearing this title, "*Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it: Two Books, written to a Friend: printed for Thomas Underhill*, 1641." Many were the pamphlets then coming out, on all sides of the controversy, by known and unknown authors; among which, as not unlikely to attract a good share of attention, we may note a new one, of thorough Root-and-Branch opinions, by the indefatigable Prynne.[1] But the pamphlet of which we have given the title would have been distinguished from all the rest by any one that had happened to look at it. There was no author's name to it, but we know it now as Milton's.

We have seen what were the effects upon Milton's mind, in his house in Aldersgate Street, of the sudden prospect of a new era of liberty, and especially of ecclesiastical liberty, for England. He had been watching, with unusual interest, the successive steps of the Church-question in Parliament, from the presentation in December 1640 of that Root-and-Branch petition of the Londoners which he himself may have signed, on to that crisis of May–July 1641 at which we have now arrived. He had been watching these steps in the spirit of a

[1] "The Antipathy of the English Lordly Prelacy both to Royal Monarchy and Civil Unity: By Mr. Wm. Pryn:" Registered at Stationers' Hall, July 5, 1641.

man who was himself of Root-and-Branch opinions to the very uttermost bounds known. In the same spirit he had been watching the literature of the question. He had been reading, with all the attention of an adverse critic, Hall's pamphlets, Usher's pamphlets and those that bore Usher's name, the published speeches of Digby and Falkland, and Hacket's famous defence of Cathedral Establishments. Nor, from his antecedents, was he one whose sympathies with the Root-and-Branch party were likely to remain unknown. In any meeting of the Root-and-Branch leaders in London where they might chance to be reckoning up their available adherents, the name of Mr. John Milton was pretty sure to be mentioned. The matter is not left to conjecture. The chief of the Smectymnuans, as we have seen, was Thomas Young, Vicar of Stowmarket in Suffolk, who, some twenty years before, had been Milton's first domestic preceptor. It must have been by some presentiment that, in relating the story of Milton's boyhood and youth, we were attracted so particularly by the figure of this long-forgotten Scottish immigrant into England. We dug him, it may be remembered, out of his birth-place of Luncarty in Perthshire; we followed him to the University of St. Andrews; we traced him thence to London, to be employed by Puritan ministers as their occasional assistant, and by the scrivener of Bread Street as a tutor for his son; and we quoted, finally, Milton's expressions of strong regard for him in poems and letters after he and Young had been separated. Only vaguely did we know then that pupil and tutor were again to come together, in the pupil's manhood, so near to the centre of the politics of England. But such is the fact. Not only is there proof that Young was the chief of the Smectymnuans; there is also something like proof, under Milton's own hand, presently to be cited, that Milton himself had a hand in the Smectymnuus pamphlet. He contributed, as I calculate, rough notes or material for about twenty of its pages.

Co-operation, however, except incidentally, in pamphlets with others was not much in Milton's way. Accordingly, when the Smectymnuus pamphlet appeared (March 1640–1)

he was engaged on a pamphlet of his own, Smectymnuan in its purport, but Miltonic to the brim in its matter and style. He was not a fast writer, and there was every reason why into this, his first, pamphlet he should throw as much of himself as he could. Moreover, he had so chosen his subject that, while the pamphlet should be a trumpet-blast on the current questions, it should yet have the form of an original historical essay. His thesis was that the European Reformation begun by Luther had been arrested in England at a point far less advanced than that which it had reached in other countries, and that, in consequence, England had ever since been suffering and struggling, and incapacitated, as by a load of nightmare only half thrown off, for the full and free exercise of her splendid spirit. In treating this thesis it was his purpose to point out the causes of such a national stopping-short in reformation, as they had operated in the time of Henry VIII. and had continued to operate ever since. For the readings and generalizings necessary for such an essay some little time was required. Accordingly, as exactly as I can calculate, it was not till very late in May, or, more probably, early in June, that the pamphlet appeared.[1] When it did appear, its title, as quoted above, announced its nature. Who the "Friend" is, to whom the two Books composing the pamphlet were addressed, remains unknown. The epistolary form may have been but an author's device, and the Friend, whoever he was, need not have seen the remarks addressed to him till they were in print.

The bookseller, Thomas Underhill, who published Milton's pamphlet, was the publisher also of Vane's contemporary Root-and-Branch Speech. His shop was in Wood Street, Cheapside, at the sign of the Bible. Suppose that, in June

[1] Thomason, the contemporary collector of the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, who has left the exact dates of so many of the pamphlets inscribed upon them, has not dated the copies of Milton's earliest pamphlets. The Stationers' Hall Registers, an examination of which has happily furnished me with the dates of very many pamphlets and other publications cited in this History, are of no help here—Milton's earliest pamphlets not having been registered at all by the publishers. But Milton distinctly speaks of this pamphlet as his *first* (*Def. Sec. pro Pop. Angl.*), which, as we shall see, implies that it cannot have appeared later than June; and, as there is allusion in the pamphlet itself to the petitions of the Universities in favour of Deans and Chapters, this determines that the pamphlet appeared *after* May 12.

1641, you had purchased at his shop a copy of Milton's Pamphlet, and, having taken it home with you, had begun to read it. The very opening, if you had been accustomed to the pamphlets of the day, would have astonished you. Here it is:—

"SIR,

Amidst those deep and retired thoughts which with every man Christianly instructed ought to be most frequent—of God, and of his miraculous ways and works amongst men, and of our religion and worship to be performed to him—after the story of our Saviour Christ, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the flesh, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of glory in the spirit, which drew up his body also till we in both be united to him in the revelation of his Kingdom, I do not know of anything more worthy to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider, first, the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long-deferred, but much more wonderful and happy, Reformation of the Church in these latter days. Sad it is to think how that doctrine of the Gospel, planted by teachers divinely inspired, and by them winnowed and sifted from the chaff of overdated ceremonies, and refined to such a spiritual height and temper of purity and knowledge of the Creator that the body, with all the circumstances of time and place, were purified by the affections of the regenerate soul, and nothing left impure but sin—faith needing not the weak and fallible offices of the senses to be either the ushers or interpreters of heavenly mysteries, save where our Lord himself in his Sacraments ordained—that such a doctrine should, through the grossness and blindness of her professors, and the fraud of deceivable traditions, drag so downwards as to backslide one way into the Jewish beggary of old cast rudiments, and stumble forward another way into the new-vomited Paganism of sensual idolatry, attributing purity or impurity to things indifferent. That they might bring the inward acts of the spirit to the outward and customary eye-service of the body, as if they would make God earthly and fleshly because they could not make themselves heavenly and spiritual, they began to draw down all the divine intercourse betwixt God and the soul, yea the very shape of God himself, into an exterior and bodily form. Urgently pretending a necessity and obligement of joining the body in a formal reverence and worship circumscribed, they hallowed it, they fumed it, they sprinkled it,

they decked it—not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses in palls and mitres, gold and gewgaws, fetched from Aaron's old wardrobe, or the Flamen's vestry. Then was the priest set to con his motions and his postures, his liturgies and his lurries, till the soul, by the means of over-bodying herself, given up to fleshly delights, bated her wing apace downward, and, finding the ease she had from her visible and sensuous colleague, the body, in performance of religious duties, her pinions now broken and flagging, shifted off from herself the labour of high-soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droiling carcase to plod on in the old road and drudging trade of outward conformity."

Having read so far (and long sentences were not in those days the horror to readers that they have since become), you would not perhaps have made up your mind as to the merits of the author all in all, but you would have been likely to go on. How was it, the author asked, that although England, blessed with a Wycliffe, had been the first country in Europe to awake out of the long night of Romish Mediævalism, and although, after a relapse, she had again shared the general awakening of Luther's movement, yet she had lagged behind all other Protestant Churches in the race? He would pass over "God's part" in the matter, or the mysterious purposes for which Providence might have arranged it so; and he would pass over also what amount of influence might have been owing to the foreign agency of Rome, still keeping tenacious hold of the English nation and fingering continually in her affairs. Passing over these, he will consider, he says, those causes of the phenomenon of an arrested Reformation which belonged to the genius and history of the English among themselves. Through several pages, accordingly, there is a rapid view of the course of the English Church during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, as determined by the personal characters of these sovereigns and of the ecclesiastics whom they chiefly trusted. One is struck here by the perfect freedom, amounting to irreverence, with which the writer speaks of Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and others, remembered as the worthies and martyrs of their time; and there is a passage in which the writer refers to this, avows his principle

in such matters, and announces that, if people expect from him anything of that fulsome hero-worship which will not see faults in men of the past because they have been reputedly or even really good and great, they will find themselves mistaken. Having concluded his summary of English History from the reign of Henry VIII. to the end of that of Elizabeth, he next proceeds to the more extensive portion of his subject—to wit, the investigation of the causes which, in the generation then living, or from the accession of James, had hindered the progress of Reformation. These causes, he says, resolved themselves chiefly into the existence and influence in the community of three classes of persons. He will call them, respectively, the *Antiquitarians* (so named by him to distinguish them from the "Antiquaries," whose labours he thought useful and laudable), the *Libertines*, and the *Politicians*.

First of the Antiquitarians. They are those who, either from erroneous scholarship, or an erroneous and pedantic estimate of the function of Scholarship, and of the right of the past to control the present, defended Prelacy in England on the ground of antiquity and sacredness. Here Milton discusses both the question of fact and the question of reason. He maintains, in the first place, by means of quotations from Ignatius, Cyprian, and other Fathers and later authorities, that whatever Episcopacy did exist in the primitive Church was an entirely different thing from the modern Episcopacy. He maintains that the primitive Bishops were popularly elected, had no regular diocesan jurisdictions, and were not elevated remarkably above the body of the Presbyters. But what though the primitive Episcopacy had been the true prototype of modern Prelacy? Was that primitive age itself so mightily wise that all the subsequent world was to be bound hand and foot by its whims or its decisions? On the contrary, what so corrupt as the primitive Church? Were not its own greatest men conscious of this? Had it not been their universal habit to disclaim while living the very infallibility claimed now for their dead bones? Had they not confessed themselves erring men, and appealed always to Scripture and reason

as the sole ultimate authority? Here again then are citations of Ignatius, Eusebius, Hegesippus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Origen, Sulpitius, Athanasius, Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Augustine, &c. A great point in the argument is that the so-called establishment and endowment of Christianity by the Emperor Constantine, instead of being the magnificent thing that the Antiquitarians made of it, had been in reality the transaction of a Christianity already rotten. On the general character of the great Christian Emperor, and on this particular act of his, intertwining Church and State, Milton is very sarcastic; and he helps himself to passages from Dante, Petrarch, and Ariosto, which he translates for the purpose. Thus from Dante's *Inferno*:—

> Ah! Constantine, of how much ill was cause
> Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
> That the first wealthy Pope received of thee!

Having thus fought the battle with the Antiquitarians, Milton has a word, and but a word, on the second class of obstructives, the Libertines. They are those who, detesting in their hearts Church-discipline of any sort, think that the next best thing to no-Church is the Church that practically will give least trouble. On this account they prefer Prelacy, which puts but a Bishop in every diocese, to Presbytery, which might produce you a Pope in every parish. With these men, for whom Turkish or Jewish discipline would be as good as Christian, what need of arguing? Their ideal of a minister of the Gospel was Chaucer's Friar:

> Full swetèly heard he confessioun
> And pleasant was his absolutioun:
> He was an easie man to give penánce.

The Antiquitarians and the Libertines having been thus dealt with in the first Book, the second Book is reserved entirely for the Politicians. Opening with a passage of singular grandeur on the work and aims of the true statesman, as conceived by the great souls of antiquity, in contrast with that low and peddling State-polity which seemed alone to be within the conception of modern theorists, Milton

argues that it was only on the maxims and principles of this lower and degraded kind of State-polity that Episcopacy was anywhere defended. Not from such politics as were to be found in the Bible, or in Plato, or Aristotle, or Tacitus, could modern politicians fetch reasons for Episcopacy, but only from "the schools of Loyola, with his Jesuits, or their Malvezzi, that can cut Tacitus into slivers and steaks."[1] But, let them derive their arguments whence they would, of what worth where they? For about twenty pages this inquiry is prosecuted. Refusing to allow that there is any need whatever of conformity in a spiritual body like the Church to any "temporal regiment of weal-publick," whether popular, aristocratic, or monarchical, Milton yet applies himself to the great contemporary argument of the superior consistency of Episcopacy in the Church with a monarchy such as that of England. Surveying the history of the Roman Empire after Constantine, and then that of the Frankish kingdoms and of Mediæval Europe, he asserts that Episcopacy had been uniformly hostile to monarchy, and that the Papacy had built itself out of the spoils wrung by bishops from potentates of too easy temper. Then, restricting his view to England, he repeats more elaborately and eloquently the story, which had been told in the Postscript to the pamphlet of *Smectymnuus*, of the continuous struggle of ambitious Prelates with the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Kings, and down even to the Tudors. There is a coincidence between that postscript to *Smectymnuus* (which had been furnished in the rough, as I believe, to the Smectymnuans by Milton himself) and the enumeration to which Milton proceeds of the more recent crimes and cruelties chargeable against even the Reformed bishops since the days of Henry and Elizabeth. "What the practices of the Prelates have "been ever since, from the beginning of Queen Elizabeth "to this present day," the Smectymnuans had said in their Postscript, "would fill a volume, like Ezekiel's roll, with "lamentation, mourning and woe, to record. For it hath

[1] The Marquis Virgilio Malvezzi, (1599—1654), was an Italian statesman, and commentator on Tacitus.

"been their great design to hinder all further reformation; "to bring in doctrines of Popery, Arminianism, and Liber- "tinism; to maintain, propagate, and much increase the "burden of human ceremonies; to keep out and beat "down the preaching of the word; to oppose and persecute "the most real professors; to turn all religion into a pom- "pous outside, and to tread down the power of godliness; "insomuch that it is come to be an ordinary proverb that "when anything is spoilt we use to say 'The Bishop's foot "hath been in it.'" To this indictment Milton returns in his own treatise. All that Leighton or Prynne, or even Penry and the early Marprelatists, had written against Bishops and Episcopacy is as nothing compared with the tremendous denunciations of Milton. He rolls and thunders charge after charge; he tasks all his genius for epithets and expressions of scorn; he says things of Bishops, Archbishops, the English Liturgy, and some of the dearest forms of the English Church, the like of which could hardly be uttered now in any assembly of Englishmen without hissing and execration. He works himself at last into a paroxysm of mingled rage and sorrow at the picture which he has conjured up of the woful condition into which Episcopacy had reduced not only England but the whole British Islands. After a passing glance at one or two recent Episcopal pamphlets, and at the petitions of the Universities for Deans and Chapters, he bursts all the bounds of ordinary literary form, and takes refuge in an ode of prayer. As we quoted the beginning of the pamphlet, so we will quote this its close. It is a passage of prose-poetry to which I have found nothing comparable as yet in the whole range of English literature:—

"O Sir, I do now feel myself enwrapt on the sudden into those mazes and labyrinths of dreadful and hideous thoughts that which way to get out or which way to end I know not, unless I turn mine eyes, and, with your help, lift up my hands to that eternal and propitious Throne where nothing is readier than grace and refuge to the distresses of mortal suppliants; and it were a shame to leave these serious thoughts less piously than the heathen were

wont to conclude their graver discourses.——Thou, therefore, that sitst in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of Angels and Men! next thee I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, Ineffable and Everlasting Love! and Thou, the third substance of Divine Infinitude, Illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tripersonal GODHEAD! look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring Church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think long till they devour thy tender flock—these wild boars that have broke into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs on the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watch-ward to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy Truth again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken monarchy, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreaded calamities. O Thou, that after the impetuous rage of five bloody inundations, and the succeeding sword of intestine war soaking the land in her own gore, didst pity the sad and ceaseless revolution of our swift and thick-coming sorrows,—when we were quite breathless, of thy free grace didst motion peace and terms of covenant with us, and, having first wellnigh freed us from Antichristian thraldom, didst build up this Britannic Empire to a glorious and enviable heighth with all her daughter-islands about her,—stay us in this felicity; let not the obstinacy of our half-obedience and will-worship bring forth that viper of sedition that for these four-score years hath been breeding to eat through the entrails of our peace; but let her cast her abortive spawn without the danger of this travailing and throbbing Kingdom, that we may still remember in our solemn thanksgivings how for us the northern ocean, even to the frozen Thule, was scattered with the proud shipwracks of the Spanish Armada, and the very maw of Hell ransacked, and made to give up her concealed destruction, ere she could vent it in that terrible and damned blast. O how much more glorious will those former deliverances appear when we shall know them not only to have saved us from greatest miseries past, but to have reserved us for greatest happiness to come! Hitherto thou hast but freed us, and that not fully, from the unjust and tyrannous claim of thy foes; now unite us entirely, and appropriate us to thy-

self; tie us everlastingly in willing homage to the prerogative of thy Eternal Throne. And now we know, O Thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the sorceries of the Great Whore, and have joined their plots with that sad Intelligencing Tyrant that mischiefs the world with his mines of Ophir, and lies thirsting to revenge his naval ruins that have larded our seas. But let them all take counsel together, and let it come to nought; let them decree, and do Thou cancel it; let them embattle themselves and be broken, let them embattle and be broken, for Thou art with us! Then, amidst the hymns and halleluiahs of Saints, some one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrate thy divine mercies and marvellous judgments in this land throughout all ages; whereby this great and warlike nation, instructed and inured to the fervent and continual practice of truth and righteousness, and casting far from her the rags of her old vices, may press on to that high and happy emulation, to be found the soberest, wisest, and most Christian people at that day when Thou, the eternal and shortly-expected King, shalt open the clouds to judge the several kingdoms of the world, and, distributing national honours and rewards to religious and just commonwealths, shalt put an end to all earthly tyrannies, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy through Heaven and Earth. When they, undoubtedly, that by their labours, counsels, and prayers, have been earnest for the common good of religion and their country shall receive, above the inferior orders of the Blessed, the regal addition of Principalities, Legions, and Thrones into their glorious titles, and, in supereminence of beatific vision progressing the dateless and irrevoluble circle of Eternity, shall clasp inseparable hands with joy and bliss in over-measure for ever. But they, contrary, that, by the impairing and diminution of the true Faith, the distresses and servitude of their country, aspire to high dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shameful end in this life (which God grant them!) shall be thrown down eternally into the darkest and deepest gulf of Hell, where, under the despiteful control, the trample and spurn, of all the other Damned, that in the anguish of their torture shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and negroes, they shall remain in that plight for ever, the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected, most underfoot and down-trodden, vassals of Perdition."

Although Milton had not chosen to put his name to the

pamphlet, he was not ashamed of it. He seems even to have been at some pains to circulate it in proper quarters, for copies exist which he himself presented to friends or to libraries. In looking over the various copies in the British Museum library, I came upon one which interested me particularly. On the title-page, in the place where the author's name should have been printed, it bears the words "*By Mr. John Milton,*" written, with peculiar neatness, in his own hand; and a little lower on the same page, in the same hand, are the words "*Ex Dono Authoris,*" showing that it was a presentation-copy. Sticking in some of the letters I could still see particles of the silvery dust which had been thrown over the writing while the ink was still wet, to serve the purpose of our modern blotting-paper. Nay, on turning over the leaves, I found that, before giving away this copy, Milton had taken the trouble of correcting with his pen the "faults escap't in the printing," of which there is a list as usual at the beginning. In twelve several cases he had written the verbal correction in the margin, or ticked in an omitted comma.[1]

Hardly can this first pamphlet of Milton's have been in circulation when his second appeared. It is a much slighter affair, and is less a general manifesto of Milton's opinions than a reply to a particular form of the argument on the other side.

Among the Pro-Episcopal pamphlets that had been recently issued, we noted, in addition to Hall's, the short one prepared at Hall's request by Usher, and published towards the end of May, under the title *The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes touching the originall of Episcopacy, more largely confirmed*

[1] The copy is among the King's Pamphlets, with the press-mark $35\frac{12 \text{ G.G. } 3}{12}$. As I have already had public occasion to refer to this copy, as exhibiting an autograph of Milton not detected till my reference to it, I retain what I have written in the text. I ought to add, however, that some of the Museum officials have expressed their doubts to me whether the inscriptions on the title-page—"By Mr. John Milton" and "Ex Dono Authoris"—are in Milton's own hand. A particular stroke through the J, usual in Milton's signature, is wanting; and it is suggested that the inscriptions are Thomason's or by his order. I remain unconvinced. At all events the marginal corrections of the text of the pamphlet are Milton's. There is no doubt about that.

out of Antiquity by James, Archbishop of Armagh. We merely noted the appearance of this tract as adding to the difficulties in the way of the Root-and-Branch party. It added to their difficulties by exhibiting among the opponents of their views not only Hall, the Oxford Divines, and other churchmen more or less of Laudian reputation, but also the prelate who had hitherto been perhaps the most popular and venerated among the Puritans, as he was certainly the most famous by his erudition. It is necessary now to look at the tract itself,———Three of the sixteen pages of which it consists are a quotation or reprint of that "Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes" which gives the tract part of its title. Dr. John Reynolds was an Elizabethan divine (1550–1607) whose memory was still green. He had been President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and, as he had been of Puritan or Low-Church sympathies, and had declined a bishopric, any views of his as to the origin of Episcopacy were peculiarly free from suspicion.[1] Well, in one of his writings, published in 1584, he had summed up his views on this subject as follows:—"When Elders were ordained by the Apostles in "every church through every city to feed the flock of Christ, "whereof the Holy Ghost had made them overseers, they, "to the intent they might the better do it by common con- "sent, did use to assemble themselves and meet together. "In the church-meetings, for the more orderly handling and "concluding of things pertaining to their charge, they chose "one amongst them to be the President of their company "and moderator of their actions; as, in the Church of "Ephesus, though it had sundry elders and pastors to guide "it, yet amongst these sundry was one chief, whom our "Saviour calleth The Angel of the Church, and writeth that "to him which by him the rest should know. And this is he "whom afterward, in the primitive Church, the Fathers called "Bishop. For, as the name of *Ministers*, common to all "them who serve Christ in the stewardship of the mysteries "of God—that is, in preaching the Gospel—is now, by the "custom of the English speech, restrained to elders who are

[1] Wood's Athen. II. 12—19 and I. 635.

"under a Bishop, so the name of *Bishop*, common to all "elders and pastors of the Church, was then, by the usual "language of the Fathers' appropriated to him who had the "presidentship over the Elders."———Such was Reynolds's summary as to the origin of Episcopacy; and it was this very moderate view, falling so far short of the High-Church theory, that Usher was prepared to adopt and to confirm. His confirmations of it occupy the rest of the tract. In an array of learned quotations, all punctually cited, and with the original Greek or Latin in the margin, Usher argues for the identity, as alleged by Reynolds, of the first Bishops with those who are called in the New Testament "The Angels of the Churches," and also for the governing or presidential authority of these original Bishops. That Timothy was the first "Προεστώς, or *antistes*, or president of the Ephesian Presbytery," and also the Angel of the Ephesian Church, is argued from Scripture, from the words of Leontius, Bishop of Magnesia, at the Council of Chalcedon, from the admission of Beza and the authority of Eusebius, and from passages in two ancient treatises concerning the martyrdom of Timothy—"the one nameless, "in the library of Photius, the other bearing the name of "Polycrates, even of that Polycrates who was not only "himself Bishop of this Church of Ephesus, but born also "36 or 37 years after St. John wrote the forenamed Epistle "unto the Angel of that Church, as it appeareth by the "years he was of when he wrote that Epistle unto Victor, "Bishop of Rome, wherein he maketh mention of seven "kinsmen of his that had been bishops." Usher then follows the argument, in the same detailed manner, through Ignatius, Polycarp, and Irenæus. On the testimony of Irenæus he lays great stress, inasmuch as Irenæus not only knew Smyrna and its bishops well, but had been present when Polycarp himself "did discourse of his conversation "with St. John and of those things which he had heard from "them who had seen our Lord Jesus." Then after Irenæus there come Tertullian, Hegesippus, Eusebius (with a reference also by Symeon Metaphrastes to "some part of Eusebius, as

it seemeth, that is not come into our hands"), Jerome, Clement of Alexandria, &c. Usher ends in the conclusion that the Angels of the Seven Churches in the Apocalypse were seven original Bishops; and he appends a suggestion, derived from an anonymous writer mentioned by Photius, that St. John himself, on his recall from Patmos, lived in Ephesus, exercising a kind of Primacy or Archbishopric over the Seven Bishops, and so bequeathing a metropolitan dignity or Patriarchate to the Ephesian see.

Milton probably regarded Usher in this tract as a consummate example of those "Antiquitarians" ("Dryasdusts" is now the accepted modern name for them) whom he had denounced in his first pamphlet as one of the three classes of persons by whom the Reformation had been hindered. Always a man that would fly at high game rather than at inferior birds, he had no hesitation in attempting a reply even to this tract of the renowned Irish Primate, which might be regarded as Antiquitarianism at its best. Accordingly, in the course of June or July, as I calculate, there was published, at the shop of the same Underhill in Wood Street who had published Milton's former pamphlet, a smaller pamphlet, also anonymous, but of which there are copies with Milton's name inserted in the title-page by contemporary hands, and one copy at least with the words "By John Milton" on the title-page in (as I thought when I saw it) Milton's own hand.[1] The pamphlet is entitled, "*Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whither it may be deduc'd from the Apostolical times by vertue of those testimonies which are alleg'd to that purpose in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James, Archbishop of Armagh. London: Printed by R. O. and G. D. for Thomas Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in Wood Street:* 1641."

The pamphlet consists of twenty-four small quarto pages. It opens with an expression of the author's contempt for the Antiquitarian or Dryasdust mode of thought. There are

[1] King's Pamphlets, British Museum, E. 164

men, he says, who, not content with the light of Scripture on questions of policy, or with the broad and free exercise of the human intellect studying human needs and uses, "cannot "think any doubt resolved, and any doctrine confirmed, "unless they run to that indigested heap, and fry of authors, "which they call Antiquity." In especial, in Church-questions they run to the Fathers. But who are the Fathers? "Whatsoever Time or the heedless hand of blind Chance hath "drawn down from of old to this present in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, "unchosen, these are the Fathers." Nevertheless it might be well to follow one of these Antiquitarian spirits in his "foraging after straw," to see what his findings were really worth. The tract, accordingly, is an attempted answer, step by step, and citation by citation, to that of Usher, with allusions, but only allusions, to others than Usher. Each fact or citation of Usher's is, as it were, lifted by the roots, and held up to the public gaze, in order that unlearned people may be disabused of any superstitious idea of its value. A few pages are first given to the subject of Timothy's alleged Episcopate at Ephesus, and to an examination of Usher's witnesses for it. The conclusion is that, when the character, opportunities, and words of each witness are examined in the light of such common sense as men would apply to any ordinary matter, his credibility vanishes. On two of the witnesses cited—the anonymous writer quoted by Photius, and the redoubtable Polycrates who wrote the letter to Pope Victor in which he spoke of having seven brothers who were bishops as well as himself—Milton is grimly facetious. What? Rely on a nameless author quoted by Photius, who himself lived 900 years after Christ! Why not as well take from the same Photius the story, evidently quite as precious to Photius, of the martyrdom of the Seven Sleepers, who had slept in a cave 372 years without food? Or Polycrates! If Usher had told his readers that this same Polycrates declared "that St. John was a priest and wore the golden breastplate," and that the very Pope Victor to whom his letter was addressed, so far from showing him respect, "excommunicated

him and all the Asian Churches for celebrating their Easter judaically," would it not have been felt that his "traditional ware" was little to be esteemed, and that he might "go back to the seven bishops his kinsmen" and not be much missed? In the same half-contemptuous style Milton follows Usher in his appeals to Ignatius, Irenæus, Tertullian, Metaphrastes, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c., endeavouring to show that no proof comes out of any of them of an apostolically deduced Episcopate, or prelacy over Presbyters, in Smyrna or in Rome, any more than in Ephesus. In all Milton shows competent scholarship even against Usher, though doubtless some of his readings in the Fathers were but researches for the occasion *in locis citatis* after he had Usher's tract in his hand.

All but simultaneously with this second pamphlet of Milton's must have appeared his third. It was a reply to an eminent Prelate, but one to whom Milton felt a fiercer antagonism than to Usher, and whom he classed not with the Antiquitarians or Dryasdusts, but with an order possessing, with a more brilliant vein of popular talent, a greater capacity for mischief. This was Bishop Hall.

The bulky answer of the Smectymnuans, published about March 20, to Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*, published in the end of January, had not passed unnoticed by the Bishop. Within the space of three weeks his ready pen had written a rejoinder as bulky, which was published about the middle of April, with this title, "*A Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against the frivolous and false exceptions of Smectymnuus; wherein the right of Liturgie and Episcopacie is clearly vindicated from the vain cavils and challenges of the Answerers; By the Author of the said Humble Remonstrance: Seconded (by way of appendance) with the Judgment of the famous Divine of the Palatinate, Abrahamus Scultetus, late Professor of Divinity in the University of Heidelberg, concerning the divine right of Episcopacie and the no-right of Lay-elder-ship; faithfully translated out of the Latin.*"[1] Prefixed to this

[1] "London: Printed for Nathan. Butter at the Pyde Bull, near St. Austin's Gate, 1641." The date of the registration at the Stationers' Hall is April 12, 1641.

pamphlet, which consists of 180 pages in all, is an epistle to the King. "Your Majesty," it says, "was pleased to cast a "gracious eye upon a late Humble Remonstrance made to "the High Court of Parliament, bemoaning the lawless "frequence of scandalous libels, and modestly asserting the "true right of Liturgy and Episcopacy. I little thought that "so meek and gall-less a discourse could have irritated any "the least opposition; but now . . . Yet the riot of these "impotent assailants should not easily have drawn me forth, "had I not perceived that their confident ostentation and "proud carriage in the affray hath won them (how unde-"served soever) opinion of skill with their credulous abettors, "and thereby some disadvantage to my just cause." Eight pages are then occupied with preliminary skirmishings. Much is made of the fact that his assailants are a conclave of several persons, and more of that blunder of theirs, in the outset of their pamphlet, where they had spoken of the "Areopagi" as Athenian judges. "The Areopagi! Who "were these? Truly, my masters, I had thought this had "been the name of the place, not of the men." About twenty-four pages are then devoted to the subject of the Liturgy, and 126 to the subject of Episcopacy. There is in these pages a real endeavour to be argumentative, though still with much of that reckless use of adjectives, presupposing himself right and his opponents wrong, which is Hall's characteristic. Ten pages are given to a criticism of the Postscript of the Smectymnuans concerning the history of Episcopacy in England—which postscript Hall declares to be only a reproduction from Leighton's "Sion's Plea against Prelaty;" and the last twelve pages consist of the translation of the judgment of Scultetus. That judgment had appeared originally in a brief tract of Scultetus in which Hall had been referred to by name and his opinions on Episcopacy defended.[1] Hall, though still writing only as "The Humble Remonstrant," thus indirectly acknowledges the authorship.

[1] Abraham Scultetus, *alias* Scultet, or Schultz, was a German Protestant divine of some distinction, who had settled in Heidelberg as a preacher, about 1594, under the protection of the Elector Palatine, and had become Professor of Theology there in 1618. He had visited England in 1612 and become

Two months and a half had elapsed since this reply of Hall to the Smectymnuans had appeared, and he must have been fancying that he had silenced them, when, towards the end of June, there appeared "*A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance from the unjust imputations of Frivolousnesse and Falsehood; wherein the cause of Liturgy and Episcopacy is further debated; By the same Smectymnuus.*"[1] In a note of the Printer, prefixed to this pamphlet, he says, "The crowding of so many little pamphlets into the press hath for many weeks detained this Book, to the great grief of the Authors." To have been got ready so soon as this note implies, the pamphlet is a very bulky one. It consists of 219 pages. But it is to be remembered that there were several hands to the task. The pamphlet is dedicated to the Parliament. It again goes over the whole field of debate concerning the Liturgy and Episcopacy, in the somewhat heavy but painstaking Smectymnuan style. In the preliminary remarks the writers show that they have been nettled by Hall's imputation upon their scholarship on account of their blundering use of the word "Areopagi." Does he really think that they were so ignorant as not to know that the more correct word would have been "Areopagitæ," though "Areopagi" might be used for shortness? And is the Humble Remonstrant himself so free from verbal slips that he may make merry over so small a matter? What a piece of slipshod English, for example, is this in his own last performance—"*These other verbal exceptions are but light froth, and will sink alone!*" The Remonstrant's "light froth sinking alone" is as good a blunder any day, think the Smectymnuans, as their "Areopagi;" and, to show him that it had amused others as well as themselves, they tell him this story in the margin:—"A gentleman-student in Phi-

acquainted with the chief English divines, including Hall. His last years were much disturbed by the ruin of the cause of his patron, the Elector Palatine Frederick, King of Bohemia, at the battle of Prague in 1620; and he had died in retirement at Emden in 1625. (Bayle's Dictionary, art *Scultet.*) I have not been able to lay my hands on the particular tract of Scultetus from which Hall quotes.

[1] "Printed for John Rothwell at the Sunne in Paul's Churchyard: 1641." The date of the registration at Stationers' Hall is June 26, 1641.

" losophy, that was by chance present at the reading of this " passage, took such a fancy to this rare mystery of light " froth sinking alone that he would take no nay till he had " entreated us to obtain so much of the Remonstrant as to " publish his receipt of making light froth sink alone, that " it may be added to the Secrets of Alexis or the rare " experiments of Baptista Porta."[1]

Whether Milton was the "gentleman-student of Philosophy" who thus dropped in upon the Smectymnuans when they were reading Hall's Defence, and helped them to a laugh over his "light froth sinking alone," is open to guess. But precisely what they represent the gentleman-student as doing for them Milton *was* doing for them on a larger scale. Knowing Young and his brother-Smectymnuans well, and dropping in upon them while they were busy with their Vindication, it had evidently occurred to Milton that, though they were very respectable reasoners and theologians, and might be safely entrusted with the solid and grave parts of the controversy against Hall, yet they were somewhat too Dutch-built for the lighter style of fighting necessary in a public encounter with the English Persius and Seneca. It might be a service both to them and to the cause to appear as their auxiliary in the battle, and, while they were laboriously arguing the real questions in a way to satisfy the judicious, to take care that Hall should not have even the apparent advantage, with the literary order of critics, by his wit, his culture, and his flowers of rhetoric. In resolving to become such a light-horseman to the Smectymnuans Milton had, I believe, a peculiar pleasure. Hall, I believe, was one of his favourite aversions. Not only in the ecclesiastical opinions and conduct of the man, but, as I think, in the whole cast and style of his intellect, as shown

[1] The "Secrets of Alexis," originally in Italian, but of which there were translations in Latin (1563), French (1565), and English (1568), was a very popular book of the sixteenth century, purporting to be a collection of marvels, medical and magical, collected by a Piedmontese, calling himself Alexis, during fifty-seven years of travel over the world, and published in his old age (see art. *Alexis* in Bayle's Dict.) The *Magia Naturalis* or *Natural Magic* of the Neapolitan Baptista Porta (1550-1615) was a more important collection of facts and opinions in physical science, and is now better remembered.

in his writings, whether in prose or in verse, Milton found reason for intense dislike. He regarded Hall, I believe, as, to a great extent, a literary impostor, a man of an essentially coarse and mean order of talent, who had been rated far above his deserts, and whom it would be a service to literature, as well as to sound Church-polity, to blast and show up. It was nothing less than this, at all events, that he attempted. Never had Hall, in all his forty years of public and literary life, been so handled as he was now to be handled, in his sixty-eighth year and with all his episcopal honours thick about him, by the new pamphleteer in Aldersgate Street, who was not half his age. The venerable Prelate can hardly have read the Vindication of the Smectymnuans in reply to his Defence when word was brought to him of another pamphlet, by some friend of the Smectymnuans, which it would be well for him to see. It was entitled "*Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus. London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in Wood Street:* 1641."[1] The publisher, it will be seen, was the same who had published the two preceding pamphlets of Milton. Like them, this was anonymous.

"*Animadversions*" is a very good name for the pamphlet. It consists of sixty-eight small quarto pages, introduced by an apologetic preface. For Milton, knowing that he is to show Hall no mercy, and is to employ against him every cracker of jest, pun, personality, or scurrility, foresees that some "softer-spirited Christians" may take offence at such a style of controversy on such serious topics with a man of such age and dignity. "In the detecting and convincing," he says, "of any notorious enemy to truth and his country's "peace, especially that is conceited to have a voluble and

[1] The pamphlet not being registered in Stationers' Hall, that convenient means of ascertaining the date fails me. But it may be fixed by other evidence almost certainly to July. As reference is made in the pamphlet to the Petitions of the Universities for Deans and Chapters, it must have appeared after May 12; and, as no reference is made to Hall's *next* pamphlet in reply to the Smectymnuans, it must have appeared before that pamphlet was published, *i.e.*, as we shall see, before July 28. But in the pamphlet Milton has an allusion to "this hot season;" whence July is the likely month.

" smart fluence of tongue, . . . it will be nothing disagreeing " from Christian meekness to handle such a one in a rougher " accent, and to send home his haughtiness well bespurted " with his own holy water." He hints, moreover, that Hall, in his defences of Episcopacy, has shown insincerity and double-dealing, abandoning in his later defences the high Laudian position he had taken in his *Episcopacy by Divine Right*, and adapting himself meanly to the changed tune of the times by at length leaving Episcopacy "hanging by a twined thread, not from Divine command, but from Apostolical precedence or assent." On this account there need be the less respect for him. Again, "Although, in the " serious uncasing of a grand imposture (for, to deal plainly " with you, Readers, Prelatry is no better) there be mixed " here and there such a grim laughter as may appear at the " same time in an austere visage, it cannot be taxed of levity " or insolence; for even this vein of laughing (as I could " produce out of grave authors) hath ofttimes a strong and " sinewy force in teaching and confuting." Accordingly, throughout the pamphlet Milton's plan is as follows:— Extracting passage after passage verbatim from Hall's Defence, with reference to the page and section from which it is taken, he appends to each passage a satirical comment as pungent as he can concoct. The comment is generally very short, and such as a critic, reading, with pencil in hand, a book that disgusted him, might jot down at the moment on the margin against this passage or that passage. Sometimes, however, it is longer and more careful, and involves sarcastic references to Hall's previous writings, either as already familiar to Milton, or as looked into for the occasion. These references are more particularly to Hall's *Satires* published in 1597-8, and to another even more unclerical production of Hall's earlier life, published abroad and anonymously in 1607 under the title *Mundus Alter et Idem*, and consisting of a kind of Rabelaisian fiction in Latin, describing the imaginary countries of Crapulia (Gutsy-Land), Pamphagonia (the Kingdom of Stomach), Yvronia (the Dominion of Drink), &c., of which a jocular map is prefixed. This last-named publication of

Hall's, which by this time he probably wished at the bottom of the Red Sea, was too fit for Milton's purpose to be overlooked. He may have been at some trouble to obtain a copy of the little volume, which is very rare now, and was probably a rarity even then; but, once he had a copy, Hall might expect to hear of it.

Some of Milton's "Animadversions" are really so much beyond the bounds of modern good taste that it is difficult to quote them. Specimens, however, must be given, not only because it is fair that the reader should see Milton, for better or worse, exactly as he was, but also because there was to be plenty of retort upon him on this very ground.

Of course, Milton has a word of defence for the slip of his friends the Smectymnuans in talking of "the Areopagi." Of course, also, Hall's "light froth sinking alone" does not pass without notice. But the following is more characteristic. The Remonstrant having, at page 34, used these words in reference to the Smectymnuans, "Now come these brotherly slanderers," Milton's answer is, "Go on, dissembling Joab, "as still your use is: call brother and smite, call brother "and smite, till it be said of you, as the like was of Herod, "a man had better be your hog than your brother." Again, the Remonstrant having said, at page 37, "Alas! we could "tell you of China, Japan, Peru, Brazil, New England, Vir- "ginia, and a thousand others that never had any Bishops "to this day," Milton is down upon him thus: "We can help "you, and tell you where they have been ever since Constan- "tine's time at the least—in a place called *Mundus Alter et* "*Idem*, in the spacious and rich countries of Crapulia "(Gutsy-land), Pamphagonia (Kingdom of Stomach), Yvronia "(Dominion of Drink)," &c. Again, the Remonstrant having, at p. 141, made this appeal to the Smectymnuans, "If yet you can blush," Milton declares this conceit of blushes and blushing to be so hackneyed that to see it in a book again is more than an educated reader can stand. He proceeds: "A man "would think you had eaten over-liberally of Esau's red "porridge, and from thence dream continually of *blushing*, "or, perhaps, to heighthen your fancy in writing, are wont to

"sit in your Doctor's scarlet, which, through your eyes "infecting your frequent imagination with a red suffusion, "begets a continual thought of *blushing*, that you thus per- "secute ingenuous men over all your book with this one "overtired rubrical conceit of *blushing*. But, if you have no "mercy upon them, yet spare yourself, lest you beguile the "good galloway, your own opiniaster wit, and make the very "conceit itself blush with spur-galling." Here is another bit, quoted textually :—

Remons. p. 38.] *Remon.* No one clergy in the whole Christian world yields so many eminent scholars, learned preachers, grave, holy and accomplished divines, as this Church of England doth at this day.

Answer. Ha! ha! ha!

I have stated my belief that the Postscript to the original pamphlet of Smectymnuus was contributed, or notes for it at least, by Milton; and reasons have already appeared which make this probable. But the most distinct proof is furnished by the manner in which Milton replies in his *Animadversions* to that part of the Remonstrant's Defence which concerned the Postscript. Hall having called that Postscript "a goodly pasquin, borrowed for a great part out of *Sion's Plea* or the Breviate consisting of a rhapsody of histories,"—*i.e.* having insinuated that it was a mere compilation either from Alexander Leighton's *Sion's Plea against the Prelacie* (1628), or from Prynne's *Breviate of the Bishops' Intolerable Usurpations and Encroachments* (1635)—Milton replies in words which seem those of an author defending *himself* against a charge of plagiarism. "How wittily," he says, "you tell us what your wonted course is upon the like "occasion! The collection was taken, be it known to you, "from as authentic authors in this kind as any in a "bishop's library; and the collector of it says moreover "that, if the like occasion come again, he shall less need "the help of breviates or historical rhapsodies than your "reverence, to eke out your sermonings, shall need repair to "postils and polyantheas [*i.e.* Annotations and Collections

"of Beauties]." After which virtual acknowledgment of the authorship of the Postscript to the Smectymnuan treatise, Milton goes on to animadvert with peculiar emphasis on the Bishop's remarks relating to it. The Remonstrant having said that some of the bad or ambitious bishops mentioned in the Postscript were Popish bishops, Milton replies that, so long as the Reformed bishops would bind men "by their canon law," enforce upon them "the old riff-raff of Sarum," and otherwise walk in the steps of the Popish bishops, they must take the consequences. "Could you see no colleges, no hospitals, built?" asks the Remonstrant, beginning an enumeration of the good deeds of Bishops during their sway. "At that primero of piety," retorts Milton, "the Pope and Cardinals are the better gamesters, and will cog a die into heaven before you." "No churches re-edified?" continues Hall. "Yes, more churches than souls!" says Milton. "No seduced persons reclaimed?" "More reclaimed persons seduced!" "No hospitality kept?" "Bacchanalias good store in every bishop's family, and good gleeking [private sport]!" "No diligence in preaching?" "Scarce any preaching at all!" "No holiness in living?" "No!" The Remonstrant ending his interrogatives with these words, "Truly, brethren, I can say no more but that the fault is in your eyes: wipe them and look better," Milton answers in sheer Billingsgate, "Wipe your fat corpulencies out of our light!" Nay he gets worse and worse. The introduction in the Smectymnuan Postscript of the proverb "The Bishop's foot hath been in it," as an expression of the popular belief that there was nothing more tainting than Episcopacy, had given particular offence to Hall. He very properly says, "As for that proverb '*The Bishop's foot hath been in it*,' it were more fit for a *scurra in trivio*, or some ribald upon an ale-bench." Nevertheless, as Hall himself is not too delicate to avail himself of the proverb in his turn, but adds that people, seeing how completely his refutation has spoilt the Smectymnuan book, will have to say of that too, "The Bishop's foot hath been in it," Milton shows no shame. He rings all the changes he can think of on the ribald proverb;

and there is one perfectly outrageous paragraph, in which he revels in farther allusions not only to the Bishop's foot, but to his toes, his nightcap, and his unwashed socks.

Enough has been quoted from this pamphlet and its predecessors to show how uncompromisingly Milton was a son of Liberty, and how ferociously Root-and-Branch he was on the Church question. Of the splendours of the pamphlets, of the passages of noble thought and language contained in them, no one can have an idea who does not read them for himself. Intermingled even with the scurrilities of the "Animadversions" there are bursts of real prose grandeur. In order, however, that we may have clearer ideas as to some of those political and ecclesiastical views of Milton which were contained within his general Root-and-Branch enthusiasm, a few quotations will be useful. We take them from the three pamphlets collectively, prefixing headings:—

True Politics and Modern Politics. "It is a work good and prudent to be able to guide one man, of larger extended virtue, to order well one house; but to govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size and divinest mettle. And certainly of no less a mind, nor of less excellence, in another way, were they who by writing laid the sôlid and true foundations of this science; which being of the greatest importance to the life of man, yet there is no art that hath been more cankered in her principles, more soiled and slubbered with aphorisming pedantry, than the art of Policy, and that where a man would think should least be—in Christian commonwealths. They teach not that to govern well is to train up a nation in true wisdom and virtue, and that which springs from thence, magnanimity (take heed of that!), and that which is our beginning, regeneration, and happiest end, likeness to God, which in one word we call godliness; and that this is the true flourishing of a land, other things following as the shadow does the substance. To teach thus were mere pulpitry to them. This is the masterpiece of a modern politician—how to qualify and mould the sufferance and subjection of the people to the length of that foot that is to tread on their necks; how rapine may serve itself with the fair and honourable pretences of public good; how the puny Law may be brought under the wardship and control of Lust and Will: in which attempt if they fall

short, then must a superficial colour of reputation by all means, direct or indirect, be gotten to wash over the unsightly bruise of honour. To make men governable in this manner, their precepts mainly tend to break a national spirit and courage by countenancing open riot, luxury and ignorance, till, having thus disfigured and made men beneath men, as Juno in the fable of Io, they deliver up the poor transformed heifer of the Commonwealth to be stung and vexed with the breese [stinging fly] and goad of oppression under the custody of some Argus with a hundred eyes of jealousy. To be plainer, Sir, how to solder, how to stop a leak, how to keep up the floating carcase of a crazy and diseased monarchy or state betwixt wind and water, swimming still upon her own dead lees—that is now the deep design of a Politician."—*Of Reformation.*

Scripture, The Fathers, and the Councils. "Let the Scriptures be hard; are they more hard, more crabbed, more abstruse, than the Fathers? He that cannot understand the sober, plain, and unaffected style of the Scriptures will be ten times more puzzled with the knotty Africanisms, the pampered metaphors, the intricate and involved sentences, of the Fathers, besides the fantastic and declamatory flashes, the cross-jingling periods which cannot but disturb and come athwart a settled devotion worse than the din of bells and rattles. . . . Although I know many of those that pretend to be great Rabbis in these studies have scarce saluted them from the strings and the title-page, or, to give them more, have been but the ferrets and mousehunts of an index, yet what pastor or minister, how learned, religious, or discreet soever, does not now bring both his cheeks full-blown with 'Œcumenical' and 'Synodical' shall be counted a lank, shallow, unsufficient man, yea a dunce, and not worthy to speak about Reformation of Church Discipline. But I trust they for whom God hath reserved the honour of reforming this Church will easily perceive their adversaries' drift in thus calling for Antiquity. They fear the plain field of the Scriptures; the chase is too hot; they seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest; they would embosk. They feel themselves strook in the transparent streams of divine truth; they would plunge and tumble and think to be hid in the foul weeds and muddy waters where no plummet can reach the bottom. But let them beat themselves like whales, and spend their oil, till they be dredged ashore."—*Ibid.*

The Relation of the Prelacy to the Crown and the Body-Politic: A Tale. "Upon a time the Body summoned all the members to meet in the Guild for the common good (as Æsop's chronicles aver

many stranger accidents). The Head by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous Wen, little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrower excrescency. The members, amazed, began to ask one another what he was that took place next their chief. None could resolve. Whereat the Wen, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the assembly to this purpose—that, as in place he was second to the Head, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament and strength, and of special near relation, and that, if the Head should fail, none were fitter than himself to step into his place: therefore he thought it for the honour of the Body that such dignities and rich endowments should be decreed him as did adorn and set out the noblest members. To this was answered that it should be consulted. There was a wise and learned Philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws, and tenures of the Body. On him it is imposed by all as chief committee to examine and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the Wen; who soon perceiving the matter and wondering at the boldness of such a swoln tumour, 'Wilt thou,' quoth he, 'that art but a bottle of vicious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and free-born members, whose certain number is set by ancient and unrepealable statute? Head thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it. What office bearest thou? What good canst thou show by thee done to the commonweal?' The Wen, not easily abashed, replies that his office was his glory; for, so oft as the soul would retire out of the Head, from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts, to divine contemplation, with him she found the purest and quietest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. 'Lourdane!' quoth the Philosopher, 'thy folly is as great as thy filth. Know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and ventricles, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole Body; and that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the Head a foul disfigurement and burden, when I have cut thee off and opened thee, as by the help of these instruments I will do, all men shall see.'"—*Ibid.*

The War with the Scots. "Nor shall the wisdom, the moderation, the Christian piety, the constancy of our Nobility and Commons of England be ever forgotten, whose calm and temperate connivance could sit still and smile out the stormy bluster of men more audacious and precipitant than of solid and deep reach, till then our prey had run itself out of breath—assailing, by rash and heady

approaches, the impregnable situation of our liberty and safety that laughed such weak enginry to scorn, such poor drifts to make a national war of a surplice-brabble, a tippet-scuffle, and engage the unattainted honour of English Knighthood to unfurl the streaming Red-cross, or to rear the horrid standard of those fatal guly Dragons, for so unworthy a purpose as to force upon their fellow-subjects that which themselves are weary of, the skeleton of a mass-book. Nor must the patience, the fortitude, the firm obedience of the nobles and people of Scotland, striving against manifold provocations, nor must their sincere and moderate proceedings hitherto, be unremembered to the shameful conviction of all their detractors."—*Ibid.*

The Petitions of the Universities in favour of Episcopacy and Cathedral Establishments. "Would you know what the Remonstrance of these men would have, what their Petition implies? They entreat us that we would not be weary of those unsupportable grievances that our shoulders have hitherto cracked under; they beseech us that we would think them fit to be our Justices of the Peace, our Lords, our highest officers of State, though they come furnished with no more experience than they have learnt between the Cook and the Manciple, or more profoundly at the College Audit or the Regent House, or, to come to their deepest insight, at their Patron's table; they would request us to endure still the rustling of their silken cassocks, and that we would burst our midriffs rather than laugh to see them under sail in all their lawn and sarcenet, their shrouds and tackle, with a geometrical rhomboides upon their heads; they would bear us in hand that we must of duty still appear before them once a year in Jerusalem like good circumcised males and females, to be taxed by the poll, to be sconced our head-money, our twopences, in their chandlerly shop-book of Easter."—*Ibid.*

Nearness to the Apostles no Guarantee against Stupidity. "What fidelity his [Irenæus's] relations had in general we cannot sooner learn than by Eusebius; who, near the end of his Third Book, speaking of Papias, a very ancient writer—one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had seen and been acquainted with others of the Apostles, but, being of a shallow wit, and not understanding those traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines and fabulous conceits—he tells us there that divers ecclesiastical men, and Irenæus among the rest, while they looked at his antiquity, became infected with his errors. Now, if Irenæus were so rash as to take unexamined opinions from an author of so small capacity when he was a man, we should be more

rash ourselves to rely upon those observations which he made when he was a boy. And this may be a sufficient reason to us why we need no longer muse at the spreading of many idle traditions so soon after the Apostles, whilst such as this Papias had the throwing them about, and the inconsiderate zeal of the next age, that heeded more the person than the doctrine, had the gathering them up. Wherever a man who had been any way conversant with the Apostles was to be found, thither flew all the inquisitive ears; the exercise of right instructing was changed into the curiosity of impertinent fabling; where the mind was to be edified with solid doctrine, there the fancy was soothed with solemn stories; with less fervency was studied what Saint Paul or Saint John had written than was listened to one that could say, 'Here he taught, here he stood, this was his stature, and thus he went habited; and O happy this house that harboured him, and that cold stone whereon he rested, this village where he wrought such a miracle, and that pavement bedewed with the warm effusion of his last blood, that spouted up into eternal roses to crown his martyrdom!' Thus, while all their thoughts were poured out upon circumstances, and the gazing after such men as had been at table with the Apostles (many of which Christ hath professed, yea though they had cast out devils in his name, he will not know at the last day), by this means they lost their time, and truanted on the fundamental grounds of saving knowledge, as was seen shortly by their writings."—*Of Prelat. Episcop.*

The English Liturgy and Extempore Prayer. "Edward the Sixth, as Hayward hath written in his Story [*The Life and Raigne of King Edward VI.*, by Sir John Hayward, 1599], will tell you, upon the word of a King, that the order of the Service, and the use thereof in the English tongue, is no other than the old Service was, and the same words in English which were in Latin, except a few things omitted, so fond that it had been a shame to have heard them in English. These are his words; whereby we are left uncertain who the author was, but certain that part of the work was esteemed so absurd by the translators thereof as was to be ashamed of in English. 'O, but the martyrs were the refiners of it;' for that only is left you to say. Admit they were; they could not refine a scorpion into a fish, though they had drawn it and rinsed it with never so cleanly cookery; which made them fall at variance among themselves about the use either of it or the ceremonies belonging to it. . . . As for the words, it is more to be feared that the same continually should make them careless or

sleepy than that variety on the same known subject should distract. Variety (as both Music and Rhetoric teacheth us) erects and rouses an auditory, like the masterful running over many chords and divisions; whereas, if men should ever be thumbing the drone of one plain-song, it would be a dull opiate to the most wakeful attention... . . A minister that cannot be trusted to pray in his own words, without being chewed to, and fescued [directed as if by a *fescue*, or schoolmaster's pointer] to a formal injunction of his rote-lesson, should as little be trusted to preach—besides the vain babble of praying over the same things immediately again; for there is a large difference in the repetition of some pathetical ejaculation, raised out of the sudden earnestness and vigour of the inflamed soul (such was that of Christ in the Garden), from the continual rehearsal of our daily orisons; which if a man shall kneel down in a morning and say over, and presently in another part of the room kneel down again and in other words ask but still for the same things, as it were out of an inventory, I cannot see how he will escape that heathenish battology of multiplying words which Christ himself, that has the putting up of our prayers, told us would not be agreeable to Heaven."—*Animadversions.*

Ordination. "As for Ordination, what is it but the laying on of hands, an outward sign or symbol of admission? It creates nothing, it confers nothing. It is the inward calling of God that makes a minister, and his own painful study and diligence that manures and improves his ministerial gifts. In the primitive times, many before ever they had received ordination from the Apostles had done the Church noble service—as Apollos and others. It is but an orderly form of receiving a man already fitted, and committing to him a particular charge." —*Ibid.*

A Prayer. "O, if we freeze at noon after their early thaw [of the English at the time of the Reformation], let us fear that the Sun for ever hide himself, and turn his orient steps from our ungrateful horizon, justly condemned to be eternally benighted. Which dreadful judgment, O thou the everbegotten Light, and perfect Image of the Father, intercede may never come upon us—as we trust thou hast. For thou hast opened our difficult and sad times, and given us an unexpected breathing after our long oppressions; thou hast done justice upon those that tyrannized over us, while some men wavered, and admired a vain shadow of wisdom in a tongue nothing slow to utter guile. . . . Who is there that cannot trace thee now in thy beamy walk through the midst of thy sanctuary, amidst those golden candlesticks which have long suffered a

dimness amongst us through the violence of those that had seized them and were more taken with the mention of their gold than of their starry light? . . . Come, therefore, O thou that hast the seven stars in thy right hand; appoint thy chosen priests, according to their orders and courses of old, to minister before thee, and duly to dress and pour out the consecrated oil into thy holy and ever-burning lamps. Thou hast sent out the spirit of prayer upon thy servants over all the land to this effect, and stirred up their vows as the sound of many waters about thy Throne. Every one can say that now certainly thou hast visited this land, and hast not forgotten the utmost corners of the earth, in a time when men had thought that thou wast gone up from us to the farthest end of the Heavens, and hadst left to do marvellously among the sons of these last ages. O, perfect and accomplish thy glorious acts; for men may leave their works unfinished, but thou art a God; thy nature is perfection. Shouldst thou bring us thus far onward from Egypt to destroy us in this wilderness, though we deserve, yet thy great name would suffer in the rejoicing of thine enemies, and the deluded hope of all thy servants. When thou hast settled peace in the Church, and righteous judgment in the Kingdom, then shall all thy saints address their voices of joy and triumph to thee, standing on the shore of that Red Sea into which our enemies had almost driven us. And he that now for haste snatches up a plain ungarnished present as a thank-offering to thee, which could not be deferred in regard of thy so many late deliverances wrought for us one upon another, may then perhaps take up a harp and sing thee an elaborate Song to Generations. In that day it shall no more be said as in scorn, 'This or that was never held so till this present age,' when men have better learnt that the times and seasons pass along under thy feet, to go and come at thy bidding. And, as thou didst dignify our fathers' days with many revelations above all the foregoing ages since thou tookst the flesh, so thou canst vouchsafe to us (though unworthy) as large a portion of thy Spirit as thou pleasest. For who shall prejudice thy all-governing will, seeing the power of thy grace is not passed away with the primitive times, as fond and faithless men imagine, but thy kingdom is now at hand, and thou standing at the door. Come forth out of thy royal chambers, O Prince of all the Kings of the Earth; put on the visible robes of thy imperial Majesty; take up that unlimited sceptre which thy Almighty Father hath bequeathed thee; for now the voice of thy Bride calls thee, and all creatures sigh to be renewed."—*Ibid.*

CHAPTER V.

IMPEACHMENT OF THIRTEEN BISHOPS — PREPARATIONS FOR A RECESS—SIX WEEKS OF LULL, AND VIEW OF THE STATE OF PARTIES—THE KING'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND AND ITS INCIDENTS—THE IRISH INSURRECTION.

THE rejection by the Lords of the Bill of the Commons for the exclusion of Bishops from Parliament was still the great topic of public interest in England (July 1641). What would the Commons do?

IMPEACHMENT OF THIRTEEN BISHOPS.

The policy of the Commons was peculiar. Forsaking for the moment the Root-and-Branch Bill which had been introduced by Deering, and allowing that Bill to hang in the imagination of the public, as a mere proposition for the future, in contrast with Bishop Williams's draft of a Limited Episcopacy Bill proposed in the Lords, they turned all their energy into a course of action for immediately clearing the way. This consisted in the impeachment of as many of the existing Bishops as possible on personal charges. If they had failed to abolish the Episcopal Bench in the House of Lords by a direct legislative measure, they had the means at least of thinning that Bench by putting on trial a good many of its occupants for past offences. Again and again had the subject of the Convocation of 1640 and its illegal canons been discussed in Parliament, by the Lords as well as by the Commons. Not only had resolutions been passed as early as December declaring the Canons void,

but a Bill had been introduced into the Commons (April 1641) "for punishing and fining of the members of the late Convocation of the Provinces of Canterbury and York." According to this Bill, Laud's fine was to be 20,000*l.*; the other Bishops implicated were to pay fines of from 1,000*l.* to 10,000*l.*, according to their degrees of culpability; and then there was to be a shower of fines, in such sums as 200*l.*, 300*l.*, and 500*l.*, among the Deans, Archdeacons, and Proctors of the Convocation.[1] If the application of this Bill had been waived, it had been conditionally on the good behaviour of those whom it threatened; and now that, in the opinion of the Commons, this good behaviour, on the part of the Bishops at least, had ceased, a new attack upon them seemed justifiable. In short, on the 4th of August there was sent up to the Lords a formal impeachment of thirteen of the Bishops collectively—Wren, Pierce, Hall, Warner, Owen of St. Asaph, Skinner, Goodman, Coke, Roberts, Wright, Owen of Llandaff, Towers, and Curle—on account of their co-operation with Laud in the illegal canons and other acts of the late Convocation.[2] It was prayed of the Lords that the impeached Bishops "might be forthwith put "to their answers in the presence of the Commons, and that "such further proceedings might be had against them as to "law and justice should appertain." The intention was to intimidate the Bishops, so as to induce them voluntarily to withdraw from the House. That object gained, the impeachment would have been dropped. The Bishops, however, having resolved to stand to their defence, the Commons had to make up their minds for a prolonged battle. Accordingly, from the beginning of August all the miscellaneous activity that had hitherto been rife against Episcopacy, the Liturgy, Deans, and Chapters, &c., was transmuted into the form of a battle between the Commons and the Bishops personally.

Hardly had the battle been declared (Aug. 4) when an event happened which was to interrupt it, and to lead, moreover, to a temporary cessation of all public business whatsoever.

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 772–3.
[2] Rushworth, IV. 359, and Commons Journals, Aug. 4, 1641.

PREPARATIONS FOR A RECESS.

We have seen that by the end of June the long and purposely-protracted proceedings of the Scottish Treaty had been so far wound up that most of the Scottish Commissioners had gone home, and nothing remained to prevent the final signature of the Treaty and the disbanding of the two armies but some arrangements of detail. Now, exactly three days after the impeachment of the Bishops, or on Saturday the 7th of August, the completed Treaty between the two kingdoms was signed. It arranged for the payment of the Scottish indemnity and arrears in three annual instalments; it confirmed the past acts of the Scottish Parliament and guaranteed its future freedom; and it promised a good understanding between the two countries in future, to be shown by endeavours on both sides to attain to a unity of religion.[1] This Treaty having been signed, the clasp which for near a twelvemonth had united the two nations was unfastened, and the two were to fall asunder with mutual expressions of goodwill. But what was the surprise of the English Parliament when, on the very day of the signing of the Treaty, the King, going to the Lords, informed them of his intention of paying an immediate visit to Scotland! It was one of the provisions of the Treaty that the King would show his regard for the Scots by occasionally visiting them, or sending the Prince of Wales to reside among them; and since May there had been talk of a visit to Scotland as possible that year. Neither the Scots nor the English, however, had made sure of the matter; and both were now taken somewhat by surprise. The Commons sat till ten o'clock that night, so perplexed were they by the news; nay, they met on the next day, though it was Sunday, for further business arising out of the King's resolve—registering a caution, however, that this Sunday sitting should not be taken as a precedent. No persuasion could delay the King even for a fortnight. The Scottish Parliament and General Assembly were both then sitting, and his immediate presence

[1] Rushworth, IV. 362—375; and Rapin, II. 367–8.

in Scotland was important! In short, on Tuesday the 10th of August he did set out for Scotland, accompanied by his nephew the Prince-Elector Palatine, the young Duke of Lennox (then just created Duke of Richmond), and the Marquis of Hamilton.

In any circumstances this departure of the King would have had some effect on the progress of business in the English Parliament. As it was, it helped to bring on an interruption which was natural enough for other reasons. It was now the heat of summer; and again the Plague, then an annual dread in England, was at work in the lanes and alleys of the metropolis. In the third week of August there were 610 deaths in the city, of which 131 were by plague and 118 by small-pox.[1] Among the recent victims to small-pox had been the Earl of Bedford, the Liberal leader in the Lords. He had died on the 9th of May. Several members of the Commons had since then died of plague, and others were in alarm, as living in infected houses. Moreover, apart from plague and the unusual heat of the weather—"this hot season," as Milton calls it in one of his pamphlets—some rest after so long a session was beginning to be necessary. For nine months they had been "making thunder and lightning," as Clarendon expresses it; and, after forging thunderbolts so long, even Titans needed a respite. The King's departure coinciding with these independent reasons for a vacation, it was found, after he was gone, that the attendance in the Peers dwindled to about twenty on the average, and in the Commons to about 100. It became unavoidable, in these circumstances, to arrange for a formal recess. The chief difficulty was in the matter of the impeachment of the thirteen Bishops. When the Lords discussed the matter on the 11th of August, the day after the King's departure, the strong measure of the Commons seemed by no means to their taste; but on the 17th, after the Commons had reinforced their impeachment by fresh charges, the Lords acquiesced so far as to resolve that the thirteen must put in

[1] Letter in S. P. O., of one "Thomas Wiseman," dated Aug. 26, 1641.

answers, and that while their cause was pending they must not vote in the House, nor even be present in it on any occasion when their cause was in debate. Nothing else of consequence prevented a recess. On the 18th Commissioners were appointed by the two Houses to follow his Majesty into Scotland, so as both to be in attendance upon him and to act as honorary envoys to the Scottish Parliament. The new Earl of Bedford (who, however, did not go) and Lord Howard of Escrick were the Commissioners from the Lords; and Hampden, Nathaniel Fiennes, Sir William Armyn, and Sir Philip Stapleton were the Commissioners from the Commons. On the 20th some formal orders were issued respecting the disbanding of the English army in the north, and John Rushworth, the assistant clerk of the Commons, was instructed to go to York, and see them executed. On the 27th it was agreed that there should be a Recess of Parliament from the 8th of September to the 20th of October.

Even after this agreement, it was with reluctance that the Root-and-Branch members of the Commons were induced to separate. One of their last acts was to offer some solace to the Puritan expectations of the country for the postponement of the complete measures of Church-reformation which had been promised. It took the form of certain orders of the Commons, agreed to on the 1st of September, for the regulation of public worship in all parishes, and also in all cathedral churches, until such time as Parliament should have reassembled. The churchwardens of every parish-church or chapel, and the authorities of every cathedral church or college-chapel, were to see to the arrangement of the Communion-table as it had been before the late innovations; all crucifixes, scandalous pictures, images of the Virgin Mary, and tapers, candlesticks, and basins on the Communion-table, were to be removed; bowing at the name of Jesus, or in reverence at other times, was to be discontinued; sports and dancing on Sundays were to cease; and preaching on Sunday afternoons and at other times was to be encouraged. To these Resolutions the Root-and-Branch men would have added one allowing some alteration or option

in the use of the Liturgy; but they were opposed in this by Hyde and others, and outvoted by 55 to 37. The Commons would also have had the Lords agree with them in the resolutions they did pass. The Lords, however, declined this, and even went back upon a previous order of theirs, "that divine service should be performed as appointed by several Acts of Parliament, and that all that disturbed that wholesome order should be severely punished according to the law." This was done in a thin House, six Lords out of twenty present protesting. Effectively, however, the orders of the Commons went forth as the injunctions of Parliament. Let all men trust in the "good propositions and preparations" which had been made, and which should be resumed as soon as Parliament reassembled, and meanwhile let them "quietly attend the Reformation intended without any tumultuous disturbance!" Such were the parting words of the Commons to their constituents.

Actually it was not till the 9th of September, or a day later than had been intended, that the two Houses rose. Each House left a committee of its members to meet every Tuesday and Saturday, or oftener, for observation of affairs during the recess. The Committee of the Lords consisted of seventeen, with Lord Keeper Littleton as chairman; the Committee of the Commons of forty-seven, with Pym as chairman. Sanitary regulations against the Plague in London had not been neglected. In a series of such regulations, one was that on the door of every infected house there should be a large red cross, with the words "*The Lord have mercy on us.*"[1]

SIX WEEKS OF LULL: VIEW OF THE STATE OF PARTIES.

The six weeks' Recess in the autumn of 1641 (Sept. 9—Oct. 20) marks a distinct epoch in the history of the Long Parliament.

[1] Lords and Commons Journals of dates cited; Parl. Hist. II. 901—912; Rushworth, IV. 361—376, and 385—387; Baillie, I. 388; Clar. I. 231—234.

Until that Recess, the Parliament had been borne on, as we have seen, almost unanimously in many matters, in a career of action and reform. Evidences, however, were not wanting that this common original impulse had spent itself, and that, while a section of the members of both Houses, but especially of the Commons, were still unsatisfied, many had begun to consider whether reform had not been carried far enough and the nation might not be at rest. It had been chiefly in the course of the discussions of the Church question that this formation of a Conservative body within the two Houses had manifested itself. In the Lords, more conservative from the first than the Commons, it had become evident that, on this question, a large majority were disposed to stand still. Had not the Bishops been humbled enough? Had there not been a sufficient investigation into past ecclesiastical delinquencies, a sufficient castigation of the chief delinquents, and a sufficient exhibition of the views of the English people and the English Parliament as to the proper constitution of the Church for the future? Why not come to a peace on the basis of the state of things now reached? Why not retain Episcopacy in England on some scheme in which Hall, Williams, and Usher might agree, or at least agree to differ? So thought and privately argued, the large majority of the Lords, their feeling on this question really expressing the mood they had attained respecting all questions. In the Commons, too, there was a large body of a similar way of thinking. It was not a majority, but it was a body so large as to run the majority very hard, and to have hopes of becoming the majority. Virtually, therefore, at the time of the Recess, there were the elements of a powerful conservative party in the Long Parliament. They were a conservative party, not as desiring a restoration of the former state of things, but as desiring to call a halt, and see a pleased King and the splendours of an established Court once more in the heart of England. And what better time could there be for such an adjustment? The Scots were back again in their own land. England was once more herself, freed alike from the necessa evil of the Scottish army in the North, and from the presence

of Scottish Commissioners and preachers in London, importing their crank Presbyterian notions into other people's concerns. True, something had been said in the Scottish Treaty about endeavouring after a "unity of Religion" between the two kingdoms! But these were only words of course. Let England settle her own affairs, religious and other, according to her own likings and traditions! Let this sentiment prevail in the minds of Peers, and of members of the House of Commons, during the Recess! Restored once more to their families, finding themselves once more in their country-mansions beside the portraits of their ancestors, or walking once more in autumn-time in the quiet English fields and lanes, and by the old parish-churches and parsonages, ought they not to cultivate, after so many months of turmoil, the forgotten mood of repose? If one's shoes were always being mended, when could they be worn? So, to be always changing institutions was not the sole business of life; when institutions had been so far set right, ought not men to *live* amidst them? On the reassembling of Parliament after the Recess, therefore, let there be a visible rallying round the King on the basis of facts already accomplished!

Such, represented at its best, was the state of feeling that had come upon many of the Parliament-men, and probably upon a large part of the English people besides. But there was still the Party of Movement, consisting of what seemed to be an efficient majority in the Commons, and a minority of some twenty or thirty among the Peers, backed by a large portion of the nation, and above all by the citizens of London. The motives which influenced them were of two kinds. In the first place, they did not think that enough had been accomplished. They desired farther reforms, which were yet withheld. Above all, they were bent on a still farther prosecution of the Church question, to the extirpation, or nearly so, of all that had been yet known as Episcopacy in England, and the setting up of a spiritual apparatus, if there were to be any state-apparatus of the kind at all, on an entirely new model. Aspirations and theories on this subject were in possession of many of the most powerful minds, in

and out of Parliament; and these aspirations and theories, to a greater extent than was perceived then, were the positive *force* of the Movement Party. Cromwell and the younger Vane within Parliament, and Milton out of Parliament, may be cited as representatives of this positive force or enthusiasm. But, among the then recognised practical heads of the Movement Party, it was not, perhaps, so much this craving for farther changes that was dominant. Pym, for example, the generalissimo of the party, its matchless Parliamentary leader, would have been personally content, up to this moment, with a much more moderate adjustment of the Episcopacy question than would have satisfied Cromwell, and others on the back benches of the Commons. What influenced Pym, and many more, was not so much the desire for farther changes as the sense of the *insecurity* of what had been accomplished, and the necessity, whether for the preservation of that or for the attainment of more, of stronger guarantees for the safety and permanency of that free agency of Parliaments to which all yet done was owing. Were the relations between the King and Parliament even now in a condition in which England could wisely consent to leave them? Even if the controversy were with the best and most conscientious King that ever lived, and surrounded with the most trustworthy counsellors, would not guarantees be desirable that did not yet exist? And, as things were ——! Here the feeling was not the less strong because it could not publicly be spoken. The character of Charles was well known. It was known that whatever he had yielded he had yielded reluctantly, and with a reservation that he might take it back when the pressure was removed. Clarendon himself has acknowledged that this principle actuated Charles, and was the secret of the ease with which again and again he had seemed to reconcile himself to inevitable concessions. But, long before Clarendon had written of Charles and his actions, two kingdoms had found out, accurately enough, the man they had to deal with. "Our sweet Prince" the Scots called him, and had brought cannon to bear upon the sweetness. "Our august Sovereign" the English continued to style him, while the greater part of

them did not believe one word he said. It was this distrust of Charles, in respect of what had already been wrung from him, quite as much as any passion for fresh reforms, that kept together that English Party of Progress which Pym led. The liberties of England were not yet secure! At any time, on the occurrence of any conjunction of circumstances favourable to a reaction, all that had been done might be undone. The concessions made by the King might be revoked; the reforms enacted by Parliament might be annulled; the popular leaders in Parliament might be imprisoned or brought to the scaffold; the scattered harpies of the recent system of things might return to their prey; the country might find itself again under a reign of revengeful *Thorough*. Was the Recess of Parliament in these circumstances to be regarded as merely a holiday after finished work, a time for cultivating the mood of repose? Ought it not rather to be a time of refreshment for work yet to be done, of recovery from natural lassitude and fatigue? When members of Parliament returned to town from their country-houses, and estates, and constituencies, let them be like the giants of old, reheartened for a continued conflict by virtue from their mother Earth!

Not half so well do we know all this now as Charles knew it then. He had been calculating on the arrival of such a time, and now it *had* arrived. Should he be able to manage the opportunity? This depended, above all, on the men who were in his counsels, or whom he might now be able to bring into his counsels.

Since the beginning of the Long Parliament, when Strafford, Laud, Cottington, Secretary Windebank, and Lord Keeper Finch had been removed from his side, Charles had been strangely circumstanced in the matter of counsellors. There had remained nominally about him others of his older ministers, such as Hamilton, Manchester, Arundel, Salisbury, Pembroke, Dorset, Holland, Berkshire, and Newburgh, among the Peers, and the elder Sir Henry Vane and Sir Thomas Jermyn among the Commons. To these had been added, in

more recent times, but still before the meeting of the Parliament, such new counsellors as the young Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Newcastle, the Earl of Lanark, and Lord Goring. It was with this nominal Ministry, consisting partly of the wreck of his old Privy Council and partly of Privy Councillors more recently appointed, that Charles faced the difficulties of his first encounter with the Parliament. Even then some of this body, such as Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, Holland, and Sir Henry Vane, if not also Hamilton, had become Parliamentarian in their sympathies, notwithstanding their antecedents to the contrary. But the necessity of the time, the unanimity of the Parliament from the first in favour of a policy that should completely undo that of "Thorough," had forced on Charles the addition to his Council or Ministry of men wholly unconnected with his past Government, and representing avowedly the new mood of England. Thus, almost on the same day in the winter of 1640–1, there had been sworn in as members of the Privy Council the following eight noblemen, all then popular leaders in the Lords,—the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Hertford, the Earl of Warwick, Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord Savile, and Lord Kimbolton. Moreover, when, to fill the place vacated by Lord Keeper Finch, Sir Edward Littleton, member for Staffordshire, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was raised to the woolsack as Baron Littleton (Dec. 1640), and when Attorney-General Sir John Banks succeeded Littleton as Chief Justice, and his place as Attorney-General was conferred on Sir Edward Herbert, till then Solicitor-General, the person chosen for the Solicitor-Generalship (Jan. 1640–1) was no less determined a Puritan than Cromwell's gloomy-faced relative, the lawyer Oliver St. John. To the list of persons so enumerated as, in the first few months of the Long Parliament, surrounding the King as Privy Councillors, or in official capacities which enabled him to avail himself of their advice, may be added Mr. Edward Nicholas, member for Newton, Hants, who had been Clerk to the Privy Council under Secretary Windebank, and who,

since Windebank's flight, had performed many of the routine duties of the Secretary's office.[1]

A motley Ministry this to be surrounding the King, ranging as it did from such men of the old stamp as Arundel and Dorset, who had sat in the Council with Laud and Strafford and often abetted them, to such men of the new extreme as Lords Saye and Sele and Kimbolton and the lawyer St. John! In virtue of its composition, one might describe it, in modern language, as a Coalition Ministry; but, in fact, it was no efficient ministry at all in the sense of that or any other now familiar designation. The real motive power lay in the Parliament, and the real tug against that motive power lay in the King's own mind; and the nominal Privy Council and Ministry were but a casual collection of persons, meeting the King occasionally and performing routine duties round him, but distracted in opposite directions and incapable of any united policy. Only in one way could they have been converted into a *bonâ fide* Government; and that was by the King's frank acceptance of the new conditions in which he found himself, his desisting from his tug against Parliament and consenting to go along with it, and his proclamation of the same to the country by giving public ascendancy to the popular or Parliamentary element in his Council, and inducing the old leaven in it either to accept the new policy, or to withdraw and become inactive. This, which would have brought the Government into visible accord with Parliament, would not have been difficult. The stiffest of the old Councillors had certainly no such rooted opinion of their own in favour of despotic ways as would have led them to stand out for the system of Strafford and Laud after the King himself had given it up. For a time, accordingly (it was while Strafford's fate was undecided and there seemed a chance of saving him), the King had actually been inclined to some such experiment. A kind of recast of the Ministry was then in contemplation. It was proposed that Bedford

[1] My authority for facts in this paragraph (which, however, the reader ought to connect retrospectively with our previous lists of Charles's Councillors and Ministers) is partly Clarendon, Hist. pp. 78—80, pp. 84, 85, and partly Minutes of Attendances at Council Meetings in S. P. O.

should have the High Treasurership, resigned by Bishop Juxon, and, with it, what we should now call the Premiership; Essex, Northumberland, Saye and Sele, and other popular Peers, were to have important offices round Bedford; Pym was to be brought in as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Denzil Holles was to be joint Secretary of State with the elder Vane, in Windebank's place; and some suitable post was to be found for Hampden. The unexpected death of Bedford, however (May 9, 1641), having taken all plausibility out of this scheme so far as the King's purpose in it was to save Strafford's life, and the execution of Strafford having taken away perhaps the only motive that would have reconciled the King to a Ministry containing Pym and Hampden, the project of a real Ministry headed by the Parliamentary leaders of both Houses was never carried out. Certain mild ministerial changes were indeed effected in May 1641, immediately after Strafford's death. Juxon having resigned the High Treasurership, that great office was not conferred on any one peer, but was vested in a Commission of five, consisting of Lord Keeper Littleton, Lord Privy Seal Manchester, Lord Chief Justice Banks, Lord Newburgh, and Secretary Vane. Essex about the same time was made Lord Chamberlain instead of Pembroke, who had become disagreeable to the King; and the Mastership of the Wards, resigned by Cottington, was conferred on Saye and Sele. Two other promotions, in the same month of May 1641, deserve even more particular notice. The loyal Earl of Newcastle having obtained the King's reluctant consent to his resignation of the post of Governor to the Prince of Wales, the Earl of Hertford was appointed his successor in that post, and was at the same time created a Marquis; and, as a fit successor to Strafford in the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, there was brought over from France, where he had long been Ambassador, the experienced and not unpopular Earl of Leicester.

These changes, all dating from May 1641, somewhat modified the constitution of Charles's nominal Ministry, but did not essentially alter its character. From May, onwards through June and July, and into August, Charles had had

to persevere very much as he had done in the earlier months of the Parliament after Laud and Strafford had been struck from his side—surrounded, that is, by a motley body of councillors and ministers, composed partly of men in sympathy with Parliament and pledged to its proceedings, partly of men overawed by Parliament and by the ruin of the late chiefs of "Thorough" on evidence supplied by their fellow-councillors, and consequently, even if they were disposed to aid Charles in a conservative policy, not daring to ventilate any such policy openly at the Council-board. In these circumstances, Charles had to retain his policy mainly in his own breast. He became his own chief man of business, with his clever and intriguing Queen, whose great influence over him had long been matter of complaint, as his chief woman of business. Whoever, indeed, would conceive at its very centre the policy that began, in May—Aug. 1641, to be opposed to that of the Parliament, and that led to so much that followed, must imagine not a regular Council-board at which the King sat with any number of Ministers around him, but the King and Queen Henrietta Maria in privacy talking over affairs. Both were of one mind as to the utter detestability of Parliament and the necessity of thwarting it by any means, or of yielding to it only in order to get the better of it sooner or later; but the one nursed his dislike and anger with a pompous, sombre, tenacity of dignity, and the other uttered it more flashingly, in French or broken English, with more of quick suggestion of ways and means, and sometimes with a flout at her lord's weakness.

The differences in Parliament on the Church question, and the evident formation in both Houses (June—Aug. 1641) of a party that would make a stand for a conservative policy on that question, had, we repeat, opened up a new prospect for Charles and Henrietta Maria. Here at last was the lever by which they might work for all their ends! How they were to work it was obvious. These declared Conservatives on the Church question in the two Houses were to be looked out and counted up, and, whatever they had been or done on other questions, such as Strafford's trial, were to be regarded

as now the King's men, or convertible into the King's men; and from among their chiefs were to be selected a kind of secret or unaccredited Cabinet, distinct from the nominal Council and Ministry, though including the picked men of that body. (1) Within the nominal Council and Ministry there were men on whom the King might rely on grounds more personal and peculiar than any supplied by the Church question, and others whom the Church question had made decidedly or presumably his. Foremost in the former class was, undoubtedly, the King's kinsman, the young Duke of Richmond and Lennox, whose chivalrous personal fidelity gave him now that place in the King's intimacy which had formerly been held by Hamilton. In the same class of King's men requiring no inspiration from the Church question were Arundel, Dorset, Newburgh, Newcastle, Goring, and Jermyn, and perhaps others. By the month of August, however, I am inclined to think, the Church question or other occasions had made the King sure also of the following persons—some of whom had not special obligations to him of very long duration, and had even Parliamentarian associations—the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Bristol, Lord Keeper Littleton, Chief Justice Banks, Attorney-General Herbert, and the industrious Clerk of the Council, Mr. Edward Nicholas. (2) With one or two exceptions, however, the men named were not men of the exact type that the King at the moment wanted. They were mostly grave and considerate persons, who, though any secret of the King's would have been safe with them, would have reasoned with him against any stroke of policy which they thought unwise or dangerous. They were Conservatives rather than Counter-Revolutionists; and what the King wanted was a Counter-Revolutionist, or a few such, who would undertake the management of the Conservatism that had declared itself, and convert it, even by violence, into a Counter-Revolution. The young Duke of Richmond, I fancy, was the readiest for such an enterprise of all the Councillors named; but Charles had found a still readier agent for it out of the Council. This was the young, handsome, and brilliant Lord Digby, eldest son

of the Earl of Bristol. We have seen with what hopes this young orator had entered the Commons as member for Dorsetshire, how he had been regarded as a likely leader of the popular party, how he had joined in the attack against Episcopacy but still had argued against its complete extinction, and how, finally, he had distinguished himself by heading that minority of fifty-nine who, though condemning Strafford and consenting to his punishment, voted for a punishment short of death. From that moment the King could not fail to have his eyes on Digby; and when Digby, less comfortable in the Commons since his speech and vote for Strafford's life, went secretly to the King and offered his services, they were graciously accepted. On the 9th of June, 1641, he was raised to the Upper House, still as Lord Digby, but with a peerage in that name. From that moment the King and the Queen had an agent on whom they might depend, and whose devices in their behalf were less likely to err by defect and slowness than by excess and rashness.[1]

The young Duke of Richmond and young Lord Digby, I should say, were, in August 1641, the two persons who, of all those of mark about Charles in London, were most in the secret of his counsels, and the readiest to go all lengths. Conceive these two persons, with others about the Household, such as Mr. Henry Percy, brother of the Earl of Northumberland, and member for that county, and add such "Army-men," also members of Parliament, as Colonel Wilmot, Colonel Ashburnham, Colonel Pollard, and Colonel George Goring (most of them concerned in the Army-Plot of the preceding May for Strafford's release, but now again free from that scrape), and you will have in your fancy what I will call the English group of absolute Counter-Revolutionists, as distinct from the general body of English Conservatives. Now, Charles's real policy being the conversion of the aggregate English Conservatism of all kinds into clear reaction or Counter-Revolution, these, at the time of his journey to Scotland, were his most trusted secret function-

[1] Clarendon, 93 and 137, 138 (Hist.),, and 938 *et seq.* (Life).

aries left behind in England. But (and here I must use italics), *at the other end of the island there was already a Scottish group of similar persons, and these two groups of Counter-Revolutionists, the English and the Scottish, were already in connexion.* What if Charles's visit to Scotland had its secret motive in that connexion?

Whatever may have been Charles's precise hopes from his Scottish journey, his behaviour in London on the eve of that journey did not reveal those hopes, but only a natural desire to establish a good understanding, before he went, with such of the new Parliamentary Conservatives as were most likely to be useful during his absence and after his return.——There was one man in the Upper House, for example, with whom it was necessary that the King should now be on good terms. This was Williams. Almost the only Bishop in the House who had latitude given him by both parties, Williams, who could never be a nobody, had made the Church question in the Lords his own. His draft of a Limited Episcopacy scheme, which, while it would retain the Bishops in Parliament, should alter the entire status and powers of their office, and popularize the whole constitution of the Church, must, in itself, have been wormwood to Charles; but then, as compared with the Root-and-Branch Bill in the Commons, which it was meant to counteract, it was an interposition for good. In the existing temper of the two Houses, or perhaps of the Lords themselves, if a Root-and-Branch Bill were to be avoided, it could only be by a compromise like that of Williams. Williams, therefore, was a man whom it might be well to humour—the rather because that Bill of Impeachment, which the Commons had sent up to the Lords (Aug. 4) against thirteen of the Bishops personally, for their share in the illegal Canons of 1640, threatened to leave no prelates in the House save Williams and one or two more. Accordingly, there is proof that, before the King went to Scotland, he had given a gleam of his countenance again to the Bishop of Lincoln.——If it was doubtful whether Bishop Williams could do the King's cause any good, there was no doubt that the man in the Commons on whom at the same

time the King fixed his eye was one pre-eminently fit. Mr. Edward Hyde, one of the new members for Saltash, must have been known to the King by name from the very beginning of the Parliament. He had not been known favourably at first; for who had been more zealous against abuses in Church and State, or more resolute in the prosecution of Strafford? Digby, however, who knew Hyde intimately, had told the King more about him, and Hyde's own opposition to the prevalent feeling in the House on the Church question had done the rest. When Deering's unexpected Root-and-Branch Bill had passed the second reading and been referred to a committee of the whole House (June and July 1641), Hyde, as Chairman of Committee, had done more to obstruct the business than could have been supposed possible. He dwells with especial satisfaction on this in his History,[1] because the recollection was connected in his mind with what followed. This he must tell in his own words: "While things were "thus depending," he says, "one morning when there was a "conference with the Lords, and so the House adjourned, Mr. "Hyde being walking in the House, Mr. Peircy, brother to "the Earl of Northumberland, being a member of the House, "came to him, and told him that the King would speak with "him and would have him that afternoon to come to him. "He answered he believed it was some mistake, for that he "had not the honour to be known to the King, and that "there was another of the same name of the House [Mr. "Serjeant Hyde, member for Salisbury]. Mr. Peircy assured "him he was the man; and so it was agreed that at such "an hour in the evening he should call on him at his "chamber; which he did, and was by him conducted into "the gallery, and so into the square room, where he stayed "till the other went to the King; who in a very short time "came thither, attended only by Mr. Peircy, who, as soon as "Mr. Hyde had kissed his Majesty's hand, withdrew. The "King told him 'that he heard from all hands how much "'he was beholden to him; and that, when all his servants "'in the House of Commons either neglected his service or

[1] Clarendon, Hist. p. 110.

"'could not appear usefully in it, he took all occasions to "'do him service; for which he thought fit to give him his "'own thanks, and to assure him that he would remember "'it to his advantage.' He took notice of his affection to "the Church, for which, he said, 'he thanked him more than "for all the rest;' which the other acknowledged with the "duty that became him, and said, 'he was very happy that "'his Majesty was pleased with what he did; but, if he "'had commanded him to have withdrawn his affection and "'reverence for the Church, he would not have obeyed him;' "which his Majesty said made him love him the better. "Then he discoursed of the passion of the House, and of the "Bill then brought in against Episcopacy; and asked him "'whether he thought they would be able to carry it?' to "which he answered, he 'believed they could not, at least "'that it would be very long first.' 'Nay,' replied the King, "'if you will look to it that they do not carry it before I go "'for Scotland, which will be at such a time, when the "'armies shall be disbanded, I will undertake for the Church "'after that time.' 'Why then,' said the other, 'by the grace "'of God, it will not be in much danger;' with which the "King was well pleased, and dismissed him with very gra- "cious expressions. And this was the first introduction "of him to the King's taking notice of him."[1]

THE KING'S VISIT TO SCOTLAND: ITS INCIDENTS.

A regular meeting annually of the General Assembly of the Kirk was one of the most prized of the benefits which the Scots had won by their revolution. When Charles announced his intention of leaving London, such a General Assembly (the fourth in the series of which the great one in Glasgow had been the first) was sitting in Edinburgh, whither it had been removed from St. Andrews. The Commissioner of the King in this Assembly was the Earl of Wemyss; the Moderator was Alexander Henderson. He had not been chosen without a protest by some against his election a

[1] Clarendon, p. 937 (Life).

second time to the presidency at a season when the doctrine of Presbyterian parity was so important.

Henderson, it is to be remembered, was fresh from his seven months of residence in London in company with Baillie and others. The influence of this fact was apparent in the proceedings of the Assembly over which he presided. One proposition of Henderson's, for example, was that steps should be taken for bringing back to Scotland, and providing with a situation suitable to his deserts, "Mr. Thomas Young the author of *Dies Dominica*, and of the *Smectymnuus* for the most part." This proposition was not to take effect, and Milton's old tutor was to remain in England. By far the most important part of the Assembly's proceedings, however, grew out of a letter which Henderson had brought with him from England, addressed to the Assembly by "a number of their gracious brethren of the ministry at London and about it," including, of course, Young and the other Smectymnuans. While congratulating the Scottish clergy on their "happy proceedings" hitherto and expressing a hope that the Scottish Church Discipline would soon be established in England, the letter brought to the notice of the Assembly a very important difference of opinion which had begun to manifest itself among the English Root-and-Branch men on this very subject. "Almighty God having now, of his "infinite goodness," said the letter, "raised our hopes of "removing this yoke of Episcopacy under which we have so "long groaned, sundry other forms of Church-government are "by sundry sorts of men projected to be set up in the room "thereof: one of which, among others, is of some brethren "that hold the whole power of Church-government, and all "acts thereunto appertaining, as election, ordination, and "deposition of officers, with admission, excommunication, and "absolution of members, are by Divine ordinance, *in foro* "*externo*, to be decreed by the most voices in and of every par-"ticular congregation; which, say they, is the utmost bound "of a particular church endued with the power of govern-"ment, and only some formalities of solemn execution to be "reserved to the officers as the servants of the said church,

"if they have any, and, if none, then to be performed "by some other members, not in office, whom the church "shall appoint thereunto; and that every of the said par- "ticular congregations, whether they consist of few or "many members and be furnished with officers or not, law- "fully may and ought to transact, determine and execute, "all matters pertaining to the government of themselves "amongst and within themselves, without any authorita- "tive (though not consultatory) concurrence or interposition "of any other persons or churches whatsoever; condemning "all imperative and decisive power of Classes, or com- "pound Presbyteries and Synods, as a mere usurpation." Now, as the Churches of England and Scotland seemed to be "embarked in the same bottom, to sink and swim together," the English writers of the letter were anxious to have the best advice of the venerable Assembly of their Scottish brethren on this very point. They desired this the rather because it was asserted that the same views of Congregationalism or Independency had broken out among the Scots, and that even some eminent ministers of the Kirk were inclined to them. There is no doubt that the English ministers here pointed to certain discussions which had been going on in Scotland as to "the liberty of prophesying," or the right of the unordained laity to associate themselves and meet together for prayer, preaching, and mutual spiritual encouragement, apart from the regular worship of the parish church, and without the supervision of their pastors. The matter had occasioned considerable perplexity in the two preceding Assemblies of 1639 and 1640; and it had required all Henderson's judgment and weight to arrange a compromise. In these recent discussions in Scotland the Congregationalists or Brownists among the Root-and-Branch men in England had recognised the fermentation of views akin to their own. Indeed, it was announced by Henderson that Messrs. Dickson and Cant were chiefly referred to in the letter of the English ministers as of Congregationalist tendencies. These brethren were at once eager to clear themselves from the imputation: "none in all the Assembly more against

Independency than these two," says Baillie. The subject having been discussed more at large by the whole Assembly, it appeared that they were unanimous against Independency, and Henderson was instructed to write in that sense to the English ministers. "Our unanimous judgment and "uniform practice," said this answer, "is that, according "to the order of the Reformed Kirks and the ordinance "of God in his Word, not only the solemn execution "of ecclesiastical power and authority but the whole acts "and exercise thereof do properly belong to the officers "of the Kirk, yet so that, in matters of chief importance, "the tacit consent of the congregation be had before their "decrees and sentences receive final execution, and that the "officers of a particular congregation may not exercise this "power independently, but with subordination unto greater "Presbyteries, and Synods provincial and national."——Let the reader do all he can to bear in mind this correspondence in the autumn of 1641 between the Puritan ministers of London and the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk then sitting in Edinburgh. The subject was to be of immense moment in the years that were coming.

The Assembly having thus acquitted itself on the main subject of the communication made to it by the English Puritan ministers, there was a hearty reciprocation of the desire which the English brethren had expressed for a uniformity of Religion and Church-government between the two countries. Nay, with views towards this great end, "a notable motion" was made by Henderson. It was a motion for "drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Directory for all the parts of the Public Worship, and a Platform of Government, wherein possibly England and we might agree." Baillie adds that "all did approve," and that the burden of the labour was forthwith "laid on the back of the mover," *i.e.* on Henderson. He was to take help of such as he liked, and was to be allowed as much leisure from parish duty as he might find necessary. For there was at this time some consternation in Edinburgh on account of his complaining of overwork and desiring to leave his city-charge

for some quiet country-parish. He was induced to remain in harness.[1]

The Assembly was just over, after its fortnight of such work (July 27—Aug. 9), when the King arrived in Edinburgh (Aug. 14). His business was more with the Scottish Parliament, which had met on the 15th of July, under the continued presidency of Lord Burleigh. It formed a House of 145 members in all; of whom 39 were nobles, 49 lairds or lesser barons, and 57 representatives of burghs: churchmen being still quite excluded. It is a point of interest in the history of Edinburgh that this Scottish Parliament of 1641 was the first of real importance that sat in the fine new Parliament House which the Edinburgh people had recently got ready, after eight years of labour and expense, in the sacred old site in the High Street, at the back of St. Giles's church. The neighbourhood is now considerably changed, and Scottish Parliaments are things of the far past; but the name "Parliament House" still clings to the building, and the spacious oak-roofed hall which was actually the place of the meetings of the Parliaments is still one of the characteristic *loci* of Edinburgh, being the ante-room to all the law-courts, where the lawyers promenade in their wigs and gowns all day long, and their clients and other acquaintances lounge, and the buzz of Edinburgh gossip is loudest and most authoritative. Close by, in the ground outside, which once formed the churchyard of St. Giles's, but has long since been levelled, paved, and cloistered, is the grave of John Knox.[2]

To understand matters, we must here look back a little:—For more than a year the government of Scotland had been exercised by that Committee of Estates

[1] Baillie, I. 354–377; Stevenson, 468—473; and Acts of the Scottish Assembly of 1641.

[2] Balfour's "Annales of Scotland," III. 4 *et seq.*; Maitland's Hist. of Edinburgh (1753), pp. 185, 186. The new Parliament House was actually first used by the Parliament which met in Aug. 1639 (*antè*, p. 122). But that Parliament had been frustrated; its reassembling in June 1640 was brief (*antè*, p. 136); and subsequent meetings of the Estates in the new hall had been for the mere form of adjournment or prorogation.

which we saw appointed in June 1640, just before Leslie's march into England (see *antè*, p. 136). It consisted of forty persons: viz. *twelve* nobles (the Earls of Rothes, Montrose, Cassilis, Wigton, Dunfermline, and Lothian, and Lords Lindsay, Balmerino, Cupar, Burleigh, Napier, and Lower); *twelve* lairds or lesser barons; *twelve* burgesses; and *four* Judges of Session. Associated with the Committee by special appointment, as supernumerary or consulting member, was Johnstone of Warriston. In the list of the nobles in the Committee, it will be observed, two names are conspicuously wanting—that of Lord Loudoun and that of the Earl of Argyle. Loudoun was not put on the Committee for the very good reason that, when it was appointed, he was a prisoner in the Tower and in danger of his neck. The omission of Argyle's name at the same time may have been owing partly to the fact that there had been assigned to him the independent charge of the Highlands, from Argyleshire to Angus, with watch against a possible invasion from Ireland while Leslie's army was in the South. But there was a profounder reason for the omission. Argyle was then so great a man in Scotland that to put him on the Committee was superfluous. "He was *major potestas*, and, though "not formally a member, yet all knew that it was his "influence that gave being, life, and motion to those new-"modelled governors." And, as he thus governed through and over the Committee of Estates from the first, so the course of events had thrown more and more of the management visibly into his hands. The Committee had been broken into two Sub-Committees, one accompanying Leslie and the army into England, and the other remaining in Edinburgh; and, after the war was at an end, the reunion of the body had been prevented by the necessity that some of its members should continue with Leslie and the army about Newcastle, and, farther, by the necessity of detaching nine of the members, including Rothes and Dunfermline, to reside in London as Commissioners for the Treaty. Whatever dozen or more of the nobles, lairds, and burgesses composing the Committee might be at any one time in Edinburgh

to form a quorum, the paramount power was always in the hands of him whom his fellow-countrymen of the Lowlands knew as the grave Calvinistic Earl, and whom his Celtic subjects worshipped as Maccallummore, or feared as Gillespie Grumach. Of course there were jealousies. Strange rumours began to be circulated. Were they not calling him "King Campbell" in some parts of the Lowlands? Nay, had not Gaelic songs been heard on moonlight nights on the lips of Highland lochs, in which shadowy Highland boatmen with foxy faces confided to each other that Charles Stuart was to rule no more, but their own chief was to "take gear from the Sassenach and cry King at Whitsunday?" What all this really meant was that Argyle was the fittest man to be the aristocratic head of such a thoroughly Presbyterian government of the Scotland of that day as might have Henderson for its chief clerical intellect and Johnstone of Warriston for its working Secretary of State.[1]

Every Cæsar has his Pompey. Who can pronounce even now without some emotion the name of James Graham, the young Earl of Montrose? Our glimpses of him hitherto have been but vague and occasional. We have seen him when, on his return from his travels to his native land and estates, and to the young wife whom he had married when only a boy—Magdalene Carnegie, daughter of the Earl of Southesk—he was welcomed into the ranks of the Covenanters, and plunged into the career which the revolt against Charles and the Bishops opened up for him. We have seen him as a young chief among the Covenanters from that time forward, sharing conspicuously in all their counsels and in all their acts. We have seen him scourging the Aberdonians once and again in the name of the Covenant; nominated as one of the Committee of Estates; accompanying Leslie in his expedition into England; signalizing himself in that expedition as the first man in the Scottish army to cross the Tweed and plant an invading foot on English soil. With all this, however, there had been an element of restlessness in him which puzzled the Covenanters. "James," his friend Rothes

[1] Acts of Parl. of Scotland, V. 309—311; Napier's Life of Montrose, I. 261 *et seq.*

had said to him on one occasion, when he was eager to see and be seen in a crowd assembled in the High Street of Edinburgh for an Anti-Episcopal protestation, "you will never be at rest till you are lifted up above your fellows in a tow (rope)." He was always "hard to be guided," says Baillie. And no wonder. He had joined the Covenanting movement in a fit of patriotic enthusiasm; but, essentially, there was as little of the Presbyterian in him as in any one then living within the realm of Presbytery. His mind was rather in a state of clear Pagan excitement, full of admiration for classic heroes like those of Plutarch, and with flashing visions of some career like theirs, splendid in war or politics. While going about in his teens over his estates, a brilliant young Earl, with a retinue of gamekeepers and pipers, he had written scraps of verse, some of which are yet preserved. On his copy of Cæsar's Commentaries was this distich:—

> "Though Cæsar's paragon I cannot be,
> Yet shall I soar in thoughts as high as he;"

and on his copy of Quintus Curtius this:—

> "As Philip's noble son did still disdain
> All but the dear applause of merited fame,
> And nothing harboured in that lofty brain
> But how to conquer an eternal name,
> So great attempts, heroic ventures, shall
> Advance my fortune, or renown my fall."

That this ambitious young soul, Pagan and Plutarchian rather than Christian or Presbyterian in his ideal of life, could remain permanently associated with the Presbyterian majority of his countrymen was impossible. It would be a mistake to suppose that there were not other nobles and lairds who, though belonging, like Montrose, to the Presbyterian movement, and on good terms with Henderson, Dickson, and others of the leading clergy, were far enough from being inclined to give their own days and nights wholly to Calvinism. But, while most such were content to let matters go on in the course that had been begun, it had become a secret resolution

with Montrose to free himself from the connexions he had formed, and, if possible, to carry others along with him. In other words, he had conceived the notion of a government for Scotland which, while there should be no going back in it into the unpopular Episcopal system abolished by the recent revolution, should yet be conservative as compared with that which the Presbyterians were setting up. It seems probable that some of his views in this direction had been originally derived from his brother-in-law, Lord Napier, the son of Napier of the Logarithms. In this man, with some talent of his own, there was a good deal of that logarithmic blood, inducing to peculiar views of affairs, and to abundant and very combative expression of them with the pen, which has flowed since, and often with greater genius, in all bearing the name of Napier. Papers which he left behind him prove that, while he was a member of the Scottish Privy Council, he had been strongly opposed to the ascendency of the Bishops and to their violent policy in introducing the Service Book; but he found himself hardly more at ease as a member of the new Government which the Revolution had brought in. As he was by this time a veteran, having been a Privy Councillor since 1615, his influence over Montrose, who was not only his brother-in-law, but had been under his guardianship before attaining his majority, may have been considerable.[1]

Whether influenced originally by Napier or not, Montrose had for more than a year been pursuing a policy diverging from that of Argyle and his adherents. Even while he was serving gallantly in Leslie's army he had been in secret correspondence with the King. The discovery of this correspondence by his colleagues had led to a public accusation of him by Argyle at Leslie's table, and would have perhaps led to his trial by court-martial but for the prudent anxiety of Leslie and the other leaders to avoid such

[1] Baillie's scattered references in Vol. I., and Appendix of Documents in Vol. II. pp. 467 *et seq.*; Clar. I. 235, 236; but especially Mr. Mark Napier's Life of Montrose (I. 60, 218–279, and in other places). Whatever one may think of Mr. Napier's extremely violent views in this book, one must acknowledge its frequent picturesqueness, its unusual energy, and also the richness and interest of the material brought together in it for the illustration of Montrose's Life and the history of the period.

a scandal. Then, in November 1640, there had followed the discovery of a more formidable action on the part of Montrose. This was the formation, before the march of the army into England, of a Band or League, called "The Band of Cumbernauld," by which he and nineteen other Scottish nobles or lairds, including the Earl Marischal and Lord Almont, had bound themselves by a Covenant, subsidiary to the main one, to withstand what they called "the particular and indirect practicking of a few" in the affairs of the nation. Satisfied with the discovery of this secret association, and with the profession of most of the Banders, including Almont, that they had done foolishly and rashly in joining it, Argyle and his adherents had taken no farther steps in the matter, and had renewed friendly relations with some of them. But Montrose was neither to be won over nor terrified. All through the winter of 1640-41 and the following spring his tongue had been busy against the Argyle party, now in the Scottish army at Newcastle and within Leslie's hearing, now on his own estates in Angus or in Perthshire, and again in his lodgings in the Canongate in Edinburgh, or at Napier's mansion of Merchiston in the vicinity of the city. In looking at that fine old turreted mansion, still in good preservation, in a southern suburb of Edinburgh, one sees not only the original seat of Napier of the Logarithms, but also the chief scene of certain important deliberations between Montrose and his friends in the winter of 1640-41. They issued in what I will take the liberty of calling the *Merchiston House Compact*. Of this compact, besides Montrose and Napier, were Sir George Stirling of Keir, doubly related to Napier as his nephew and son-in-law and a colleague of both on the Committee of Estates, and Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, one of the Lords of Session.

Much of their meditations, at least of those of Montrose and Napier, was expressed in writing. One remarkable essay of Montrose's, written at this time, in the form of a Letter to a Friend (possibly Drummond the poet), still remains and has recently been published. It is curious, as exhibiting young Montrose in the character of a political idealist. It is

throughout a politico-philosophical assertion of the principle of Authority as co-equal with the principle of Liberty in the conduct of States, and this in a style of abstract Scottish reasoning which marks a characteristic, or perhaps national, difference between Montrose's conservatism and that of the English Strafford. In all States, argues the Essayist, there is an inherent collective sovereignty, or will, not lodged in the individual wills of the members or of the majority of them, and which yet ought not to be mere military chieftainship nor any form of "arbitrary and despotic power." The functions of this true governing will, the essential "points" of this sovereignty, whether it is lodged "in the person of a monarch, or in a few principal persons, or in the estates of the people," are "to make laws, to create principal officers, to make peace and war, to give grace to men condemned by law, and to be the last to whom appellation is made." These functions are "inalienable, indivisible, incommunicable;" they "belong to the sovereign power primitively in all governments;" and they "cannot subsist in a body of individuities." After thus asserting an *à priori* theory of Government, the Essay glances vaguely at the application the writer would make of the theory to the state of Scotland. The re-establishment of a proper relation between the Crown and the Estates was the true problem. As it was, all was going into confusion; "seditious preachers" were becoming the popular guides; and "vultures and tigers" in the persons of ambitious nobles were making the body-politic their prey. Argyle is not named, but it is hinted that the kingdom is likely to fall into the hands of some such single person, who will be obliged, of necessity, to establish a tyranny. An appeal is made to the various classes of the community to help in re-establishing the true national sovereignty by bringing about restored relations, in the first place, between the King and the Parliament. It might be difficult to gather from the Essay the exact practical means to this end which the writer contemplated, were it not for a comment found in one of Napier's preserved jottings respecting the history of the Merchiston House Compact. "The Earl of Montrose," he says, "Lord

"Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and Sir Archibald "Stewart of Blackhall, knights, having occasion to meet often, "did then deplore the hard estate the country was in. . . . "These sensible evils begot in them thoughts of a remedy. "The best, they thought, was that, if his Majesty would be "pleased to come in person to Scotland and give his people "satisfaction in point of religion and just liberties, he should "thereby settle his own authority." Here, in fact, is one explanation of Charles's otherwise inexplicable determination to visit Scotland in the autumn of 1641. A secret correspondence had been begun with him by Montrose and Napier through the medium of the Duke of Richmond, and it was in consequence of this correspondence that Charles, as early as May, had begun at least to meditate a journey to the north. The plan, doubtless, was that Montrose, in his place in Parliament, with the King present to countenance him, should openly attack Argyle on charges which he had been accumulating.[1]

A sudden explosion of the Plot and its ramifications had not only rendered its execution impossible, but had brought Montrose and his friends into a condition in which they could be of no use to Charles for some time to come. Among Montrose's reckless speeches through the country had been one or two to clergymen and other private persons in Perthshire, revealing the nature of the charges he was to bring against Argyle. They were to the effect that Argyle had spoken of a possible deposition of the King, to be followed by a Dictatorship, or by the division of the country into three great military cantonments to be governed by a triumvirate. These speeches of Montrose, having been repeated from mouth to mouth, had at last reached the Committee of Estates. Montrose, on being called to answer for them (May 27), boldly acknowledged them to Argyle's face, and gave as his chief authority a certain Mr. John Stewart of Ladywell, Commissary of Dunkeld. Stewart, on being called before the Committee (May 31), affirmed all

[1] Baillie, II. 468, 469; Napier's Montrose, I. 280—289 (where Montrose's Essay is given from a transcript by the Rev. Robert Wodrow in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh), also 295–6, 311—316, &c.

that he had told Montrose, said he had himself heard the treasonable talk of Argyle at a place called the Ford of Lyon about twelve months before, and drew up his charges on a paper which he signed. As Argyle indignantly gave them the lie on oath, and no testimony could be brought forward by Montrose except that of Mr. Stewart of Ladywell, the brunt of the storm had to be borne by that gentleman. He stood in one of two characters. Either he was the prime witness in a charge of high treason against Argyle, or he was himself liable to the penalties of the crime which the Scottish Law named "leasing-making," *i.e.* the diffusion of false rumours to cause discord between the King and his subjects. It was in the latter character, with the option of converting it into the other, that he was committed to the custody of Edinburgh Castle. He had been there but a few days when his courage gave way. He wrote in most abject terms to Argyle, entreating an interview; and the result was that he confessed to several persons appointed to visit him with Argyle (who declined seeing him privately) that he had wrested words which he had heard Argyle say at the Ford of Lyon from their true general import into a special and treasonable one, through a "prejudicate opinion of his lordship." So much for Mr. Stewart of Ladywell; whose arrest might not have involved any immediate consequences to Montrose and his Merchiston House associates but for a farther discovery. Stewart had admitted that, by the advice of Montrose, Napier, and the knights of Keir and Blackhall, a copy of his charges against Argyle had been forwarded to Court, and that the bearer was a Colonel Walter Stewart. This led to the waylaying of the Colonel on his return journey from England (June 4), and there were found on him letters and papers of a very compromising nature. Concealed in his saddle was one letter from the King to Montrose announcing his intention of visiting Scotland; there were documents conferring a post and a pension on Mr. Commissary Stewart; and there was a set of queer notes of the Colonel's own, in a kind of cypher, containing mysterious allusions to "A.B.C.," "the Serpent," "the Dromedary,"

"Genero," "the Elephant," &c. The Colonel, thereupon, confessed, like his namesake the Commissary. He had been for some time the agent of Montrose and his Merchiston friends, taking letters to Court from them, addressed to the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Traquair, and bringing back answers. The plan was that the King should come to Scotland, and then that an attack should be made on Argyle in Parliament, which should also blast the character of the Marquis of Hamilton. The symbols in the notes had specific meanings. "Genero" meant Montrose, "the Dromedary" Argyle, "the Elephant" Hamilton, &c. Here were grounds enough for the arrest of Montrose, Napier, Keir, and Blackhall; and, accordingly, they were committed to the Castle (June 11) on a charge of plotting.[1]

The news of the arrest of Montrose and his three associates for an alleged Plot had caused some excitement in London. Charles had hastened to write to Argyle, acknowledging his letter to Montrose, but repudiating the construction put upon it, and expressing his hope that, when he came to Scotland, as he still meant to do, he should have Argyle's assistance in clearing away mistakes. Traquair also had disavowed the deep designs attributed to him by his relative Colonel Stewart, who had "ever been known," he said, "for a fool, or at least a timid half-witted body," and whose cypher-notes were but some cobweb of his own fancy. Neither by the English Parliament, however, to whom information was given by the Scottish Commissioners, nor by the English public, to whom it was communicated in a pamphlet, had the matter appeared so trivial.[2]

The month's work of the Scottish Parliament before Charles arrived to take part in it (July 15—Aug. 14) had consisted, in a great measure, of debates, analogous to those which had occupied so much of the time of the English Parliament, respecting the trial and punishment of national delinquents. There were two classes of such delinquents in the Scottish reckoning. There were the "Incendiaries," as they

[1] Napier's Montrose, I. 254—304; Baillie, I. 356 *et seq.*

[2] Rushworth, IV. 290, 291; and Napier, I. 314—325.

were called, or those chief delinquents (corresponding to the Straffords, Lauds, and Windebanks of the English) to whose bad counsels and designs the late troubles of the nation were mainly attributed; and there were the "Plotters," or more recent delinquents (corresponding to the Army-Plot men in England), who had been disturbing the government established by the Peace. In the former category were reckoned Traquair, ex-Bishop Maxwell, Dr. Balcanquhal, Sir Robert Spotswood, and Sir John Hay; in the latter were Montrose, Napier, Keir, Blackhall, and their messenger Colonel Stewart. As most of the Incendiaries were at large in England, the business, so far as it concerned them, resolved itself, for the most part, into correspondence with the King with a view to bringing them to trial. The Plotters, on the other hand, being in custody, were several times interrogated, while additional evidence was sought for in all directions to complete the case against them. On the whole, the proceedings against both classes of delinquents had to lie over till the King's arrival. It was different with the poor Laird of Ladywell. He was in a category by himself, and they were able to make short work with him. Tried by a special session of the Justiciary Court, and found guilty on his own confession and on other evidence, he was beheaded in the High Street of Edinburgh on the 28th of July. For one who had the fatal honour of being beheaded he has left but a pitiable figure of himself in the Scottish annals.[1]

The Laird of Ladywell's head had been off a fortnight when Charles and his train arrived in Edinburgh. He reached Holyrood late on Saturday the 14th of August. How different the circumstances in which he now found himself once more beneath the slopes of Arthur's Seat from those of his coronation visit in 1633! *Then* Laud had been with him, to arrange the ceremonial and embroidery of the coronation, direct the Scottish Bishops, and prepare the way for a Service Book, Canons, and other measures for bringing the imperfect Episcopacy of Scotland nearer the perfect mark.

[1] Baillie, I. 381; Napier, I. 330.

Now Laud was left behind, a prisoner in the Tower, his system wrecked and at an end within England itself; and the first religious service that Charles had to endure in Scotland was one conducted in the Palace Chapel, on the morning after his arrival, by Alexander Henderson. It was a service without liturgy, surplice, or any such thing, but only the extempore Presbyterian prayers and a sermon on the text Rom. xi. 36, "For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things; to whom be glory for ever: Amen." During the whole of the King's stay Henderson acted as his chaplain, and was treated by him with much respect.[1]

Charles undoubtedly had a purpose in his visit to Scotland. Within limits, it may be discerned as a purpose natural, wise, and not dishonourable in him in the view of his own interests in the circumstances in which he stood. To look out for the ablest men he could find in the ranks of those who had begun to think the Revolution had gone far enough, and to surround himself with these men as with a group of new Conservatives who would take the places once occupied by Strafford, Laud, Cottington, and their comrades, was Charles's natural policy. It was a policy applicable to either kingdom, but it seems to have occurred to him to try it first in Scotland. We have seen what success he had had in gaining over Rothes, when the protracted residence of that nobleman in London had brought him within the reach of Court influence. Rothes was as good as lost to Scotland; he had become a courtier; he was to have a place in the Bedchamber; he was to marry the wealthy Countess-Dowager of Devonshire, and be a Covenanter no more! So Baillie had complained. But what if Charles, in all this, was looking forward to the use of Rothes in Scotland that very year? Did Charles think of bringing Rothes with him to Edinburgh, so that his voice might be again heard, in somewhat new strains, in that Parliament in which he had led the liberal opposition not so very long ago? If such were the intention, fate was against it. Poor Rothes! He had been left in dangerous illness in some house or lodging near Richmond

[1] Baillie, I. 385, 386; Stevenson, 477—479; Rushworth, IV. 382.

Hill; and there, amid autumn scenery the most sylvan in England, but with his memories straying perhaps among the hills of his forsaken north, he was to die (Aug. 23) ere he could well have heard how Charles was faring among his countrymen.[1] The services of Rothes being unavailable, Charles might well have thought of Montrose. But Montrose and his three confederates were prisoners in Edinburgh Castle; and, if he should see them at all during his stay, it could be but as they might be brought up to the bar of Parliament, when, if present, he might be able to favour them with a glance or nod. It remained for Charles to make the best he could of his relations with Argyle and those others of the Committee of Estates who had the ascendency for the time. He had the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hamilton, Hamilton's brother the Earl of Lanark, and others, to assist him.

For about two months (Aug. 14—Oct. 12) the King proceeded, to all appearance, on the right method. Day after day he was present in the Parliament, feeling his way, and making courteous, though sometimes sharp, little speeches. In his very first speech he declared that "love to his native country had been his chief motive to his journey," and that his purpose was to "perfect whatsoever he had promised" and to "end distractions;" and it was accepted as an omen of peace that, within the first few days after his arrival, the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton, Perth, Roxburgh, Lanark, and other nobles who had hitherto stood out against the Covenant, qualified themselves for their places in Parliament by signing that document and taking the other necessary oaths. Differences, indeed, did appear. There were, in the main, two questions on which there were such differences. There was the question of the filling up of the offices of State and the Privy Councillorships which the Revolution had rendered vacant, so as to determine in whose hands the future government of Scotland should be vested, now that the

[1] Baillie, I. 388; Burnet's Lives of the Dukes of Hamilton (edit. 1852), 234; and Clarendon I. 219.

provisional government exercised by the Committee of Estates had come to a natural end. The difference between Charles and the Scottish leaders on this question was that, whereas they maintained that all such appointments ought to be made by the advice of Parliament, he claimed the sole right of such appointments as inherent in his prerogative. The other question was that of the Incendiaries and the Plotters. Charles, with a natural remorse in recollection of Strafford, was anxious not only that Montrose and his associates should escape the consequences of their conspiracy, but also that Traquair, Maxwell, and others who had served his policy before the Revolution, should be dealt with lightly. On both these questions, but perhaps more on the second than on the first, Charles seemed likely to carry matters his own way. Hamilton did much towards persuading the leading nobles to lenient dealing with the Incendiaries and Plotters, and Argyle was disposed to yield in this matter to an extent which Johnstone of Warriston and many of the clergy thought excessive. Henderson, however, went with Argyle, and gave his advice for forgetting the past as much as might be.[1]

Suddenly, when, after two months of discussion, things seemed to be adjusting themselves to an amicable conclusion, there occurred a most mysterious business, which threw all Edinburgh into alarm. What an air of mystery and vagueness hung over the occurrence at the time, and still hangs over it, is indicated by the name given to it by Scottish historians. It is called emphatically *The Incident*. The facts are these:—On Tuesday the 12th of October the news ran through Edinburgh that in the course of the preceding night Hamilton, the Earl of Lanark, and Argyle had fled from the city hurriedly and gone to Kinneill House, a seat of Hamilton's, about twelve miles distant. The three noblemen, it was said, had been secretly informed of a plot laid for them. They were that night to be sent for, as if on important business, to the King's bedchamber; they were there to be arrested by a body of armed men under the command of the Earl of

[1] Baillie, I. 389 *et seq.*; and Balfour's Annals, III. 40—94.

Crawford; they were to be smuggled into a coach, carried to Leith, and put on board one of the King's ships lying in the Firth; if a rescue were attempted, they were to be killed; but, once on board the ship, they were to be kept there till the King's pleasure should be known! Meanwhile a regiment in Musselburgh under the command of Colonel Cochrane was to be marched to Edinburgh; there were to be arrests of other leading Parliament-men, and even a slaughter of the citizens if they resisted; Montrose and his associates were to be released from their prisons, and Montrose was to take command of the Castle; there was to be a rising of all the disaffected districts; and, the power being once more in the King's hands, there was to be a re-ordering of Parliament, and a trial of its recent chiefs for high treason! Such were the rumours, wild, monstrous, and horrible, which filled Edinburgh on the morning of the 12th, and gathered the citizens in crowds round the Parliament House. Hasting thither in a fury and with an armed following, the King had almost to break his way in. He had come, he said, to complain of an outrage on his honour. Could he have believed that any three noblemen would have thrown such suspicion on their sovereign as to flee from him without notice under pretext of a plot to be executed against them at the door of his bedchamber? The very men, too, with whom he had been most intimate, whom he had most honoured! Above all, Hamilton! O, if they but knew how he had favoured that man, disbelieving charges to his discredit that had for years been in circulation! So the King addressed the Parliament, with oaths, repetitions, even "tears in his eyes." They listened reverentially and even sympathetically. Still there were ugly appearances. Were there not wild swaggerers about the Court, fit for anything desperate? Had not Crawford, after too much drink, carried a challenge to Hamilton from young Lord Ker, the son of the Earl of Roxburgh, which Hamilton had quietly disregarded as but a drunken frolic; and had not another nobleman been heard to say that "there were now three Kings in Scotland, and, by God, two of them (Hamilton and Argyle) ought to have their heads cut off"? Nay, this

coming of the King himself to Parliament with an armed following, though with no evil intention, might it not lead to evil? In short, Crawford, Cochrane, and others were laid fast, the city-bands were drawn closer round the Parliament House, and such regiments of horse and foot were brought to the spot as were within the sound of Leslie's whistle.[1]

Gradually the commotion subsided. The result of an inquiry, so far as it was made public, was that Crawford, Cochrane, and others *had* been concerting something desperate, but that "nothing was found that touched the King; neither much that did reflect on the Duke (Richmond), or on Almont, or William Murray (one of the King's attendants)." As respected Montrose, the fact of his being then a prisoner in the Castle rendered any active share in the plot on his part impossible; but Crawford and Cochrane had been in relations with him before his imprisonment, and it was ascertained that quite recently he had been communicating from his prison with the King by letters sent through William Murray.[2] Having thus taken the measure of the plot, whatever it was, the Parliament was not disposed to make too much of it; and, the King on his side cooling down from his first violence of rage, Hamilton, Lanark, and Argyle, after a week or two of absence, were induced to return to Edinburgh.

Business was then resumed; and, the power of Argyle having been greatly increased by "the Incident," the proceedings of the session were brought harmoniously to a close. On the 17th of November the Parliament held its last sitting, having since its meeting on the 15th of July got through a body of

[1] Balfour's Annals, III. 94—101; Baillie, I. 391 *et seq.*; Stevenson, 485; Napier, I. 358—368, and Appendix, pp. lv—lxxvi.

[2] See Clar. 119. "After his Majesty's "arrival in Scotland," says Clarendon, "he (Montrose), by the introduction "of Mr. William Murray of the Bed-"chamber, came privately to the King, "and informed him of many particulars "from the beginning of the Rebellion, "and 'that the Marquis of Hamilton "was no less faulty and false towards "his Majesty than Argyle,' and offered "'to make proof of all in the Parliament,' but rather desired 'to kill "them both,' which he frankly 'under-"took to do;' but the King, abhorring "that expedient, for his own security, "advised 'that the proofs might be "prepared for the Parliament:' when "suddenly," &c. (Here follows the story of "the Incident.") Now Montrose was in prison at the time, so that his connexion with "the Incident" cannot have been so direct. But, as a confused recollection by Clarendon of what he must have heard afterwards from the King himself, the story has some significance.

public and private acts which now fill 350 folio printed pages of the Scottish Statute-book. The business of the "Incendiaries" and "Plotters" had at length been wound up by a compromise, by which, while the legal proceedings against them were to be continued to their issue, the men themselves were to be considered as forgiven beforehand. Accordingly, Montrose, Napier, Keir, Blackhall, and the two Incendiaries in custody, Spotswood and Hay, were liberated on security. In the more difficult business, too, of the arrangement of the future Government, the Parliament and the King had come to an understanding. The office of *Chancellor of Scotland* was conferred on Lord Loudoun; the *Treasurership* was given to a commission of five, of whom Argyle was chief; the *Privy Seal* was continued in the hands of the Earl of Roxburgh; the *Secretaryship of State* was given to the Earl of Lanark; and with these and other state-officers there were associated thirty-nine persons of different ranks, including the Duke of Lennox and the Marquis of Hamilton, to act as members of the general Privy Council. The Fifteen Lords of Session, or Judges of the Supreme Court, were also duly named; four of the former Fifteen being displaced for new men, among whom was Johnstone of Warriston. Finally, that all might be concluded graciously, there was a sufficient sprinkling of peerages and knighthoods among the men of merit. Lord Loudoun, in addition to the Chancellorship, received a promotion in the peerage and became Earl of Loudoun, his right to that title to be reckoned from May 12, 1633, when a patent for it had been made out; Field-Marshal Leslie was created Earl of Leven, with descent to all heirs whatever; Lord Almont, Leslie's second in command, was raised to the Earldom of Callander; one Knight was made a Viscount, and three were made Barons. Among the new knights we need note only Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, known henceforward also by his judge's courtesy title of "Lord Warriston." But the greatest promotion and the most ceremoniously conferred was on the last day of the session, when, in the very midst of the closing state-formalities which had been begun by a splendid proces-

sion to the Houee, the King caused a patent to be read, dated Nov. 15, raising Archibald, Earl of Argyle, to the dignity of Marquis, and then with his own hand delivered the patent to the obeisant nobleman. Then came the closing sermon and prayer by Mr. Henderson, and the breaking-up of the Parliament into the crowded and lighted High Street about eight o'clock in the evening. It was too late to re-form the procession to convey his Majesty down the street to Holyrood, but not too late for the huzzas of the people, and the firing of great guns on the battlements of the Castle.[1]

The next day Charles took his departure from Edinburgh, having, according to Clarendon, only made "a more perfect deed of gift" of his native kingdom to the men who had been wringing it from him, but "leaving the Scots a most contented people," as one of their own historians relates.

IRISH INSURRECTION.

At the very time when Scotland was so unusually happy, poor Ireland was in a welter of misery from end to end, by reason of an insurrection the most dreadful that we read of even in *her* annals. During the last three weeks of Charles's stay in Scotland this Irish insurrection had been the ghastly subject of all men's thoughts throughout both Scotland and England, and every post from Ireland had been looked for with the intensest anxiety in Edinburgh, London, and every city, town, and village in either kingdom. The news indeed had hastened the final arrangements between the King and the Scots.

Immediately after the execution of Strafford, the Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland had been conferred on Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, already known to us as Lord Scudamore's fellow-ambassador from Britain to the French Court.[2] But, though appointed May 19, 1641, he had not gone over to assume office, but had left the management of Irish affairs in the meantime to the resident officials in Dublin, the chief of

[1] Balfour's Annals, III. 130—165; Baillie, 1. 393; Stevenson, 478—493; Acts of Parl. of Scotland, V. 334—683.

[2] Vol. I. pp. 699 *et seq.*

whom were the Lords-Justices, Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlace. Little was it known either to him or to them what an explosion was in preparation. As Scotland and England had had their revolutions, so Ireland had determined to have hers. Had not she also her catalogue of woes and wrongs, older and deeper than any that afflicted Scotland or England? Was not her national religion proscribed and trodden down; was not her native population ruled by a minority of alien colonists; were not her lands slowly wrested by every process and quirk of law from their ancient lords and clutched by these intruders; were not her children, even when they had the means, restrained from the re-purchase of those lands, in order that the entire territory might gradually pass into the hands of strangers? Ireland *would* have her revolution, and it should be after her own fashion.

The prime mover, it is said, was Roger More, or Rory O'More, of Ballynagh, co. Kildare, described as "one of the most handsome, comely, and proper persons of his time, of excellent parts, good judgment and great cunning, affable and courteous in his behaviour, insinuating in his address, and agreeable in his conversation." He had been brooding over his country's wrongs; and, having persuaded himself that the distracted state of England and the precedent of the Scottish revolt afforded a fair opportunity for an Irish rising, he had from the beginning of 1641, been organizing a conspiracy to that end. He had been in communication with the Earl of Tyrone, son of the famous Tyrone of a former generation and then a colonel in the Spanish service, and with other Irish exiles in Spain, France, and Flanders; and at home he had inspired with his views a small group of persons, chiefly of old Irish families, but with one or two Anglo-Irishmen among them. Sir Phelim O'Neile of county Tyrone, Lord Macguire of county Fermanagh, and Colonel Hugh Macmahon of county Monaghan, were the chief of the Irish conspirators and Colonel Richard Plunket the chief of the Anglo-Irish conspirators, in this group around More. Their scheme, after various meetings and deliberations, took this shape:—On Saturday the 23rd of October, "being St. Ignatius Loyola's

day," there was to be an attack upon the Castle of Dublin, then containing stores of arms and ammunition; at the same hour there were to be attacks by local bands of insurgents on other places of strength throughout Ireland: thus over the whole island simultaneously the native Irish would be up in arms, chasing and encircling the English and Scottish Protestants, and able to maintain the insurrection till they should be joined, as was hoped, by the Catholics of the Pale, and reinforced also by the arrival of trained military men from among the Irish exiles on the Continent. The Earl of Tyrone having meanwhile died abroad, the military exile whose arrival was most eagerly expected was another scion of the great O'Neile clan, Owen Roe O'Neile, Colonel in the Spanish service in Flanders.[1]

Whatever was the original conspiracy, hardly a whisper of it reached the Lords Justices till the 22nd of October, the eve of the fatal day. They were able to take precautions by which Dublin was saved, and Macguire, Macmahon, and some others were arrested; but punctually, the next day, bands of insurgents were at work in the county of Monaghan and other counties, roving about, burning and sacking the houses of Protestants, and chasing the unhoused men, women, and children over the moors and fields. Next day, and the next, and the next, it was the same, the insurrection spreading from county to county wherever there were English or Scottish settlers, and everywhere with the same effects. Having but 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse at their disposal, and these in garrison or wanted for the protection of Dublin, the Lords-Justices could do nothing but remain where they were, in fear and trembling, receiving such fugitives as flocked into Dublin, and writing despatch after despatch to Leicester in London, and the King in Edinburgh, imploring immediate help and instructions. At length (Nov. 5) they report that all the estates and houses of Protestants in five counties of Ulster have already been seized, and the despoiled families either murdered or otherwise barbarously treated; that, though the insurrection was fiercest in Ulster, where the English and Scots were most numerous,

[1] Carte's Ormond, I. 153—164, and Rushworth, IV. 398 *et seq.*

it had spread into the other provinces, wherever there were stray Protestant families, and, more particularly, was raging in Leitrim (Connaught) and in Longford, Meath, Louth, King's County, and Queen's County (Leinster); and that, in fact, the whole of the north and north-east of Ireland was in possession of the native Irish, who had an army of 30,000 in the field, then going about in great divisions, and threatening to take Dundalk and Drogheda, and then Dublin. But, indeed, by this time there were proclamations of the insurgents from which it was possible to judge of their strength and their intentions. One manifesto which they issued under the title of "The Oath of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland" was a kind of Irish equivalent of the Scottish Covenant, by which those who took it swore "by Almighty God and all the Angels and Saints in Heaven" to maintain and defend "the public and free exercise of the true and Catholic Roman Religion," and also to bear faithful allegiance to King Charles, his heirs and successors, and to stand by them against all that should "directly or indirectly endeavour to suppress their royal prerogatives." Nay, certain of the insurgent leaders, with Sir Phelim O'Neile at their head, actually put forth a proclamation, dated "From our camp at Newry this 4th of November 1641," in which they declared themselves to be acting under a direct commission from Charles issued by him at Edinburgh on the preceding 1st of October under the Great Seal of Scotland. They were audacious enough to publish the text of this alleged commission, the purport of which was that, whereas Charles had been obliged "by the obstinate and disobedient carriage of the English Parliament" to take refuge in Scotland, he authorized his faithful Irish to advise, consult, and combine together in his interest, to possess themselves of all forts, castles, and places of strength in Ireland, except such as were occupied by "his loving and loyal subjects, the Scots," and to "arrest and seize the goods, estates, and persons, of all the English Protestants." For a while, on the faith of this document (rejected by all subsequent inquirers as a proved forgery), the Insurgent army assumed the name of "The King's Army;" and, when that would not answer, they called

themselves "The Queen's Army," and professed to act under instructions direct from the Queen-Consort.

Roger More and others of the original conspirators may have had visions of an insurrection that should be controlled by political purpose, so as, while it effected the liberation of the native race and religion on the one hand, to be, on the other, a loyal service to the King's cause in the midst of his English difficulties. Certain it is, however, that from the first moment the actual Insurrection burst all bounds of government or reason, and became a mere revel of murderous phrenzy, from which More recoiled, leaving Phelim O'Neile chiefly responsible. According to the lowest contemporary calculations as many as 30,000 Protestants, English and Scottish, were murdered within the first few months of the Insurrection; other calculations raised the number to 100,000; and the historian May gives the utterly bewildered estimate of 200,000 within the first month only. Round numbers in such a case are fallacious, and we must suppose exaggeration even in the lowest estimate; but, by way of specimens in detail, take the following statements picked out from fifteen folio pages of Rushworth, containing a compilation from depositions afterwards given on oath by witnesses of the horrors in different parts of Ireland. The compilation is very confused, and it is difficult to identify some of the places named:—— *Co. Antrim:* In one morning as many as 954 killed, and 1100 or 1200 at other times.——*Co. Armagh:* "Protestants in multitudes forced over the bridge at Portadown, whereby at several times there were drowned in the river Bann about 1,000;" "forty-four at several times drowned in the Blackwater;" "two-and-twenty Protestants put into a thatched house in the parish of Kilmore and there burnt alive;" "seventeen men, women, and children cast into a bog-pit in the parish of Dumcreess (?);" "three hundred Protestants stripped naked and put into the church of Loghall, whereof about a hundred murdered within the church, and such as were not murdered were turned out a-begging amongst the Irish, naked, and into the cold, most of whom were killed by Irish trulls and children;" one Mary Barlow,

her husband having been hanged, stripped naked with her six children, and "turned out a-begging in frost and snow, by means whereof they were almost starved, having nothing to eat in three weeks that they lay in a cave, but two old calf-skins, which they beat with stones and so eat them, hair and all;" "Lieutenant Giles Maxwell, by order of Sir Phelim O'Neile, dragged out of his bed, raving in the height of a burning fever, driven two miles, and murdered," and his wife, then pregnant, "stripped naked and drowned in the Black-water, the child half-born;" Mr. Starkey, a very old man, and his two daughters, stripped naked, driven along three quarters of a mile, and then "all three drowned in a turf-pit."——*Co. Down:* "Eighty forced to go on the ice on Lough Earn (?) till they brake the ice and were drowned;" "at Servagh (?) Bridge 100 drowned, more 80, more 60, more 50, more 60;" about 1,000 killed in this county by one of the rebel chiefs alone.——*Co. Tyrone:* "About 300 murdered on the way to Colrain (?) by direction from Sir Phelim O'Neile;" "in and about Dungannon 316 murdered;" "between Charlemont and Dungannon about 400 murdered;" "eighteen Scotch infants hanged on clothiers' tenter-hooks, and one young fat Scotchman murdered and candles made of his grease," &c.——*Co. Tipperary:* "Four-and-twenty English, after they had revolted to the Mass, murdered at the Silver Mines;" "near Kilfeckel an Englishman, his wife and four or five children, hanged," and "all afterwards cast into one hole—the youngest child, not fully dead, putting up the hand and crying 'Mammy,' yet buried alive;" &c. ——*Co. Roscommon:* "William Stewart had collops cut off him, being alive, fire-coals put into his mouth, his belly ripped up, and his entrails wrapped about his neck and wrists."

Enough of these quotations! The mind refuses to believe in more than a fraction of their horrible details as by any possibility authentic. But such were the stories that every post brought over to England and Scotland, and that represented too truly in the main, with whatever exaggeration in particulars, what was actually passing in the dreadful island so near.

The sea ringed the Green Island round; the white cold winter descended upon it; and, while the wretched remnant of its Protestant inhabitants from all parts were gathered in stables and outhouses about Dublin, or on other spots of its eastern fringe, whence they could gaze across towards the mother-lands and call to them for help, the spectres of the murdered, it was said, haunted the interior desolation. Take this fragment from the deposition afterwards made by "Elizabeth, the wife of Captain Rice Price, of Armagh," when she was examined on oath as to what she had seen and suffered in the Insurrection. "She and other "women whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers "apparitions and visions which were seen near Portadown "Bridge since the drowning of her children and the rest of "the Protestants there, went unto the Bridge aforesaid about "twilight in the evening, and then and there on a sudden "there appeared unto them a vision or spirit, assuming the "shape of a woman, naked, with elevated and closed hands, "her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seeming to "twinkle, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit "seemed to stand straight upright in the water, often re-"peating the word *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge;* whereat this "deponent and the rest, being put into a strong amazement "and affright, walked from the place." It is but the disordered fancy of a poor bereaved woman, and probably dressed up in the telling; but the historian might labour long before he could devise a more exact image of the state of Ireland in the winter of 1641–42, as it appeared to the Protestants of Britain, than this ghastly one of the naked female figure emerging each nightfall from the pool of an inland Irish river, stretching up clenched hands in the solitude, and calling, ere she sank, *Revenge, Revenge, Revenge!*[1]

[1] For summaries of the facts of the Irish Insurrection see Rushworth, IV. 398—421 (in reality, with extra pages, 54 pages in all); May, 79—87; Clarendon, 120-121). An earlier authority, much followed by these, is the *History of the Beginnings and First Progress of the General Rebellion raised within the Kingdom of Ireland upon the 23rd day of October*, 1641, published, in 1646, by Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls in Ireland. See Hallam's Const. Hist. 10th ed. III. 391—393, and notes) for a calm estimate of the degree of credibility belonging to the original accounts of the massacres.

CHAPTER VI.

AFTER THE RECESS, OR FIVE MONTHS OF ABORTIVE REACTION (OCT. 1641—MARCH, 1641-2):—*THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE*—TUMULTS IN LONDON, AND ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS'S BLUNDER—CHARLES'S COUP D'ÉTAT, OR ATTEMPTED ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS—HIS DEPARTURE FROM LONDON—BISHOPS' EXCLUSION BILL PASSED.

WHEN the English Parliament met again after the Recess (Oct. 20, 1641), the King was yet in Scotland. The Plague being still in London, and the mortality considerable,[1] the Houses were not very full at first. The Movement party, however, was strong enough at once to resume action. Pym had taken no holiday at all, but had remained in town, or at Chelsea, all through the Recess, as Chairman of the Committee of Vigilance appointed by the Commons. He was never in greater force. In his Report, given in on the first day, of what had been heard and done by the Committee during the Recess, he struck, though cautiously, a note of alarm. The news from Scotland was not reassuring. General rumours of *The Incident* had reached London some days before, and, along with these rumours, letters from Hampden, Stapleton, Fiennes, and the other Parliamentary Commissioners attending the King at Holyrood. These letters conveyed more than was meant for the public ear. Whatever suspicions had been entertained before of some unusual motive in the King's visit to Scotland were now converted into positive belief. Was there no connexion between that plot against Argyle and Hamilton in Scotland, which had happily failed, and some

[1] Letter, in S. P. O., from Thomas Wiseman to Admiral Pennington, of date Oct. 7, reports 239 deaths from Plague in the city in the preceding week.

similar conspiracy by desperate men in England against the Parliament or its popular chiefs? If Scotland had her Montroses, Crawfords, Cochranes, and the like, had not England her Digbys, her Percys, her Wilmots, and army-men of still wilder character, ready for anything; and was it so sure that the two groups were not in correspondence? In these circumstances what could the two Houses do but require Essex, as commander-in-chief for the King south of the Trent, to do as Leslie had done for the Scottish Parliament, and give them a guard of trained-bands?[1]

RESUMED ACTIVITY: THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE.

These necessary preliminaries over, the Commons took up their work precisely at the point where they had left it off. They resumed their dealings with the Lords for bringing the thirteen impeached Bishops to trial, again demanding, through Pym, the sequestration of those Bishops from their places in the Lords till their trial should be over. Not only so; but, on the second day of their sittings (Oct. 21), they introduced a new Bill for the total exclusion of Bishops from Parliament and civil offices, in lieu of the former Bill which the Lords had rejected. This new Bill, which fixed the 10th of November next as the date when it was to come into effect, passed the Commons on the third reading on the 23rd of October, and was on the same day sent up to the Lords, with a request that it might be passed there with all speed, as a Bill which much concerned the good of the Commonwealth. The Commons also insisted that all the Bishops without exception should be suspended from their votes on this particular Bill, so that it should be carried by the votes of the lay peers alone.[2]

Suddenly into the midst of these questions there came a vast and horrible interruption. It was on the 1st of November that the first news of the Irish Insurrection reached London; and for many days men could think of nothing else.

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 910–917; Rushworth, IV. 388 *et seq.*; Clar. Hist. 119; Baillie, I. 391–393.

[2] Commons Journals of Oct. 21 and Oct. 23; Lords Journals of Oct. 23 and Oct. 28; Parl. Hist. II. 916, 917.

Not at first was the worst known; but even from the first enough was known. One can see yet, in the discussions which took place immediately in the two Houses, and in the records of the state of feeling out of doors, the struggle between two passions of nearly equal strength. There was an agony of desire, on the one hand, to send help to the Irish Protestants and put down the insurrection; and there was a dread, on the other hand, lest the King should, in our modern phrase, be able to make political capital out of the emergency, by converting it into a reason for raising an army, ostensibly for immediate service in Ireland, but really for ulterior ends. The one feeling showed itself in resolutions for raising men and money in certain ways as soon as possible, and for meanwhile accepting with thanks the services of 10,000 Scots, under some of Leslie's late officers, offered for Ireland by the Scottish Parliament. For the Irish calamity was being simultaneously discussed in the Scottish Parliament, in the King's own presence or vicinity, and there, owing to circumstances, with greater power to come to a practical conclusion. The Scots could easily spare for Ireland ten thousand of their blue-bonnets recently disbanded from about Newcastle; but, as Ireland belonged to the English crown, it depended on the King and the English Parliament to say whether they would accept such help. The King, on his side, demurred about introducing so many armed Scots into what was a purely English dominion, unless there were to be in the field an English force of equal or greater numbers, and officered by himself. To what use, towards a counter-revolution in England, such an army might be turned could not escape the popular sagacity, even if the King's intentions at the moment were taken in good faith, and those dark suspicions were false which supposed that the King's own hand, or the hand of the Queen for him, might be detected in the Irish Insurrection. The citizens of London let Parliament know that they would be ready with loans and subscriptions for the relief of their Irish Protestant brethren, but would like assurance that the application of the moneys and the conduct of the enterprise should be in the right hands. But the Parliament's own in-

structions, in letters sent by both Houses to their envoys with the King at Edinburgh (Nov. 10), indicate best both the intensity and the complexity of the emotions of the time. "You "shall represent to his Majesty," they say, "this our humble "and faithful declaration that we cannot without much grief "remember the great miseries, burthens and distempers, "which have for divers years afflicted all his kingdoms and "dominions, and brought them to the last point of ruin and "destruction; all which have issued from the cunning, false, "and malicious practices of some of those who have been "admitted into very near places of counsel and authority "about him." They went on to attribute even the Irish Insurrection to the continued influence of these bad counsellors, the removal of whom they prayed for; and they wound up, almost threateningly, thus: "If herein his Majesty shall "not vouchsafe to condescend to our humble supplication, "although we shall always continue, with reverence and "faithfulness to his person and to his crown, to perform "those duties of service and obedience to which by the "laws of God and this kingdom we are obliged, yet we "shall be forced, in discharge of the trust we owe to the State "and those whom we represent, to resolve upon some such "way of defending Ireland from the rebels as may concur to "the securing ourselves from such mischievous counsels and "designs." Here, therefore, there were two new developments of the policy of the party of movement. There was to be an attack, if made necessary by the King's conduct, on his present "evil counsellors;" and there was to be some assumption by Parliament of that power of the Militia, or the arming of the subject, which had hitherto been in the King's prerogative. The Scottish "Incident" had awakened them to the necessity of the first; that and the Irish Insurrection together had suggested the second. It is curious to observe, however, that while the idea of a blow at the "evil counsellors" was Pym's, the suggestion of assuming some control of the Army was Cromwell's. On the 8th of November, or three days before the date of the above-quoted instructions to the English envoys at Edinburgh, Cromwell had moved that the Commons,

while conferring with the Lords as to the lesser of the instructions, should also desire them "that an ordinance of Parliament might pass, to give the Earl of Essex power to assemble, at all times, the trained bands of the kingdom on this side Trent." One sees Pym and Cromwell blended in the letter to Edinburgh.[1]

Meanwhile the roused state of feeling in the Commons had taken a form of expression singularly large and unpractical, as one might suppose now on a hasty view, but the practical importance of which at the time is vouched for by the fact that men like Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell threw their whole strength into it, and that the chiefs of the conservative opposition, including Hyde, Falkland and Colepepper, made equal exertions to secure its defeat. The Movement party had resolved on a great pitched battle between them and the opposition, which should try their relative strengths before the King's return; and they chose to fight this battle over a vast document, which they entitled "A Declaration and Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom," but which has come to be known since as *The Grand Remonstrance*. Of this document, and the debates upon it, a summary account is sufficient here.[2]

The notion of a great general document which, under the name of "A Remonstrance," should present to the King in one view a survey of the principal evils that had crept into the kingdom in his own and preceding reigns, with a detection of their causes, and a specification of the remedies, had more than once been before the Commons. It had been first mooted by Lord Digby while the Parliament was not a week old. Again and again set aside for more immediate work, it had recurred to the leaders of the Movement party, just before

[1] Rushworth, IV. 389 *et seq.*; Parl. Hist. II. 927—936; Baillie, I. 396, 397; Forster's *Grand Remonstrance*, pp. 198, 199.

[2] See Mr. Forster's historical monograph entitled *The Debates on the Grand Remonstrance* (1860)—an admirable specimen of that kind of History, of which we have yet too little, which, fastening on one transaction, or say one month, explores it thoroughly, and accumulates all the information about it that contemporary documents can be made to yield. But, as Mr. Forster takes the *Grand Remonstrance* as a central incident, and goes back into its causes, and follows it into its connexions, his book is an excellent contribution to the general history of the time.

the King's departure for Scotland, as likely to afford the broad battle-ground with the opposition then becoming desirable. "A Remonstrance to be made, how we found the Kingdom and the Church, and how the state of it now stands," such was the description of the then intended document (Aug. 7). The document had doubtless been in rehearsal through the Recess, for on the 8th of November the rough draft of it was presented to the House and read at the clerk's table. When we say that the document in its final form occupies thirteen folio pages of rather close print in Rushworth, and consists of a preamble followed by 206 articles or paragraphs, duly numbered, one can conceive what a task the reading of even the first draft of it must have been, and through what a storm of successive debates over proposed amendments and additions it reached completeness. There had been no such debates yet in the Parliament. The movers, though proposing the document for the King's edification, foresaw that, in its printed form, it would be an appeal to the country and a manifesto to all Europe; and, on the other hand, the opposition were roused to the most strenuous resistance by earnest instructions from the King, sent through the faithful Mr. Nicholas. There were debates on Nov. 9, Nov. 10, Nov. 12, Nov. 15, Nov. 16, Nov. 19, and Nov. 20. Among the earliest speakers on the one side were Cromwell, Strode, Whitlocke, and Sir John Clotworthy, and, on the other, Mr. Geoffrey Palmer, Falkland, Hyde, and Sir Edward Deering. At length, on Saturday Nov. 20, the Remonstrance, having been fought through inch by inch, and clause by clause, was ready, as it seemed, for the final vote. The King being then on his way from Scotland, the movers were urgent that it should be read and finished that night; but this was met by such resolute opposition that Pym yielded, and it was put off till Monday. As the members were leaving the House, Clarendon tells us, Oliver Cromwell asked Falkland why he and his party wanted the adjournment when the matter might have been ended at that sitting. On Falkland's replying that there would surely be some debate on it yet, Cromwell answered, "A very sorry one." But on

the Monday (Nov. 22) Falkland proved to be right. On that day there were no fewer than four divisions, each preceded by a debate. Among the speakers *against* were Hyde, Falkland, Deering, Rudyard, Bagshaw, Colepepper, Orlando Bridgman, Edmund Waller the poet, Mr. Coventry, and Geoffrey Palmer; the burden of replying to whom rested chiefly on Pym, Hampden, Denzil Holles, Glynn, and Maynard. Very rarely did the House in those days, meeting as it did at eight or ten in the morning, sit far into the afternoon; and the bringing in of candles was an exceptional occurrence, requiring a special order. But on this occasion candles were brought in, and on and on the House sat, as if it would never rise. It was past midnight before the question on the third division was put; that question being "Whether this Declaration, so amended, shall pass?". The votes were *Ayes* 159, *Noes* 148, giving a majority of 11 *for* the Remonstrance in what was, at this period of the Long Parliament, a full House. But then ensued a tremendous scene. Mr. Peard, member for Barnstaple (and not, as Clarendon states, Hampden) having moved the printing of the Remonstrance, the Opposition, though such a sequel to the former vote had been pre-supposed all along, made another stand. It was unconstitutional, Hyde and Colepepper argued, for the Commons to proceed to printing any debate or determination of their House not first transmitted regularly to the Lords; and, were the motion persisted in, they should ask leave to enter their protests. This notion of protesting, which the Opposition had reserved to the last, was a novelty. It was customary in the Lords for a minority, or any members of it, to have their names registered as protesting against a decision of the House; but in the Commons it was not the practice, and the consequences were at once apparent of allowing it in this case, and so letting a list of names go forth to the country that should represent a formal league banded against the rest of the House. Nevertheless, the majority would probably have been satisfied with reserving the question of the right to protest for another day's discussion, but for the imprudence of Geoffrey Palmer, who, rising to express his own wish, as one

of the minority, that such a day might be at once fixed, moved meanwhile that the Clerk should take down the names of all who desired to avail themselves of this claim. "All! All!" was the cry that burst from the excited Opposition; "and some," says D'Ewes, "waved their hats over their "heads, and others took their swords in their scabbards out "of their belts, and held them by the pommels in their hands, "setting the lower part on the ground." Carried beyond himself by this enthusiastic uproar, Palmer cried out that he did then and there protest, for himself and all the rest. On both sides now there was the wildest excitement. Sir Philip Warwick, remembering the scene afterwards, thought they would all have sat that morning in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, for, like Joab's and Abner's young men, representing opposite sides by the pool of Gibeon (1 Sam. ii. 12-16), they would have catched at each other's locks and sheathed their swords in each other's bowels. It was thought that only the great presence of mind of Hampden, shown in a few calm words that turned the thoughts of all into a new channel, prevented bloodshed. The motion for immediate printing was waived by the majority, and was converted into a motion that the Remonstrance should not be printed without the particular order of the House. But, Hyde's party trying to extend this into a prohibition of "publishing" as well as "printing," there was the fourth division of the day, defeating Hyde's party again by 124 votes against 101. The clocks were striking two in the morning as the House broke up. "As they went out," says Clarendon, "the lord Falkland "asked Oliver Cromwell whether there *had* been a debate; "to which he answered that he would 'take his word another "time,' and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, "'that, if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have "'sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen "'England more, and he knew there were many other honest "'men of the same resolution.'"[1]

1 Commons Journals of Nov. 20 and 22; Parl. Hist. II. 937—963; Whitlocke's Memorials, I. 148; Clarendon, Hist. 124, 125; but, above all, Mr. Forster's *Grand Remonstrance*, where many details are given.

While the Commons were still occupied with various odds and ends arising out of the great debates of that Monday, the King was back in London. Coming from Theobalds by coach, with the Queen, the royal children, and a great attendance of lords, he reached the City by Moorgate on Thursday Nov. 25. His reception was unusually gorgeous and enthusiastic; for Gurney, the Lord Mayor (knighted on the occasion, with five Aldermen and two Sheriffs), was an especially loyal person, and the people were really glad to see their King again after his eleven weeks among the Picts. The ride from Moorgate to Guildhall was a long and triumphant procession; at Guildhall there was a feast for hours; and from Guildhall to Whitehall there was again a procession, but by torchlight, through the cheering crowds that lined the streets. Poetry, in Latin and English, abounded on the occasion; and the City-poet furnished his special copy of verses. In this piece, London, exulting in the recovery of the King, begs him never to go away again:—

> "But go no more! Leave me no more with fears
> And loyal grief, to spend my Thames in tears!
> Your next return may som due honour miss:
> I shall not then have done my joy for this."[1]

This enthusiastic reception of Charles by the Londoners seems to have confirmed him in a notion which he had formed while in Scotland. His visit to Scotland, indeed, had not turned out quite as he may have hoped. Instead of seeing any such upturning of the Argyle supremacy, and any such re-settling of his own authority on another basis, as Montrose and the other members of the Merchiston House compact had conceived possible, he had been obliged to leave the Presbyterian chiefs, Argyle, Loudoun, Leslie, and Johnstone of Warriston, in full possession, and not only in full possession, but decorated, and recommended to their countrymen by his own royal approbation. Still he had extracted some secret hope from his Scottish visit. He had become better aware of smouldering elements there that

[1] Rushworth, IV. 429—434.

he might trust to in the future; and he had collected information that might burst on some people's heads in the English Parliament when they least expected it! His spirits had clearly risen with his prospect; and he had even ventured, before leaving Edinburgh, to give the Root-and-Branch party in England a foretaste of his determination never to accept their policy.

On reverting to our list of the spiritual Peers or Episcopal Bench at the opening of the Parliament (*antè*, pp. 150, 151), in which list the vacancies by death in that Bench are noted on to the end of April 1641, it will be seen that by the end of that month there were four such vacancies. The Archbishopric of York was vacant, by the death of Neile, since Oct. 31, 1640, or four days before the opening of Parliament; and the Bishoprics of Oxford, Norwich, and Salisbury were vacant by the deaths of Bancroft, Montague, and Davenant, in February 1640-1 and April 1641. To these four vacancies a fifth had been added by the death of Thornborough, Bishop of Worcester, July 19, 1641. That the vacancies had remained so long unfilled—the Archbishopric of York for more than a year, and that when, by Laud's imprisonment, England was left virtually without an Archbishop at all—was a striking indication of the state of feeling on the Church question and of the King's compulsory deference to that state of feeling. Imagine, then, the surprise when the news had come from Scotland that the King was at last bent on filling up these vacancies. What! at a time when the very question of the future existence of Bishops at all in England was vehemently in debate? And from Scotland too? That the King should take the opportunity of his absence from England at all to make the appointments was unpleasant; but that he should do so from Presbyterian Edinburgh! It was more than an insult; it was a sarcasm! It was as if the King, while giving Alexander Henderson his hand to kiss, had winked his royal eye over that reverend Presbyter's back! In short, there had been remonstrances from the English Commons on the subject with the King in Edinburgh, and Oliver Cromwell had carried a motion, by a majority of eighteen, for a conference

with the Lords to desire them to join in a petition for stopping the investiture of the intended new Bishops (Oct. 29). The King, however, had persevered, and either before his leaving Edinburgh, or within a few days afterwards, the vacant sees were actually filled up. To the *Archbishopric of York* was appointed (Dec. 4) our old friend Williams, so long Bishop of Lincoln that it was difficult for his contemporaries to give him his new title. Hall, so long Bishop of Exeter, was made Bishop of Norwich (Nov. 15); Dr. John Prideaux, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, was raised to the Bishopric of Worcester (Nov. 22); Skinner, Bishop of Bristol, was translated to Oxford (Nov. 29); and Duppa, Bishop of Chichester, was translated to Salisbury (Dec. 11). Against Williams's promotion to the Archbishopric, if it were to be filled up at all, nothing could be said, save that Williams, in taking it, had parted with his popularity. But two of the other four, viz. Hall and Skinner, were among the thirteen Bishops whose impeachment for misdemeanour in the Convocation of 1640 was then before the Lords; and Hall, despite all the former respect for him, was now the most conspicuous champion of High Church Episcopacy. It was an aggravation also that, by the arrangements made, four vacant sees remained, to which there might at any time be new appointments. Williams's late see of Lincoln remained vacant, with Hall's of Exeter, Skinner's of Bristol, and Duppa's of Chichester.[1]

This appointment of the new Bishops was not the sole exhibition of the King's revived mood of majesty at the time of his return from the north. He insisted on dismissing the armed guard which Essex had set round the two Houses. Such a guard was unnecessary; he would himself give them a guard.[2] In various minor matters he was politely obstinate.

In the matter of the Grand Remonstrance, however, which had so grievously galled him, Charles was unusually gracious. On the 1st of December, or six days after his return, he received, at Hampton Court Palace, the deputation

[1] Commons Journals, Oct. 29; Parl. Hist. II. 924, 925; Forster's *Grand Remonstrance*, 195; Le Neve's *Fasti*.

[2] Parl. Hist. II. 940, 941.

from the Commons appointed to present the terrible document, together with a shorter Petition that had been drawn up to introduce it. The deputation, as named by the Commons, consisted of twelve members, chosen from both sides—Sir Edward Deering, Sir Ralph Hopton, Lord Fairfax, Lord Grey of Groby, Sir Simonds D'Ewes, Sir Arthur Ingram, Sir James Thynne, Sir Christopher Wray, Sir Richard Wynn, Sir John Corbet, Sir Arthur Haselrig, and Mr. H. Bellasis. For his silver voice and for other reasons, Deering was to act as spokesman. But, though this was a tempting opportunity, Deering thought it better to be absent, and the duty of presenting the Petition and Remonstrance devolved on Sir Ralph Hopton. The deputation began the interview on their knees, but his Majesty raised them. Only the Petition was read, the more unwieldy Remonstrance being left for his Majesty's private perusal. Once or twice, as the petition was being read, his Majesty interjected a brisk remark. Thus, after a passage about malignant persons having a design to change the established religion, "The Devil take him, whosoever he may be!" said the King. He gave the deputation his hand to kiss, and committed them to the Comptroller, who had good cheer waiting for them; but "owing to the weightiness of the business" he put off his answer. He seemed extremely anxious, however, that the Commons should not print the Remonstrance till they had received the answer, and he would fain have had some assurance from Hopton on this point. Hopton could give him none. And so the Remonstrance, of which he, doubtless, had a copy already, was left with his Majesty.[1] It is a document worth reading through yet.[2] I will select one or two paragraphs, and mark in italics one or two passages in these to which the reader ought to pay attention:—

"181. And now what hope have we but in God, whenas the only means of our subsistence, and power of reformation, is, under Him, in the Parliament?

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 942—944; Rushworth, IV. 436—451; Forster's *Grand Remonstrance*, 366—372.

[2] See the Petition and Remonstrance *complete* in Parl. Hist. II. 943—963; Rushworth, IV. 438—451; and Rapin, II. 388—397.

"182. But what can we, the Commons, without the conjunction of the House of Lords? and what conjunction can we expect there, when the Bishops and the Recusant Lords are so numerous and prevalent that they are able to cross and interrupt our best endeavours for Reformation, and by that means give advantage to this malignant party to traduce our proceedings?

"183. They infuse into the people that we mean to abolish all Church Government, and leave every man to his own fancy for the service and worship of God, absolving him of that obedience which he owes, under God, to his Majesty; whom we know to be entrusted with the ecclesiastical law as well as with the temporal, to regulate all the members of the Church of England by such rules of order and discipline as are established by Parliament, *which is the great Council in all affairs, both of Church and State.*

"184. We confess our intention is, and our endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant power which the Prelates have assumed unto themselves, so contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we passed the Bill for removing them from their temporal power and employments, that so the better they might with meekness apply themselves to the discharge of their functions; which Bill themselves opposed, and were the principal instruments of crossing it.

"185. And we do here declare that *it is far from our purpose or desire to let loose the golden reins of Discipline and Government in the Church, to leave private persons or particular congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they please; for we hold it requisite that there should be throughout the whole realm a conformity to that order which the Laws enjoin according to the Word of God.* And we desire to unburthen the consciences of men of needless and superstitious ceremonies, suppress innovations, and take away the monuments of idolatry.

"186. And, the better to effect the intended Reformation, *we desire there may be a General Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted by some from foreign parts professing the same Religion with us,* who may consider of all things necessary for the peace and good government of the Church, and represent the results of their consultations to Parliament, to be there allowed and confirmed, and receive the stamp of authority, thereby to find passage and obedience throughout the kingdom."

The day after the presentation of the Petition and Grand Remonstrance (Dec. 2) the King, coming to Parliament for the first time since his return, complained of the want of confidence in him, and especially of dilatoriness in the Irish business.[1] Accordingly, for the next fortnight the Irish

[1] King's Speech: Parl. Hist. II. 966, 967.

Insurrection occupied both Houses. Not the less at the same time were the Commons busy with other discussions. They discussed the necessity of another guard than that which the King was willing to give them. They occupied themselves with inquiries into late Army-plots, with the project of a Bill for settling the Militia of the kingdom, and with complaints of that obstructiveness of the Lords which, experienced all along, had become exasperating now. Daily there were skirmishes between Hyde, Falkland, Colepepper, and others of that side, and Pym, Strode, Haselrig, and other members of the majority. Out of doors, too, the state of matters was critical. The King was mistaken if he imagined that his enthusiastic reception on his return implied acquiescence in whatever he might do. Though Gurney was mayor, almost all London, from the wealthiest merchants down to the prentices, were with the Parliament. Cries of "No Bishops!" "No Popish Lords!" were heard in the streets, and surgings of rough-looking crowds towards Westminster began to be frequent. A monster petition from the City, complaining of the delay in the question of Bishops' votes and the obstruction of the Peers, was brought to the Commons, Dec. 11, by twelve leading citizens, introduced by Alderman Pennington. It measured twenty-four yards in length, and contained about 15,000 names.[1]

Any blunder on either side might now give the other an advantage. As Pym never blundered, it was easy to know who would. On Friday the 14th of December the King came again to the Lords, the Commons being summoned to meet him. They were still too slow, he told them, in the pressing business of relief for Ireland. Then, adverting particularly to a Bill for pressing soldiers for Ireland which had passed the Commons and was before the Lords, he was incautious enough to say he would pass the Bill if it answered his notions of prerogative, and to recommend that, for this purpose, it should take such and such a form. Hardly was the King's back turned when the two Houses were in flame over this

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 967, 968; Forster's *Grand Remonstrance*, 372—399.

breach of the privileges of Parliament. Resolutions were passed by both Houses condemning the act (for in so flagrant a case the Lords had no option); and these resolutions were embodied two days afterwards (Dec. 16) in a Petitionary Remonstrance to be presented to the King. It was presented by a large deputation of Lords and Commons, with the new Archbishop of York at their head.[1]

Meanwhile (Dec. 14) the Commons had ordered, by a majority of 135 to 83, the printing of their grand Petition and Remonstrance, which the King had not yet answered. His answer, so called forth, followed as speedily as possible. It can hardly have been satisfactory to most. Here, for example, was his Majesty's reply to the Commons on the subject of the Parliamentary power of Bishops: "For depriving of the "Bishops of their votes in Parliament, we would have you "consider that their right is grounded upon the fundamental "law of the kingdom and constitution of Parliament. This "we would have you consider; but, since you desire our con- "currence herein in a Parliamentary way, we will give you "no further answer at this time." On the general subject of Church Reform he was even less complaisant. He was not unwilling "to call a National Synod" if the Parliament so advised, but was sorry to hear there was so much work for such a Synod, inasmuch as he was persuaded there was not a purer Church on earth than the Church of England at that time. This purity he was resolved, while he lived, to maintain, "not only against all invasions of Popery, but also from the "irreverence of those many Schismatics and Separatists "wherewith of late this kingdom and this city abounds." These passages occurred in the answer to the Petition accompanying the Remonstrance; but in the answer to the Remonstrance itself there was this sentence: "We cannot

[1] Clarendon distinctly says that it was Solicitor-General St. John that advised the King to the imprudent act of interfering with a Bill while it was pending in Parliament. Mr. Forster (*Grand Remonstrance*, p. 400, note) thinks this a strange assertion in the face of the fact that the Parliament requested the King to name his advisers. It would have been with glee, Mr. Forster thinks, that he would have named St. John. Mr. Forster believes that Colepepper and Hyde himself were the persons suspected at the time.

"without grief of heart, and without some tax upon our-"self and our Ministers for the not executing of our laws, "look upon the bold licence of some men in printing of "pamphlets, in preaching and printing of sermons, so full of "bitterness and malice against the present Government and "the laws established." Milton and the Smectymnuans, among others, might lay these words to heart.[1]

TUMULTS IN LONDON: ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS'S BLUNDER.

The last fortnight of December 1641, and especially the Christmas week, was a time of tumult in London. It was a season of stormy weather at sea and on land, ending towards Christmas in severe frost and snow. The populace were boisterous in the streets, mobbing up from the city through wind and snow to the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall. There were also meetings at night in Southwark and elsewhere. For the crisis was becoming desperate. In the matter of his breach of Parliamentary privilege on the 14th, indeed, the King had become decidedly apologetic. The Lords were necessarily with the Commons in that matter, and he had seen his error. But was it true that he had removed Sir William Balfour from his post of Lieutenant of the Tower—removed the trusty Balfour, and appointed in his stead the notorious Colonel Lunsford?[2] It was too true. The rumour ran through the city on the 22nd; and on subsequent days there were debates in the Commons on the subject, and an agreement to remonstrate with the King. In this, however, the Lords, on the ground that the Tower was wholly in his Majesty's hands, refused to concur, though twenty-two lords protested against the refusal. Every one saw that the appointment of Lunsford had a meaning, and it was dreadful to speculate what the meaning might be. So violent was the feeling on the subject that, within a day or two, the King cancelled the appointment,

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 968—979; and Rapin, II. 398—400.

[2] "A man outlawed and most notorious for outrages" is the description of Lunsford given by some Common Councilmen and other citizens of London in a petition to the Commons.

giving Lunsford a knighthood and 500*l.* in compensation, and appointing Sir John Byron in his room. The concession was too late, even had Byron been a popular substitute for Lunsford. Christmas that year fell on a Saturday. On Monday the 27th—Boxing-day, as the Londoners call it now, and perhaps called it then—greater crowds of citizens and prentices than ever were gathered round the two Houses in Westminster, blocking up the narrow streets in the neighbourhood. As, for several days, there had been alarm at such gatherings, Whitehall was guarded, and inside were many King's officers (*Cavaliers*, as they began about this time to be called) looking out on the mob with no goodwill. Jeers passed, taunts between the mob and the soldiers, till at last the hot-blooded officers sallied out with their swords, and cut and slashed. There were similar scenes round the two Houses and about the doors of the Abbey, but especially in Westminster Hall, which was the chief access to the Houses, and where the shops and booths, then permitted there, had been shut up by their proprietors in terror.[1]

The hero of one of these scenes was no less than Archbishop Williams. He had been Archbishop of York, it is to be remembered, for little more than three weeks—a short time to have enjoyed the dignity of being the only Archbishop in the House of Peers, and therefore virtually the first man there.[2] Never favourable to an extreme limitation of the power of Bishops, and having indeed, in his own draft-scheme of a new constitution for the Church, expressly reserved for the Bishops their seats in the Lords, he had not had his views on the point abated by his brief experience of Archiepiscopal glory. When, therefore, the rabble came round the Houses of Parlia-

[1] The following is from the Lords Journals, Dec. 27, 1641. "There being a concourse of people about the "Parliament doors and the places adjoining, the Gentleman Usher was "directed to go and command them, in "the King's name, to be gone, and disperse themselves to their places of "abode, or else they shall be proceeded "against according to law. The Gentleman Usher returned this answer to the "House—That he had commanded the "people, in the King's name, to be "gone; and they are willing so to do, but "they say they dare not, because there "is Col. Lunsford, with other soldiers, "in Westminster Hall, that lie in wait "for them with their swords drawn; and "that some of them that were going "through Westminster Hall home have "been wounded and cut on their heads "by the said soldiers."

[2] In the Lords Journals I find almost every committee during the time under notice headed by "the L. Archbp. of Yorke."

ment crying "No Bishops," "No Bishops," Williams's indignation at the outrage transcended that of the lay lords. He was a man of good stately presence, and his hot Welsh blood was apt to overboil. Accordingly, "the Bishop of "Lincoln," says Rushworth, still calling him by his former title, "coming, along with the Earl of Dover, towards the "House of Peers, observing a youth to cry out against the "Bishops, the rest of the citizens being silent, slipt from the "Earl of Dover, and laid hands on him; whereupon the "citizens withheld the youth from him, and about one "hundred of them, coming about his lordship, hemmed him "in that he could not stir; and then all of them with a loud "voice cried out 'No Bishops,' and so let his lordship, the "Bishop, go." We learn from other authorities that not only was the Archbishop jostled and hustled, but his robes were torn. "But," continues Rushworth, "there being three or "four gentlemen walking near, one of them, named David "Hyde, a reformado in the late army against the Scots, and "now appointed to go in some command into Ireland, began "to bustle, and said he would cut the throats of those round-"headed dogs that bawled against Bishops (which passionate "expression of his, as far as I could ever learn, was the first "minting of that term or compellation of *Roundheads*, which "afterwards grew so general), and, saying so, drew his sword, "and desired the other gentlemen to second him; but, they "refusing, he was apprehended by the citizens." Lunsford himself, however, was at hand; and during the rest of the day he and some thirty or forty more were in possession of Westminster Hall and the neighbourhood, charging among the crowd every now and then with drawn swords.[1]

But who could have guessed what was to follow? Fuming with rage from his hustling on the 27th, Archbishop Williams had shut himself up in his residence, the Deanery of Westminster, thinking what he should do next. What he did do only proved what extraordinary blunders the most experienced

[1] Lords Journals, Dec. 27 *et seq.*; Rushworth, IV. 459—464; Clarendon, History, p. 135—140; Rapin, II. 403; Fuller's Church History, III. 430, 431; Mr. Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, pp. 67—81.

man may commit when goaded beyond himself. A guard of soldiers was found in the churchyard of the Abbey; and, when it was asked by whose command they were there, the answer was, "By the Lord Archbishop of York's." This assumption of military authority was being remarked on by the Commons, and would probably itself have led to some action against the Archbishop, when he saved them the trouble by a more flagrant piece of imprudence, which involved not only himself, but also most of his Episcopal colleagues. Inviting all his fellow-Prelates that chanced to be in town at the moment to a conference in the Deanery, Williams proposed that they should agree in a joint protest, which, dipping his pen in the ink, he proceeded then and there to draw up. In this document, addressed to the King and the House of Lords, the petitioners declare, after some preamble, that, inasmuch as they "have been "at several times violently menaced, affronted, and assaulted "by multitudes of people in their coming to perform their "services in that honourable House, and lately chased away "and put in danger of their lives," they dare not again sit and vote in the House until they are secured against the recurrence of such insults; and then, observing that "their "fears are not built upon phantasies and conceits, but "upon such grounds and objects as may well terrify men of "resolution and much constancy," they formally protest before his Majesty and the House of Peers "against all laws, "orders, votes, resolutions, and determinations, as in them-"selves null and of none effect, which, in their absence, since "the 27th of this instant month of December 1641, have "already passed, as likewise against all such as shall here-"after pass, in that most honourable House during the time "of this their forced and violent absence from the said "most honourable House." They conclude by desiring his Majesty to command the Clerk of the Peers to enter the Protest among his records. That a set of sane men, experienced in laws and forms, should have joined in such an act might appear incredible. Nevertheless, trusting apparently that Williams, who had once been Lord Keeper, knew what he was about, all the Prelates present signed the Protest, and one

or two others, who were not present, but within reach, added their names afterwards, almost without reading the document. Accordingly, when Williams, with the paper in his pocket, went to Whitehall to present it to the King, there were twelve signatures to it. Williams's own was first, and under it were those of Morton of Durham, Wright of Lichfield and Coventry, Hall of Norwich, Owen of St. Asaph, Pierce of Bath and Wells, Coke of Hereford, Skinner of Oxford, Wren of Ely, Goodman of Gloucester, Towers of Peterborough, and Owen of Llandaff.[1]

It would have been well for the Bishops had Charles put the document in the fire. Unfortunately, the Lord Keeper, Littleton, chanced to be present; and Charles, not foreseeing the consequences, handed it to him to be recorded in the Peers' books. Duly, therefore, on Thursday Dec. 30, the Lord Keeper announced to the House his Majesty's command, and the Protest was read. Instantly the Lords requested a conference with the Commons on a matter of "high and dangerous consequence," not affecting the Lords only, but "extending to the deep entrenching upon the fundamental privileges and being of Parliament." The conference was held, and the Commons saw their opportunity. Here they had been for some months moving Bills for the exclusion of Bishops from Parliament. Unsuccessful in that, they had, by way of a step in the same direction, sought to incapacitate thirteen of the Bishops by a special impeachment on account of their misdemeanours in the Convocation of 1640. In this too they were meeting with delay and obstruction. But now, by an event perfectly providential, power was put into their hands. Twelve Bishops, among whom were ten of those already impeached, had walked into a trap made by themselves. They had walked into a trap and shut the door. They had done an act which the Lords themselves were bound to punish. On the afternoon of that same day, accordingly, a message having been brought up from the Commons by Mr. Glynn, accusing the twelve Prelates of high treason for

[1] Clar. Hist. pp. 140, 141; Rushworth, IV. 468 *et seq.*; Parl. Hist. II. 993 *et seq.* Fuller's Church Hist. III. 431—433.

endeavouring in their Protest "to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm and the being of Parliament," the Lords immediately ordered the twelve to be brought before them. Arrested that evening, brought in one by one by the Gentleman Usher, and informed of the accusation against them, they pleaded ignorance and haste, disclaimed all treasonable intention, and besought mercy. Thereupon, about eight o'clock, ten of them were sent off through the dark frosty evening as prisoners to the Tower; the other two, Morton and Wright, on account of their age and infirmities, being committed to the milder, but more expensive, custody of the Gentleman Usher. Another Bishop, Curle of Winchester, who was then in the House, and who was one of the thirteen previously impeached, was required to disown the Protest which his brethren had signed, before he was allowed to continue in the House.[1]

Thus, on the last day of the year 1641, Laud, in his prison in the Tower, knew that he had as his companions there, in other rooms, a whole bevy of the Bishops whom he had left at large about a year before, including his old enemy Williams. They were to be his companions there for eighteen weeks. Interchanges of courteous messages passed between Laud and them during this time; but the old man could not but enjoy the joke when he was shown a caricature in which Williams was represented as the Decoy-duck, set at liberty, according to the practice of farmers in his old Lincoln diocese, that he might inveigle wilder ducks into the net. Indeed, by this act of Williams, England was all but cleared of Bishops for the time. Only seven Prelates now remained at large—Curle of Winchester, Warner of Rochester, Bridgman of Chester, Roberts of Bangor, Mainwaring of St. David's, Duppa of Salisbury, Prideaux of Worcester, and Potter of Carlisle. This last, the popular or "Puritan" Bishop, was on his death-bed. He died Jan. 1641-2. Of the others, most of whom, if

[1] Lords Journals, Dec. 30, 1641. The Bishops who seem to have been most resolute in their appearance were Williams himself, Wren, and Coke. They simply declined saying anything. The others expressed penitence—Morton saying that "this was the greatest misery that ever befell him," and Hall, that "this was the heaviest affliction that ever came upon him."

not all, had only escaped Williams's decoy by the accident of their not being in town at the moment, several were already in virtual retirement. In fact, from December 1641, though the question of Episcopacy was still so far from being settled that subsequent appointments to Bishoprics, presently to be noticed, did take place, Bishops as a body disappear for nearly twenty years from the history of England.[1]

CHARLES'S COUP D'ÉTAT, OR ATTEMPTED ARREST OF THE FIVE MEMBERS.

After the tumults of Christmas 1641, and the mishap to the twelve Bishops, Charles appears to have been at the end of his wits. For a day or two there seems to have been a thought of yielding everything, and bringing Pym into the King's counsels as the only pilot who could weather the storm. Only for a day or two, however. Immediately there was a rebound.

Since the King's return from Scotland he had been trying to remodel his Privy Council so as to bring its composition nearer to his own mind. Thus, on the very day after his return (Nov. 26), not content with having already deprived Sir Henry Vane the Elder of his office of Treasurer of the Household and conferred that office on Lord Savile, he had ejected Vane from his Ministry altogether, by depriving him of the Secretaryship of State—which office (or rather the joint Secretaryship vacant by Windebank's flight) he bestowed on the faithful Mr. Nicholas, thenceforward known as Sir Edward Nicholas, or Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and having Mr. Sidney Bere as his under-secretary. Here, consequently, by way of sample, was the attendance at a Council-meeting at Whitehall on the 11th of December:—the King, the Lord Privy Seal (*i.e.* the Earl of Manchester), the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Lord Chamberlain (*i.e.* the Earl of Essex, who had superseded the Earl of Pembroke in that office), the Earl of Dorset,

[1] Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, pp. 100—103; Fuller's Church Hist. III. 434.

the Earl of Bristol, the Earl of Holland, the Earl of Berkshire, Viscount Saye and Sele, Lord Savile, Lord Dunsmore, Lord Goring, Lord Newburgh, Mr. Comptroller (*i.e.* Sir Thomas Jermyn), Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and the Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas (*i.e.* Sir John Banks).[1] It is clear that this was not yet a working Ministry to Charles's mind; and, in fact, as we know, his real advisers at the time were one or two persons not nominally in the Ministry at all. The chief of these were Lord Digby, Lord Falkland, Sir John Colepepper, and Mr. Hyde. To bring the last three, as leaders of the Opposition in the Commons, openly into the Ministry had for some time been Charles's intention; and just about New Year's Day 1641-2 that intention was carried into effect so far as Falkland and Colepepper were concerned. Falkland was to be one of the principal Secretaries of State, or, in other words, joint Secretary with Nicholas; and Colepepper was to take the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, vacant since the resignation of that office by Lord Cottington, and was to hold the office "for life." Although the appointments were not, as we should now say, *gazetted* till about a week into January, they had been virtually made on New Year's Day. On that day both Falkland and Colepepper took their oaths as Privy Councillors.[2] The King was very anxious to bring Mr. Hyde also into the Council and Ministry; but, though Hyde strongly recommended his friend Falkland to take office, and was the means of overcoming Falkland's scruples, he preferred remaining without office himself in the meantime. Accordingly Hyde, as well as his friend Lord Digby, remained out of the nominal Ministry.[3] There was brought into it, however, by way of compensation, the loyal young Earl of Southampton. He was sworn of the Privy Council and took his seat there Jan. 3, 1641-2.

The New Year's Day, Jan. 1, 1641-2, on which Falkland and Colepepper took their seats in the Privy Council, was a

[1] Minute of Council meeting of this date in State Paper Office.

[2] Mr. Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, p. 111. I find both Falkland and Colepepper signing along with other Privy Councillors a licence, dated Jan. 1, 1641-2, to a Thos. Filbrick to travel abroad (S. P. O. document of that date).

[3] Clar. 136, 137 (Hist.), and 938, 939 (Life).

Saturday. On the previous Thursday, Dec. 30, the very day of the imprisonment of the twelve Bishops, Pym had warned the Commons, within closed doors, of some "design" to be executed that very day upon the House of Commons, for the frustration of which it was necessary that they should apply to the City for a guard of trained bands. Pym's expressions being enigmatical, and the information on which he acted being such as he could not properly divulge, the Commons were contented that day with a new petition to the King for a guard under Essex. The following day, however, Denzil Holles, who had delivered the petition verbally to the King, having reported that his Majesty required it to be in writing, the Commons, while drawing up the petition, required three of their body, who were justices of the peace for Westminster, to set armed watches at convenient places round the House, and at the same time ordered a number of halberds to be brought into the House for the use of members in case of extremity. This was on Friday, the last day of the year; and, the next day being New Year's Day, and the day after that Sunday, there was no meeting of the House till Monday Jan. 3. Nothing had happened, and Pym's information seemed to have been defective.[1]

But, though he had been mistaken as to the day, Pym was right in fact. On the morning of Monday, the 3rd of January, the two Houses met as usual. In the Commons there was read the King's answer to their petition of the preceding Friday. If his own general assurance that he would protect them was not enough, he would give them such a guard as they wanted. But he did meanwhile give them that general assurance: "We do engage unto you solemnly the word of a "King that the security of all and every one of you from "violence is, and shall ever be, as much our care as the pre-"servation of us and our children."[2] While this was being read in the Commons, what was passing in the other House? This was what was passing:—The Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, having been called upon by the Lord Keeper

[1] Mr. Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, pp. 105—112.

[2] See Answer itself in Parl. Hist. II. 1004, 1005.

to make a communication with which his Majesty had entrusted him, stood up at the Clerk's table, and, in the name of his Majesty, presented Articles of High Treason against Lord Kimbolton (Viscount Mandeville), a member of that House, and Mr. Denzil Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. John Pym, Mr. John Hampden, and Mr. William Strode, members of the House of Commons. The Articles were seven in number. The first was a general accusation of having "traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of this kingdom;" the second, an accusation of having traitorously aspersed his Majesty and his Government, so as to make him odious; the third, an accusation of having tampered with the army; the fourth, an accusation of having "traitorously invited and encouraged a foreign power [the Scots] to invade his Majesty's kingdom of England;" and the other three Articles related to recent events, including the Christmas tumults. The Attorney-General expressed his Majesty's desire that a Secret Committee should be appointed to examine the evidence which his Majesty would produce in support of the charges, and that meanwhile the accused should be taken into safe custody. The Lords, though in no small agitation, behaved firmly. They listened to Lord Kimbolton, who, standing up in his place in the House, hotly denied the charges and challenged investigation. Instead of appointing the Secret Committee required, they appointed a committee to inquire into "precedents" touching the regularity of the accusation," and they took no steps for the arrest of the accused. And here, according to Clarendon, Lord Digby, who was the secret mover of the whole business, utterly failed to do his part. "The Lord Digby," says Clarendon, "had promised the King to move the "House for the commitment of Lord Kimbolton as soon as "the Attorney-General should have accused him; which, if "he had done it, would probably have raised a very hot dis-"pute in the House, when many would have joined him. "On the contrary, he seemed the most surprised and perplexed "with the Attorney's impeachment; and, sitting at that "time next the Lord Kimbolton, with whom he pretended to

"live with much friendship, he whispered him in the ear with "some commotion (as he had a rare talent at dissimulation) "'that the King was very mischievously advised, and it "'should go very hard but he would know whence that "'counsel proceeded; in order to which, and to prevent "'farther mischief, he would go immediately to his Majesty.'" So saying, Lord Digby left the House. Meanwhile the great news had reached the Commons. While that House, after hearing the King's answer to their petition for a guard, was proceeding with other business, word was brought that several persons were then at the chambers of Mr. Pym, Mr. Holles, Mr. Hampden, and other members, seizing their papers, and sealing up trunks and doors of wardrobes. The House immediately ordered the arrest of such persons, and sent to request the Lords to confer with them on this breach of Parliamentary privilege. The conference was held, and out of it grew a farther conference between committees appointed by both Houses. While the committees were absent on this business, however, the serjeant-at-arms sent in notice that he had a message to the Commons from the King. Admitted to the bar of the House without his mace, he delivered his message. It was that he was commanded to "require of Mr. Speaker" five gentlemen, members of the House, and, "these gentlemen being delivered," to "arrest them, in his Majesty's name, of high treason." He concluded by naming the five—"Mr. Holles, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Pym, Mr. Hampden, Mr. William Strode." The serjeant-at-arms having withdrawn, the House, who knew by this time what had already happened in the Lords, appointed a deputation of their own number, consisting of Colepepper, Lord Falkland, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir John Hotham, to wait upon his Majesty and inform him that his message was one of great consequence, concerning as it did the privilege of Parliament, but that they would take care that the five gentlemen named should be "ready to answer any legal charge laid against them." Accordingly, Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode were, one by one, enjoined by the Speaker, in the House's name, to attend duly in their places till the matter should be decided. Some farther orders

of both Houses, growing out of their conference, ended the business of this important day.[1]

But next day, Tuesday Jan. 4, was still more important. Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode were duly in their places, according to injunction, and the forenoon in both Houses was spent in discussions and orders arising out of what had occurred. Each of the five accused in the Commons spoke at length in his own defence, all "protesting their innocency;" and, about twelve o'clock, the House adjourned for an hour. When the House had resumed its sitting between one and two o'clock, and it had been officially noted by the Speaker's order that the five accused had again taken their places, and some members were speaking of ominous signs of armed gatherings round the King at Whitehall, there occurred the unparalleled incident which is thus abruptly noticed in the *Commons' Journals*:—

"His Majesty came into the House, and took Mr. Speaker's chair.

"Gentlemen,

"I am very sorry to have this occasion to come unto you * * *"

Here the entry breaks off, as if the excitement of the scene had paralysed the clerks at their work. But there remain ample and exact accounts of the scene by various hands, substantially to this effect:—When the House was already full, and the five accused had taken their seats, but, in consequence of secret information just received that the King meant to come in person to demand their arrest, a debate had arisen whether they should not retire, word was brought that the King had actually left Whitehall at the head of a large body of armed men and was approaching the House. Immediately it was urged that, to prevent the obvious consequences of an attempt to seize them in the House, the five should withdraw. They all did so willingly, with the exception of Strode, who had to be forced out by his friends.

[1] Lords Journals, Jan. 3, 1641-2; Commons Journals, same date; Rushworth, IV. 473—476; Parl. Hist. II. 1005—1009; Clar. Hist. p. 143.

They had not got to the barge waiting for them at the river-side when Charles, with a band of some four or five hundred attendants, consisting of his own usual guard together with pensioners, army-officers, &c., armed with swords, pistols, and other weapons, arrived at Westminster Hall. The shops and stalls there had been shut up in alarm; and, the armed men having formed themselves into two lines along the whole length of the Hall, the King advanced along the lane so formed, and, ascending the stairs at the other end leading to the Commons House, passed through the lobby into that House, "where never King was, as they say, but once Henry the Eighth." A considerable number of officers and others pressed after him, as far as the door, which they forcibly kept open that they might see what passed within. Captain David Hyde, the inventor of the term "Roundhead," stood just outside the door, holding his sword upright in its scabbard; and just inside, leaning against the door, was the Scottish Earl of Roxburgh. When the King entered, followed only by his nephew, the Elector Palatine, all the members rose and took off their hats, the King also removing his. Glancing at the place on the right near the bar where Pym used to sit, but not seeing his well-known face there, the King passed up, still glancing right and left, and the members bowing, till he came to the Speaker's chair; where, Lenthall stepping forth to meet him, he said, "Mr. Speaker, I must borrow your chair a little," and so stood on the step of the chair, but did not sit down. There was a long pause; and then the King, who usually spoke indistinctly, and with much stammering, addressed the House in a speech which, fortunately, John Rushworth, the assistant-clerk of the House, had sufficient presence of mind, or sense of duty, to take down as it was spoken, in shorthand. "Gentlemen," he said, "I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. "Yesterday I sent a serjeant-at-arms upon a very important "occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were "accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, "and not a message." Then, after some words to the effect that in cases of treason there could be no privilege, he

continued, "Therefore I am come to know if any of those persons that were accused are here." Then, looking round, he said by way of parenthesis, "I do not see any of them: I think I should know them." There was another sentence, to the effect that the House could not be in a right way while such persons were in it, ending "Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them, wheresoever I find them." Then again, interrupting himself, the King called out "Is Mr. Pym here?" to which nobody made answer. Turning to the Speaker, who was standing by the chair, his Majesty asked *him* whether any of the persons accused were in the House, and, if so, where. "May it please your Majesty," said Lenthall, kneeling, "I have neither eyes to see nor "tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased "to direct me, whose servant I am here; and I humbly beg "your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer "than this to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of "me." The King replied, "Well, well! 'tis no matter: I think my eyes are as good as another's," and continued to look about. Not finding what he wanted, he resumed: "Well, "since I see all my birds are flown, I do expect from you "that you will send them unto me as soon as they return "hither," adding a few words, chiefly in repetition of phrases already uttered, and concluding, "otherwise I must take "my own course to find them." Then, descending from where he was, he left the House, with much show of passion, followed by the Prince Palatine, but not without hearing loud cries, *Privilege! Privilege!* shot after him by many of the members as he passed through their ranks.[1] One fancies Cromwell's face on the occasion, and how *it* looked.

What might have been the consequence had the Five members been present, and the King had called in his armed followers to seize them, can hardly be imagined. Not improbably there would have been a general strife on the floor of the House, in which the members would have

[1] Commons Journals of date in question; Rushworth, IV. 477, 478; Parl. Hist. II. 1009–1011; but see, for a conspectus and digest of all the accounts (including Rushworth's original notes) Mr. Forster's *Arrest of the Five Members*, pp. 179—195.

been overpowered and many of them killed, but the King himself might have fared badly.[1] As it was, the happy precaution of the absence of the Five converted the attempted *coup d'état* into a failure. It was a failure so egregious that the King must almost immediately have repented of his act. It is true he maintained the high vein of kingly indignation for a day or two more. He sent for John Rushworth, and, having procured from him a copy of his speech, extended from the shorthand notes which Rushworth had taken in the House, he amended the speech in a few particulars and had it published. He issued a proclamation for the arrest of the Five wherever they might chance to be. Nay, knowing that they were in the City, he went into the City himself, to talk with the Mayor and Corporation, dine with one of the Sheriffs, and ascertain whether the City would to any extent stand by him against the Parliament. Digby, knowing the very house in Coleman Street where the Five were hid, even proposed to go, with Lunsford and a chosen band of determined men, and take them by force or leave them dead. But all was in vain. The City, at first panic-stricken, had roused itself in universal commotion round the Five celebrities it sheltered. To the cry of *Arm! Arm!* which had run through the streets and into the suburbs, as many as 140,000 are said to have responded, armed in every fashion; and a temporary commander for this force, if it should be required, was at hand in Philip Skippon, a plain veteran who had served in the Low Countries, originally as a waggoner to Sir Francis Vere, but, having risen to a Captaincy, had become a teacher of fencing and the pike and musket exercise in London, and was now well-known and popular in the city as Captain of the Artillery Garden.[2]

The conduct of the Parliament meanwhile was masterly. Meeting on the day after the outrage, to declare it a breach of privilege, and the like, the Commons had ad-

[1] According to D'Ewes, the plan agreed upon, had the Five been in the House, and the House had refused to give them up, was for his Majesty to have retired back to the entrance lobby, where his most eager followers were waiting, and there given them the signal. But D'Ewes asks whether it is likely that they would have waited long enough to see his Majesty safe.

[2] Rushworth, IV. 478—480; Walker's *Hist. of Independency*, Part I. p. 116.

journed their sittings for six days; having ordered, however, that a committee, which all members might attend, should meet meanwhile daily at Guildhall or elsewhere in the City. The Lords also adjourned; so that virtually, for six days, the Parliament was within the city of London. In short, the King's own friends in the City had to advise him that nothing could be done. His reluctance to believe this was shown by his re-issuing (Jan. 8) a proclamation for the arrest of the Five. This was met on the part of the Commons' committee in the City by a reply which justified prospectively whatever the citizens might find it necessary to do in defence, and by an order constituting Skippon Major-General of the Militia of the City, with special instructions to guard the Tower. At length, on the 10th of January, convinced that farther proceedings were hopeless, and not able to abide the spectacle of the re-assembling of Parliament in Westminster, with the Five in triumph in the midst of them, Charles left Whitehall (which he was to see no more till his last return to it), and went first to Hampton Court, and thence to Windsor. He was accompanied by the Queen, the Prince of Wales, the Prince Elector, Secretary Nicholas, and a few lords.[1]

KING AWAY FROM LONDON; PARLIAMENT MASTER OF THE FIELD: BISHOPS' EXCLUSION BILL PASSED: THE MILITIA QUESTION.

The King having withdrawn, Parliament was master of the field. Accordingly, from its triumphant re-assembling on the 11th of January, with the Five members in the midst, conveyed with shouts and cheers up the river from the City, there were two months of almost uninterrupted progress on their part, the King only hearing of their proceedings as he moved about from place to place, and having intercourse with them by message and letter.

First of all, there was the sweep of revenge against the

[1] The events between the 4th and the 11th of Jan., here compressed into one or two paragraphs, are narrated in detail by Mr. Forster: *Arrest of the Five Members*, pp. 195—387.

agents, or supposed agents, in the late attempted *coup d'état.* Attorney-General Herbert, Lord Digby, the Duke of Richmond, Sir John Byron, Colonel Lunsford, and others, were all struck at, or threatened. An example, collaterally, was made of Sir Edward Deering, whose recent backing towards the King's side on the Grand Remonstrance, and even on the question of Bishops, had lost him his former popularity, and who had brought himself under censure by publishing some of his speeches in the House, with accompanying reflections, so as to set himself right with the public. The book was voted scandalous and dishonourable to the House, and ordered to be burnt by the hangman; Deering himself was expelled the House, and committed to the Tower for a few days; and a new writ was issued for the County of Kent (Feb. 2).[1] And Deering's case was but a sample. "Malignants and evil counsellors" was the phrase that now went and came between the two Houses. It was a phrase that hung over the heads of many more than were as yet denounced individually.[2] Even the Queen began to be named as a fit object for impeachment.

But the Commons took farther advantage of the occasion than by merely denouncing individual malignants. They brought forward again the questions they had formerly been pressing. They besieged the Lords more vehemently with these questions than ever before; they dashed them, as it were, against the doors of that House, with calls to it either to cease the policy of obstruction, or to be obstructive still and take the consequences. This determination of the Commons either to hurry the Lords with them, or to sweep through them and past them, was specially apparent in a conference between the two Houses on the 25th of January. The conference was nominally occasioned by new petitions for Reformation in Church and State which had been sent in

[1] Commons Journals, Feb. 2, 1641-2.

[2] According to Fuller (Church Hist. III. 443), who seems, however, only to say here what others were saying, the word *malignant* was first coined in England in or about 1642. He gives two fantastic derivations of it, or of its Latin original—*malus ignis*, "bad fire," and *malum lignum*, "bad wood." But the word occurs at least seventy years before this date in Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland.* It may have been imported from Scotland into England.

from various English counties; but really it was on the general state of affairs. Pym, who was the spokesman of the Commons, made an address to the Lords, after the petitions had been read, the key-word of which was *Obstruction*. He played upon this word; he iterated and reiterated it, with that sense of the importance of a well-chosen phrase which marks the accustomed orator. There was Obstruction, he said, everywhere and in every direction. There was Obstruction to Reformation in matters of Religion; there was Obstruction in Trade; there was Obstruction to the Relief of Ireland; there was Obstruction to Prosecution of Delinquents; there was general Obstruction to the proceedings of Parliament; and there was Obstruction to providing for the Defence of the Kingdom. Every time that the word "Obstruction" passed Pym's lips, it must have been like a lash administered to the Peers. But he did not leave his intention to be inferred. "I am now come to a conclusion," he said in peroration, "and I have nothing to propound to "your lordships by way of request or desire from the House "of Commons. I doubt not but your judgment will tell you "what is to be done: your consciences, your honours, your "interests, will call upon you for the doing of it. The Com-"mons will be glad to have your concurrence and help in "saving of the kingdom; but, if they fail of it, it should not "discourage them in doing their duty. And, whether the "kingdom be lost or saved (but I hope, through God's bless-"ing, it will be saved), they shall be sorry that the story "of this present Parliament should tell posterity that, in "so great a danger and extremity, the House of Commons "should be enforced to save the kingdom alone, and that the "House of Peers should have no part in the honour of the "preservation of it." This was strong language; but it was followed by stronger. In a message from the Commons to the Lords (Feb. 1) requesting them to join the Commons in a new petition to the King respecting the charge of the Forts and Militia of the kingdom, it was distinctly intimated that the Lords "must not expect the Commons to come to them again on this business," and a request was made that those

lords who concurred with the Commons should announce their concurrence, that they might be known.[1]

All London and the country round had caught Pym's watchword of "Obstruction." About the most significant token of this was a petition brought to the Commons, Feb. 4, from "the Gentlewomen, Tradesmen's Wives, and many "others of the Female Sex, all inhabitants of the city of "London and the suburbs thereof." The petition was actually brought to the doors of the House by a large deputation of those who had signed it, headed by a Mrs. Ann Stagg, the wife of a well-to-do brewer. When the petition was read, it might well have seemed, from its high and passionate key, that it had actually been composed by women. "Notwith-"standing that many worthy deeds have been done by you," it said, "great danger and fear do still attend us, and will, as "long as Popish Lords and superstitious Bishops are suffered "to have their voice in the House of Peers, that accursed "and abominable idol of the Mass suffered in the kingdom, "and that arch-enemy of our prosperity and reformation "[Archbishop Laud] lieth in the Tower, yet not receiving "his deserved punishment." Again, concerning Ireland, and especially the outrages on women in the insurrection there: "Have we not just cause to fear they will prove fore-"runners of *our* ruin, except Almighty God, by the wisdom "and care of this Parliament, be pleased to succour us, our "husbands and children, which are as dear and tender to us "as the lives and blood of our hearts? To see them murdered "and mangled and cut to pieces before our eyes; to see our "children dashed against the stones, and the mother's milk "mingled with the infant's blood running down the streets; "to see our houses on flaming fire over our heads! Oh! how "dreadful would this be!" The petition ends with reasons why the petitioners have done a thing so unusual in their sex as to meddle with politics. "It may be thought strange, and "unbeseeming our sex," they say, "to show ourselves by way "of petition to this Honourable Assembly; but, the matter

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 1049 *et seq.*; Rushworth, IV. 508 *et seq.*; Commons Journals, Feb. 1, 1641-2.

" being rightly considered of, the right and interest we have " in the common and public cause of the Church, it will, " as we conceive, under correction, be found a duty com- " manded and required:—1. Because Christ hath purchased " us at as dear a rate as he hath done men, and therefore " requireth the like obedience, for the same mercy, as of men. " 2. Because in the free enjoying of Christ in his own laws, " and a flourishing estate of the Church and Commonwealth, " consisteth the happiness of women as well as men. 3. Be- " cause women are sharers in the common calamities that " accompany both Church and Commonwealth, when oppres- " sion is exercised over the Church and Kingdom wherein " they live, and unlimited power given to the Prelates to ex- " ercise authority over the consciences of women as well as " men: witness Newgate, Smithfield, and other places of " persecution, wherein women as well as men have felt the " smart of their fury."[1]

The Women's Petition against Bishops, and two other petitions to the same effect presented about the same time by the Prentices and Sailors of London and the Street Porters, became afterwards, of course, a fertile subject of jest with the Royalists. It is worth noting, however, as at least a coincidence, that it was on the very day after the Women's Petition that the Lords made that great concession which had been so long demanded by the Commons in vain. On Saturday, the 5th of February, 1641-2, the Bill for excluding Bishops from Parliament was read in the Lords for the third time, and, after debate, passed by that House, only the Bishops of Winchester, Rochester, and Worcester (Curle, Warner, and Prideaux) dissenting. Here is the formal entry of this important fact as it stands in the Lords Journals: "*Hodie* " 3ª *vice lecta est Billa*, An Act for Disabling all persons in " Holy Orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or " Authority: And, being put to the Question whether this " Bill, with the Alterations and Additions, should pass as a " Law, it was resolved it should pass as a Law."[2]

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 1072–1076.

[2] Lords Journals of date.

Thus, after nearly a year of swaying to and fro between the two Houses, had the first of the great measures of Church Reform pressed by the movement party in the Commons been pushed through the House of Lords. Great, of course, was the popular rejoicing. The question of the future constitution of the Church of England, it is true, remained still undecided; but the exclusion of the Bishops from Parliament was regarded as a step which would make all the rest easy. But would the King give his assent to the Bill? This was now the point.

The King, who had been alternating between Windsor and Hampton Court, still keeping away from London, but in daily communication with Parliament on one subject or another, was in a state of mind in which it was almost a matter of indifference to him what Bills he now passed or did not pass. His chief adviser in the *coup d'état*, Lord Digby, had fled beyond seas for his life; but Charles had around him, or in communication with him, such counsellors as Colepepper, Falkland, Hyde, Nicholas, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, and the Earls of Newcastle and Southampton. The Queen's influence too was greater than ever. As the result of the consultations held in the little royal conclave, it was determined that nothing special should be done at present in the way of farther opposition to Parliament; but that (1) the Queen should be sent quietly out of the kingdom with the crown jewels, on pretext of accompanying into Holland her eldest daughter, recently married to Prince William of Orange, but really to purchase arms; and (2) that the King should then gradually retire into the north, leaving Parliament to its courses, and waiting for time and means to retrieve all by war. This being the plan, what mattered it, save in respect of the King's own notions of decorum, how much he should yield in addition to what had been yielded already? On this principle it was that, since his departure from Whitehall, he had seemed to acquiesce in his new position as a monarch bound to succumb. He had offered, for example, to waive all proceedings against the Five

members; and when the Commons insisted on a full legal investigation into the charges against these members, he had begged them to, let bygones be bygones. Again, he had given his consent to the removal of Sir John Byron from the Lieutenancy of the Tower and the appointment of Sir John Conyers in his room.[1]

Would his complacency carry him so far as an assent to the Bill for excluding Bishops from Parliament and political power? Here, at all events, would he not make a stand? Most men expected that he would, and nearly all the faithful of his own party thought that he should. For a few days, accordingly, he did resist. But judge of the sorrow and consternation among the friends of the Church everywhere, and judge above all of poor Laud's feelings in the Tower, when it became known that on the 13th of February the King had yielded. On that day he gave his assent by commission to two Bills together—the one a Bill for pressing soldiers for Ireland, the other the Bishops' Exclusion Bill.

Where had this lapse of the King from his duty to the Church taken place? Where but in Canterbury itself, where he chanced to be for a day or two, on his way to Dover to see his wife and daughter embark for Holland? True, in the very fact of his being then there, and on that errand, Clarendon finds the reason for his yielding. The act, Clarendon himself thinks, was one of the King's blunders. It shook to the foundations the faith that many of his most devoted subjects had hitherto reposed in him. It strengthened the hands of his opponents for anything they might yet do against Episcopacy, by begetting a belief among the King's lay adherents that the cause of Episcopacy was *de facto* defunct, and that it was unnecessary in future to encumber their allegiance to monarchy with any care for the remaining stump of Prelacy in the Church. From this one infers that Clarendon himself, then Mr. Hyde, disapproved of the act at the time. But he tells us that "those of greatest trust about the King" agreed in persuading him to it, urging many obvious reasons of immediate policy, and among them one which was all-prevalent. If the King

[1] Clar. 939—942 (Life); Rushworth, IV. 519.

should have to begin a civil war, it was argued, it would be better for him to begin it on some other question than that of the political rights of an order already so much crippled, and so useless to him, as the Bishops. For example, there was the great Militia business which the Parliament were now stirring —the question of the right of Parliament to prescribe to the King in such matters as the command of the Forts of the kingdom, and the levying, training, and officering of the Forces. Would not *that* be a better question on which to make a final stand? There was already a considerable opposition in the Lords to the Bill of the Commons on this question, and there might be a much more powerful rally of the King's friends on it than on any question of the mere status of Bishops! Besides, by yielding in this business of the Bishops, might not the King avert the Militia business, or get it postponed? Among the advisers who so argued, if antecedents are to be trusted to, must certainly have been Falkland. Unless he had changed his mind, the restriction of the power of the Bishops must have been pleasing to him on its own account. But there was a still more potent adviser in the Queen. Caring little, on her own account, for Bishops of any Protestant denomination, and, indeed, instructed, Clarendon hints, by her spiritual advisers, that the duty of Roman Catholics might lie in contributing to the extinction of such anomalies, she not only adopted the arguments of the King's other advisers, but added an argument of her own. If the King refused his assent to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, would there not be fresh tumults, and might not her own departure from the kingdom be prevented, and the whole plan perilled of which that was a part? Probably neither this argument nor all the others together would have carried the point but for a course of reasoning which went on more peculiarly in the mind of Charles himself. A lover of the Church and a Laudian as he certainly was, Charles would probably have resisted the Bishops' Exclusion Bill to the end if he had considered any assent he might give to it, as circumstances then were, binding when circumstances should alter. What

says Clarendon? "An opinion that the violence and force "used in procuring it rendered it absolutely invalid and "void made the confirmation of it less considered, as not "being of strength to make that act good which was in itself "null." In other words, the King gave his assent to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill chiefly because he did not consider that the assent had any meaning or inferred any obligation.[1]

Meanwhile the two Houses, not too curiously scrutinizing the King's motives, were exultant over his act. The King's assent to the two Bills, of which the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was one, was signified on the 14th of February, and at the same time there was a gracious message to both Houses from his Majesty, to the effect that he would gratify their desires for religious reformation in every way. For example, he would execute the laws against the Roman Catholics, and issue, if required, an immediate proclamation for the expulsion of all Romish priests from the kingdom. "Concerning the "government and liturgy of the Church," he would "refer "that whole consideration to the wisdom of his Parliament," only desiring not to be pressed to any farther single act on his part till the whole should be "so digested and settled by "both Houses that his Majesty might see what was fit to be "left as well as what was fit to be taken away." Nothing could be more satisfactory, and the two Houses thanked his Majesty accordingly.[2]

So far as the King's assent to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was a device for facilitating the Queen's departure out of England, it was perfectly successful. On the 23rd of February Charles saw her on board ship at Dover, together with the Princess of Orange (*i. e.* the King's eldest daughter, Mary, then only ten years of age, but married, or affianced, since May 2, 1640, to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by whom she was afterwards the mother of William III. of England). Returning from Dover to Greenwich, where the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York joined him, and still avoiding London, Charles passed northward by degrees on

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 1087; and Clar. pp. 171, 172.

[2] Parl. Hist. II. 1088-9.

his way to York. He was at Theobalds, in Herts, on the 28th of February, at Royston on the 3rd of March, at Newmarket on the 7th, at Huntingdon on the 14th, at Newark on the 17th, at Doncaster on the 18th, and at York on the 19th.[1]

Perceptibly, as Charles thus moved north and farther and farther away from London, he changed his tone with the Parliament. He had yielded on the Church question; but there was that other great question, already in discussion between him and the Parliament when his assent to the Bishops' Exclusion Bill was given—the question of THE MILITIA OF THE KINGDOM. This great constitutional question, which the Commons had long been agitating in the background, had at length been definitely brought to a bearing by an Ordinance of the Commons, Feb. 9, 1642-3, for settling the power of the Militia in the several counties in certain persons to be presently named. Actually within the next day or two, a list of persons deemed fit for the supreme military power in the different counties was drawn up by the Commons. "Resolved that the Earl of Holland shall be nominated by this House to be Lord-Lieutenant of *Berkshire;*" "Resolved that the Earl of Bolingbroke shall be nominated by this House to be Lord-Lieutenant of the county of *Bedford:*" so the Commons began February 10; and on that and the following day they traversed, in near alphabetical order, all the counties of England and Wales, nominating some great nobleman, or other very distinguished person, for the lord-lieutenancy of each, always on the rule that the same person might have two shires under his command, but no more. On the 12th there was a supplementary Resolution for the City of London, vesting the government and ordering of *its* Militia in nineteen persons, of whom Major-General Skippon was one, six were aldermen, and the rest citizens. On the 16th of February the Ordinance, duly engrossed, and with all the names inserted, went up to the Lords; where, "it being put to the question, it was resolved That this Ordinance shall pass, and be presented to his Majesty." Thus, no

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 1100; Rushworth, IV. 484.

sooner had the King yielded on the question of the Bishops than he had found himself assailed on the most essential question of his own prerogative. Till the Queen was safely gone he had staved off the matter; but no sooner was she gone, and he had passed London on his way north, than he had given signs that on this question at all events he would be immoveable. From Theobalds on the 28th of February he had sent such an answer to the representation of the two Houses respecting the Militia Ordinance that the Houses had voted it a "direct denial." Then, at each stage of his journey north, messages on the same subject pursuing him, expressed more and more resolutely by the two Houses, he also had waxed firmer and firmer. To the Earl of Pembroke, who had been sent to persuade him, if possible, to yield the power of the Militia to Parliament, his answer at Newmarket on the 10th of March had been "*No, by God; not for an hour.*"[1]

[1] Commons and Lords Journals of the days cited; Rushworth, IV. 520—533; Parl. Hist. II. 1097—1127.

CHAPTER VII.

TWO MORE ANTI-EPISCOPAL PAMPHLETS OF MILTON.

OUR last sight of Milton was in July 1641, or just before the King's visit to Scotland, and the symptoms of lull and reaction which accompanied that event. He had then come forth as a resolute Parliamentarian writer, a Root-and-Branch pamphleteer. He had given three Anti-Episcopal pamphlets to the world in quick succession—his large maiden-pamphlet entitled *Of Reformation and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it;* his slighter pamphlet entitled *Of Prelatical Episcopacy,* in reply to Usher's deduction of Episcopacy from Apostolical times; and his merciless personal onslaught on Bishop Hall, entitled *Animadversions on the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus.* Since then he had been living, as before, with his two nephew-pupils, in Aldersgate Street. He may have taken an autumn holiday somewhere during a part of the time of the King's absence in Scotland and the Recess of Parliament. But from the time of the re-assembling of the Parliament (Oct. 20, 1641) we are to suppose him domiciled again in London for observation and work. The winter had passed, and it was now March 1641–2.

There are some rather curious traces of Milton during these months as a London citizen and tax-payer. It may be remembered that, in June 1641, the Parliament had decreed a Poll-tax on all English subjects in order to clear off the expenses of the English and Scottish armies in the north. Great care seems to have been taken in London to secure complete returns of all persons liable to this poll-tax; and, as every person, of either sex, over sixteen years of age, and

not a pauper, was liable, the London poll-tax returns of 1641, if they could be all recovered, would be about the most interesting possible repertory of information respecting persons and places in the London of that date. For example, though we should have known independently that Milton then lived in Aldersgate Street, and even that he lived in a garden-house there at the end of an entry, we should not have been able to fix the part of Aldersgate Street where this entry was but for a particular record in the Exchequer, which is in fact one of the returns for the aforesaid poll-tax, and is entitled "A Book of the Names and Surnames, Degrees, Ranks, and Qualities of all the Inhabitants of the Ward of Aldersgate, London, July 1641." It is from this document that we learn that the part of Aldersgate Street in which Milton resided was that known as "the Second Precinct of St. Botolph Parish;" also that he had a servant called Jane Yates, and that among his neighbours in the same precinct, or close by, were his old friend and schoolmaster, Alexander Gill the younger, Sir Thomas Cecil, Mr. Auditor Povey, Mrs. Pallavicini, Dr. Theodore Diodati, the father of his deceased friend Charles Diodati, and others already named. The document does not give the sums at which the different persons were rated for the poll-tax; but, as the rate for an Esquire, or a Doctor of Law or Physic, was 10*l.*, and the rate for a Common-Councilman or person of similar quality 5*l.*, and as "every man that may dispend 50*l.* a year of his own" was rated at 2*l.*, we cannot suppose Milton let off under this last sum. Jane Yates, his servant, had to pay at least 6*d.* But, whatever the sum was, Milton was in no hurry to pay it. In a subsequent Exchequer paper, entitled "The Names of those who have not paid us of the Gentry in the Second Precinct," Milton is named as one of the defaulters. Gill and Mrs. Pallavicini were in his company in this respect, as also was Dr. Diodati, whose unpaid rate must have been 10*l.* As the date of this document is not given, we may suppose, if we like, that Milton's neglect to pay arose from his being out of town when the collection was made; but it is quite as likely that it was intentional. He can hardly,

indeed, have objected to giving 2*l.* or so towards indemnifying the Scots, who at that time, as we shall see, were high in his esteem. On the contrary, he may have desired not to part with the Scots too soon, and may therefore have deferred to the last moment a contribution which was to go partly to that result. That, in any case, Milton's delay in paying his poll-tax did not proceed either from insufficient means, or from niggardliness in a public cause, is interestingly proved by a third local record. This is a list of persons in the same Second Precinct of St. Botolph's Parish in the Ward of Aldersgate, who, in January 1641-2, contributed towards the "Collection for Ireland"—*i.e.* towards a fund raised for the relief of the Irish Protestants. As we shall presently see, Milton was vehemently interested in the condition of the poor English and Scots in Ireland, victims of the Irish Rebellion. But in this document we have a pecuniary measure of his interest. While wealthy neighbours of his in Aldersgate Street, such as Mr. Auditor Povey, with his household of four servants, and Mr. Matthews, with a like establishment, contributed 1*l.* each, and while the highest sum else contributed in the whole precinct was 2*l.*, Milton's contribution was 4*l.* It is as if now some man of moderate means in London, from interest in some public object, were to subscribe fifteen or twenty guineas, while the subscription of his wealthiest neighbour was seven or ten guineas.[1]

Milton, indeed, was now in a position to have his actions in such matters observed. Although his three Anti-Episcopal pamphlets had been anonymous, there was no secret as to their authorship. There must have been a good deal of visiting at the house in Aldersgate Street on account of them,

[1] My authority for the statements in this paragraph is the late Mr. Joseph Hunter in his tract entitled *Milton: a Sheaf of Gleanings* (1850, pp. 24–27). The original Exchequer Records cited there as having been seen by Mr. Hunter have been inquired after by me, but without success. This does not invalidate Mr. Hunter's testimony, for he was a man to be thoroughly trusted in such matters; but it was a decided neglect in him not to give such exact references to the documents cited as might enable any one afterwards to find them.—There are various instances of generosity in the matter of relief to Ireland. Thus, on the 25th of April 1642, Sir Simonds D'Ewes offered security for a contribution of 50*l.* a year for this purpose while the Rebellion should last, and was thanked by the Commons for the same. On the same day Mr. George Peard promised 20*l.* a year, and was also thanked. (Commons Journals of that day.)

and Milton's name must have been heard in connexion with them in places where he was not known personally. Young and the other four Smectymnuan ministers, for example, can hardly have been silent about this brother-pamphletéer of theirs, who had been in the Smectymnuan counsels from the first, and whose last pamphlet was avowedly written in aid of the Smectymnuans. But, apart from neighbourship or acquaintanceship, there was enough in the pamphlets themselves to cause an inquisitiveness respecting their author among both friends and foes of his principles. Proof of this, as respects foes of his principles, might be produced in the form of angry allusions to the pamphlets occurring in contemporary writings. One instance of the kind may be given :—There was not a better soul breathing, and certainly not a more quiet and kindly English clergyman, than Thomas Fuller, Rector of Broad Windsor, Dorsetshire, but now much in London, and known as a preacher there. He was exactly of Milton's own age; he had been Milton's coeval at Cambridge; and, like Milton, he was destined to be remembered in the world of English letters. His greater historical works, which were to preserve the memory of his industry, his moderation and candour, his lucid intelligence, and his quaint and delicious wit, were yet to come; but he had published one or two things, including his *History of the Holy War*. As a work to follow that, he had been engaged since 1640, partly in his Dorsetshire Rectory, and partly in London, on the collection of short essays and popular biographic sketches now known as his *Holy and Profane State*. The work was not published till 1642, when it appeared as a folio volume, with cuts, from the Cambridge press; but it had been in manuscript nearly a year before it was published; and therefore the allusion made in one of the sketches in it to Milton's maiden-pamphlet, *Of Reformation and the Causes that hitherto have hindered it*, may be considered as the earliest recognition of that pamphlet by any critic of note to us now. Whatever Fuller may have thought of the pamphlet as a whole, there were passages in it that shocked him. More particularly he was shocked by those passages in which

Milton, in his zeal against bishops, had not hesitated to speak irreverently even of such bishops as Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, fathers and martyrs of English Protestantism though they were. So much had this grated on the good Fuller that, in his little sketch called "The Life of Bishop Ridley," he cannot forbear bringing the pamphlet and its anonymous author (though Fuller may have known who he was) sharply to book. "One might have expected," he says, speaking of the martyr-bishops of Mary's days, "that "these worthy men should have been re-estated in their "former honour; whereas the contrary hath come to pass. "For some who have an excellent faculty in uncharitable "synecdoches, to condemn a life for an action, and taking "advantage of some faults in them, do much condemn them. "And one lately hath traduced them with such language as "neither beseemed his parts, whosoever he was that spake it, "nor their piety of whom it was spoken. If pious Latimer, "whose bluntness was incapable of flattery, had his simplicity "abused with false informations, he is styled 'another Dr. "Shaw, to divulge in his sermon forged accusations.' Cranmer "and Ridley, for some failings, are styled 'the common stales "'to countenance, with their prostituted gravities, every politic "'fetch which was then on foot, as often as the potent statists "'pleased to employ them.'" Here, after a further quotation or two from the impious pamphleteer, who is referred to in a note as "Author of the Book lately printed of *Causes Hindering Reformation in England*," Fuller holds up his hands in pious sorrow.[1]

In the pamphlet itself Milton had anticipated such pious sorrow, and had made very light of it, or, rather, had most seriously protested that he could take no account of it. He had invoked Almighty God to witness that, wherever in that writing he had spoken "plainly and roundly" of the faults and blemishes of martyrs and other great men, it had been "of mere necessity." He had resolved, he said, "to "vindicate the spotless Truth from an ignominious bondage, "whose native worth is now become of such a low esteem that

[1] Fuller's *Holy and Profane State*: edit. 1841; pp. 274, 275.

" she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say " unless she can bring a ticket from Cranmer, Latimer, and " Ridley." Better, he declared, that these names were utterly abolished, like the brazen serpent, than that they should come to be idolized against the Truth.[1] But Fuller had either not read this explanation, or had not thought it adequate; and what a man so mild as Fuller felt must have been felt in stronger degree by others.[2] Nor had Milton's two later pamphlets been of a kind to improve his reputation for meekness and respect for dignities. To all to whom a living Bishop was an object of veneration, his treatment of Hall in his *Animadversions* must have seemed atrocious, if not blasphemous.

Blasphemy, as some thought it, or noble and free opinion, as others may have thought it, there was more of the like matter to come from the " pretty garden-house " in Aldersgate Street. As near as I can calculate, it was between the date of the King's departure from Whitehall after the failure of his *coup d'état* (Jan. 10, 1641-2) and his arrival at York (March 19, 1641-2) that Milton's fourth Anti-Episcopal pamphlet was published. It is a larger pamphlet than any of its three predecessors, and more elaborately written than any of them except that *Of Reformation;* and Milton must have been engaged on it for at least a month or so before its publication. In its original form it is a small quarto of 65 pages of close type, with this title: "*The Reason of Church-government urg'd against Prelaty, by Mr. John Milton: In Two Books: London, Printed by E. G. for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Sunne in Paul's Churchyard,* 1641."[3] Here,

[1] *Of Reformation,* &c.: Milton's Works, III. 9, 10.

[2] The Irish Bishop Bramhall, in his *Serpent Salve,* published at Dublin in 1643, repeats Fuller's allusion to Milton's maiden-pamphlet more tartly, thus: " Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, " Hooper, were all Bishops; Coverdale " exercised episcopal jurisdiction. With " what indignation do all good Pro- " testants see those blessed men styled " now in print by a young novice " ' halting and time-serving prelates,' " and 'common stales to countenance " ' with their prostituted gravity every " ' politic fetch!' It was truly said by " Seneca that the most contemptible " persons ever have the loosest " tongues!" For this reference to Bramhall's first mention of Milton, as for other kindnesses, I am indebted to Mr. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's, Cambridge.

[3] Among the copies of this pamphlet in the British Museum there is one (King's Pamphlets, vol. E. 137) with *Ex Dono Authoris* written on the title-page in, as I think, Milton's own hand—one

it will be observed, Milton for the first time throws off the anonymous. The publisher also, it will be observed, is not the "Thomas Underhill" who had published the three preceding pamphlets, but "John Rothwell." He was the same who had published the pamphlets of the Smectymnuans against Hall. He may have been a relative of the "Henry Rothwell" who was servant or apprentice to Milton's father in 1631.[1]

The pamphlets on the Church question that had been produced since Milton's last might be counted by scores, if not by hundreds. The great majority of them, like Milton's own, were unregistered, for the press had burst all bounds of licencing, and could not be brought within these bounds again by any Parliamentary orders or threats. Among those that *were* registered may be mentioned *A Discourse opening the nature of Episcopacy*, by Lord Brooke, one of the chief, if not the chief, of the extreme Puritans among the Peers. It was published in Nov. 1641,[2] and must have been read by Milton, who afterwards, when the noble author was dead, referred to him in terms of high and touching eulogy, expressly on account of it.[3] But not Lord Brooke, with all his reputation for philosophic ability, and not any other of the hundred pamphleteers that were writing on the Church question, can have been felt as such a voice of power, wherever there were competent readers, as this all-daring "Mr. John Milton." Whoever reads the pamphlet even now, or

of the presentation copies he sent to friends. The pamphlet, like its predecessors, not being registered in the Stationers' Books, we have not *that* means of determining the exact time of its publication. But the year 1641 on the title-page fixes March 24, 1641-2, as the limit on one side; and there is *internal* evidence that the date of publication must have been after the preceding Christmas. The Irish Insurrection is spoken of as still raging—which dates the pamphlet *after* Oct. 1641; and the imprisonment of the twelve bishops in the Tower is mentioned—which dates it *after* Christmas 1641. January or February 1641-2 is therefore the probable month.

[1] See *antè*, p. 99.

[2] Here is the full title of Lord Brooke's pamphlet: "*A Discourse opening the nature of that Episcopacy which is exercised in England; wherein, with all humility, are represented some considerations tending to the much desired Peace, and long-expected Reformation, of this our Mother Church: By the Right Honourable Robert, Lord Brooke: Printed by R. C. for Samuel Cartwright, and are to be sold at the signe of the Hand and Bible in Duck Lane*, 1641." The date of the publication I have ascertained from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, where it is entered Nov. 9, 1641.

[3] In the *Areopagitica*.

indeed any other of those early pamphlets of Milton, has his mind thrown into the strangest tumult.

The pamphlet differs in its aim and scope from any of its predecessors. In his first and second Milton had adopted mainly the historical method; in the third he had been critical and personal; but here he proposes to argue against Prelacy on grounds of philosophic reason, or from a study of the principles of Christianity and human nature. By the title "Reason of Church Government" Milton means what in modern language would be called "Theory of Church Government;" and his pamphlet is, in fact, a treatise on the Relations between Church and State. In discussing this subject he adopts a free, discursive method, bringing in high speculative views of his own as to the ends of government, and the possibilities of human society if adequately instructed, inspired, and controlled. To a certain extent, however, he has in view, for polemic reference throughout, a collection of tracts on the other side that had then recently been published with this title: "*Certaine Briefe Treatises, written by Diverse Learned Men, concerning the ancient and moderne Government of the Church: Oxford, Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer to the University: Anno Dom.* 1641."

This curious collection of tracts seems to have been intended by its Oxford editor or editors as an authoritative exposition, both historical and rational, of the grounds of Episcopacy, but not so much in its Laudian form as in that more moderate form, represented by some of the greater Reformed divines, and now by Archbishop Usher, for which alone there seemed to be a chance left in England. The collection, accordingly, is made up of scraps or fragments from writers of high reputation, dead and living, while the whole is intended as a counteractive to Root-and-Branch opinions, and an appeal in behalf of an eclectic or liberal Episcopacy. An analysis of the contents of the volume, which is now rare, may be of some interest:—(1) First of all, occupying a few pages only, comes *A Discovery of the Causes of the continuance of these Contentions concerning Church Government: By Richard Hooker.* It may have been an ad-

vantage to lead off with Hooker's name; but this fragment of his consists only of a few general remarks, like this, "Want "of sound proceeding in church controversies hath made many "more stiff in error now than before."——(2) Of more importance, and occupying nearly forty pages of the volume, is *A Summarie View of the Government both of the Old and New Testaments, whereby the Episcopall Government of Christ's Church is vindicated: out of the rude draughts of Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester.* Bishop Andrewes, though he had been dead sixteen years, was well remembered, and this timely recovery of a few manuscript jottings of his on the subject of Episcopacy may have been considered a piece of good fortune. They are really only jottings, as if for some intended treatise, and their argument is decidedly more in the High Church strain than that of most of the accompanying tracts. Andrewes seeks the original or prototype of Episcopal Government and sacerdotalism in the forms of the old Jewish Priesthood. The Priesthood among the Jews, he says, had been settled by God in the *one* tribe of Levi. But, farther, Levi having three sons—Kohath, Gershon, and Merari, —the particular line of Kohath was preferred among all the Levites. Again, Kohath having four sons—Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel—a farther precedency was vested in the family of Amram. Finally, of Amram's two sons, Aaron and Moses, Aaron was expressly appointed High Priest. Thus there came to be four orders or gradations of Levites, all priests—Aaron in chief; the other descendants of Kohath; the descendants of Gershon; and those of Merari. These inequalities and superiorities continued under Joshua, the Judges, and the Kings; the Jewish Priesthood being throughout a hierarchy. "Why may not the like be for the government of the Church?" Andrewes proceeds to ask. It ought to be, he says; and he gives a table of what he thinks the correspondencies between the Jewish sacerdotal system and the Christian. Aaron has his only antitype, thinks Andrewes, in Christ himself; but Eleazar, Aaron's son, answers to the Archbishop in the Christian Church; the "Princes of Priests" among the Jews correspond to Bishops; the ordinary Priests to Presbyters;

the "Princes of Levites" to Archdeacons; the ordinary Levites to Deacons; while the Nethinims, or servants of the Levites (see Ezra viii. 20), might pair off with modern "Clerks and Sextons." Pursuing his subject into the New Testament, Andrewes finds that Bishops, or Overseers of the other Presbyters, were first ordained by the Apostles themselves, the occasion of their appointment being perhaps the schisms that arose in the primitive Church. Moreover, in the distribution of the Apostles and Evangelists over particular lands and regions as the scenes of their labours—Peter to Pontus, &c., John to Asia and Parthia, Andrew to Scythia and the Euxine, Matthew to Ethiopia, &c.—he finds the original of diocesan and provincial jurisdictions.——(3) These queer notes of Andrewes are followed by *The Originall of Bishops and Metropolitans, briefly laid down by Martin Bucer, John Rainoldes, and James, Archbishop of Armagh.* This is, in fact, a repetition, with additions, of that previous or all but contemporary publication, by Usher, or under his name, entitled "*The Judgment of Doctor Rainoldes, &c.,*" of which an account has been already given (see *antè*, pp. 248—253), and to which Milton had replied specially in his second pamphlet. Reynolds's Judgment or opinion in behalf of a Limited or merely Presidential Episcopacy, as traceable to the Apostolic times, is again quoted; but prefixed to it is an opinion from Bucer to the same general effect; after which Usher's confirmations of the same view are repeated, but with some fresh remarks, in the course of which Usher relapses into the Andrewes kind of matter, and dwells more than in his former tract on the argument from the analogy of the Levites and Aaronitic Priesthood.——(4) There is, next, a distinct little essay by Usher entitled *A Geographicall and Historicall Disquisition touching the Lydian or Proconsular Asia and the Seven Metropoliticall Churches contained therein: by the said Archbishop of Armagh.* Here we have an extension, by the aid of geographical learning, of Usher's former argument for the antiquity of Primacies or Archbishoprics.——(5) Next follows *A Declaration of the Patriarchall Government of the Ancient Church: by Edward Brerewood.* This Brerewood, a native of Chester, educated at

Oxford, had been the first Astronomy Professor in Gresham College, London. He had been much respected in his lifetime for his learning; and, since his death in 1613, his reputation had been enhanced by the publication from his manuscripts of several works which he had been too modest to give to the world himself, including two treatises on the Sabbath.[1] The essay of his now published, and which apparently saw the light for the first time in this Oxford volume, was sure to attract attention. It is, indeed, a clever and clear little tract—the best, I think, in the volume. The main notion is that the organization of the early Christian Church was framed on the model of the civil organization of the Roman Empire—the ordinary Bishop corresponding to the Governor of a City, the Metropolitan to the chief of a Province, and the Primate in a higher sense still to the chief of one of those clusters of Provinces which the Romans called Dioceses, and which were equal in size to large modern kingdoms. In the development of this notion the following questions are put and answered:—*First*, "Whether every Church or Bishop at "the time of the Nicene Council were subject to one of the 'three Patriarchs of Rome, of Alexandria, and of Antiochia, "mentioned in the sixth canon of that Council?" To this Brerewood answers No, and gives his reasons. *Secondly*, "To "what Patriarchate was the Church and Bishop of Carthage "subject—to Alexandria or to Rome?" To neither, answers Brerewood; the Bishop of Carthage being himself a Primate, with Patriarchal jurisdiction. *Thirdly*, "To what Patriarchate belonged Britain—to Rome, or to what other?" Certainly to none, argues Brerewood, seeing that Britain was itself one of the six Dioceses of the Western Empire, and had an independent Primate of its own in the Archbishop of York. In short, Brerewood holds that Primates were equivalent on the whole to Patriarchs, though there *may* have been some vague superiority in the latter designation.——(6) After Brerewood's interesting dissertation comes a tract of only a page or two entitled *A Briefe Declaration of the severall formes of*

[1] About Brerewood, see Wood's Ath. by Bliss, II. 139, 140; Fuller's Worthies, Cheshire; and Cox's Literature of the Sabbath Question (1865), I. 159, 160.

Government received in the Reformed Churches beyond the sea: by John Duree. With the exception of Usher, this John Durie, or Duræus, was the only living writer laid under contribution in the volume. Durie, however, was, in his peculiar way, a European celebrity. Of Scottish birth, but long resident abroad, he had been already known for many years, both in Britain and on the Continent, by the zeal with which, in season and out of season, he had been pressing a great scheme, or crotchet, for the union of all the Protestant Churches, more particularly the union of the Lutheran Churches with those called Calvinistic, or Reformed. Having constituted himself, and partly having been constituted by some of his own Calvinistic persuasion, a propagandist of this idea, he had travelled in the service of it through Holland France, Germany, Sweden, and still other lands; and one finds the man himself, or his name, turning up in connexion with it in the most unexpected places in the histories and correspondence of the period. He had interested Grotius, Oxenstiern, and other eminent foreigners, in his project; and, within Britain, we find him in correspondence with Laud and Hall at the one extreme and with the Scottish Covenanters at the other. As, in this going to and fro between opposites, he naturally brought, wherever he went, some whiff of the sentiments of the place where he had been last, he was by no means always welcome, but was frequently suspected and rebuffed. About 1641 he seems to have paid, or meditated, a visit to England, where he fancied he saw a new opening for his scheme in the general tumult of ecclesiastical discussion then in progress; and the very fact of his friendliness to all Protestant Churches alike, though from a personal point of view understood to be Calvinistic and Presbyterian, gave a value to any testimony that could be extracted from him in behalf of an Episcopacy. The Oxford editor, accordingly, has pleasure in inserting into the volume the page or two supplied by Duræus, or compiled from him, giving his summary of the different conditions of Church government at that very moment in the different parts of Protestant Europe. They report as follows:—In Sweden, Limited

Episcopacy, and Bishops in Parliament, along with representatives of the inferior clergy; in Denmark, and the German Lutheran states and cities, Superintendents for life, presiding in Consistories; in Holland, by recent arrangement, a temporary superintending power given to Deputies of Synod; in Geneva and the French Calvinistic Churches, no fixed Moderators certainly, but the eldest ministers reverenced and deferred to in some undefined manner; in Transylvania, Polonia, and Bohemia, a kind of Bishops called Seniors. In short, nowhere perhaps in the Protestant world, unless it were in Scotland since 1638, was there absolute parity of Presbyters.[1]

[1] About Durie, see Bayle's Dictionary (Art. *Durêus, Jean*); also Wood's Fasti Oxon. I. 420-22. But, indeed, Durie turns up everywhere—in Hall's correspondence, Laud's, and everybody's. As we shall meet him again in the course of this History, in curious and interesting connexions, I may here add a particular or two to the sketch given in the text of his life as far as 1641:—He was the son of Mr. Robert Durie, minister of Anstruther, in Fifeshire, who was banished from Scotland by King James in 1606 for ultra-Presbyterianism, and became minister of the Scottish congregation in Leyden from 1609 to 1617. The son, born in Scotland about 1600, before his father's banishment, seems to have been brought up chiefly in Holland; but Wood reports him at Oxford sometime in 1624 for the purposes of study. A "Johannes Durius" graduated M.A. at Edinburgh in July 1631, one of his co-graduates being Robert Leighton, the future Archbishop. But, if this was our present Durie (which is unlikely), he must have been already a preacher, much past the usual age of graduation, and on his travels in behalf of his idea of a union of the Calvinistic and Lutheran Churches. For that idea, I find, from one of his own writings (*An Epistolary Discourse*, addressed to Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye, written in 1642, and published at London in 1644), had seized him in 1628. "Concerning myself," he there says, "I do "ingeniously confess that the mere love "of peace and quietness, and the hope "of doing good to the Church of God, "did move me to embrace this endeavour when I was called thereunto in Prussia, by Dr. Godeman, "a Chancellor of State to the late "King of Sweden [Gustavus Adolphus] "in the year 1628." Once conceived, through whatever prompting, the idea possessed Durie permanently. He had, he goes on to say, vowed his whole future life to a perseverance in the attempt to realize it, whether he should be successful or not; and thenceforward all his travels, all his interviews with eminent men in different countries, and all his correspondence, were dedicated to what he speaks of fondly as his "negotiation"—*i.e.* his effort to enlist the chiefs of every Protestant community in Europe in the view that all Protestants, despite their differences, ought to be united in one general "Brotherhood." By the year 1637 he had had access to the great Grotius, and had so inoculated him with the idea that, as we have had occasion previously to mention (Vol. I. pp. 701-703), Grotius had been then earnestly communicating some notion of the kind to Laud, through Lord Scudamore, the British ambassador in Paris. At that point, not foreseeing that Durie was to reappear in this History, I did not think it worth while to name him, but rather spoke of the notion of a conciliation of the Protestant Churches as Grotius's own. If, however, the reader will now consult my authority there given (Gibson's *Parochial History of Door*, &c., 1727) for the correspondence between Grotius and Laud through Scudamore, proof will be found that Durie was in the background all the while, biting at the soul of the great Grotius, and that what Grotius mooted to Laud, and Laud thought visionary nonsense, was but a modification of Durie's idea. What Durie had been doing, or where he had been, between 1637 and 1641, I cannot tell. I have

——(7). The last tract in the collection also refers to the foreign Protestant Churches. It is entitled *The Lawfulnesse of the Ordination of the Ministers of these Churches maintained against the Romanists: by Francis Mason.* It is an extract, apparently, from a larger work of the same author entitled "A Vindication of the Church of England," &c., published in 1613, when the author, an Oxford man, was still alive and Archdeacon of Norfolk.[1] It is a hair-splitting kind of thing, in the form of a dialogue between "Philodox and Orthodox," but makes for the general cause of Episcopacy by this conclusion: "Seeing a "Bishop and a Presbyter do not differ in order, but only in "preheminence and jurisdiction, and seeing Calvin and Beza "had the order of priesthood . . and were lawfully chosen, "the one after the other, to a place of eminency . . you "cannot deny to them the substance of the Episcopal office."

Milton, seizing this composite collection of tracts as perhaps the weightiest and wariest manifesto that had been put forth in behalf of a retention of Episcopacy in some form in the Church of England, keeps it in view throughout his pamphlet. He does not, indeed, reply formally to all the tracts. But he names several of them—Brerewood's in a manner implying, I think, some respect for his memory; he allows phrases and ideas in others to determine the course of his arguments and speculations; and he selects those of Bishop Andrewes and Archbishop Usher for lengthened attack. Of the kind of feeling Milton entertained for Usher we have already had a sample. If not very respectful, it was not quite *dis*respectful: and, in comparison with his contempt and dislike for Hall, one might even call it kindliness. It is interesting now to note his attitude towards the memory of a third Prelate—the once famous Bishop Andrewes. He

represented him in the text as either visiting England in 1641 or meditating a visit; and my present information obliges me to leave the matter thus indefinite. But, certainly, he was in correspondence, in behalf of his idea, with the Scottish Covenanters in their General Assembly of 1641 (Baillie's Letters, I. 364-5); and, certainly, he was residing at the Hague in Holland, continuously or occasionally, between June 1642 and the beginning of 1644 (dating of his Letters in his *Epistolary Discourse* quoted in this Note). After this last date we shall hear of him more distinctly in England; and, in anticipation of this, it may be well that the reader should bear this Note in mind.

[1] He died 1621: see Wood's Ath. by Bliss, II. 305—308.

certainly says nothing of Andrewes approaching in disrespect to what he says of Hall; but the rather slighting terms in which he does now speak of Andrewes are in curious contrast with the terms of reverent eulogy in which he had spoken of the same Prelate in his juvenile Latin Elegy, *In obitum Præsulis Wintoniensis,* written at Cambridge in 1626.[1]

The following is an analysis of the pamphlet as arranged in Books and Chapters by Milton himself:—

Book I.:

"*The Preface:*" Explaining the intention of the pamphlet.

"Chap. I.: *That Church Government is prescribed in the Gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound,*" *i.e.* arguing that instruction as to the proper constitution of the Church may *a priori* be expected in Scripture.

"Chap. II.: *That Church Government is set down in Holy Scripture, and that to say otherwise is untrue;*" arguing that, in fact, there *is* instruction on the subject in Scripture.

"Chap. III.: *That it is dangerous and unworthy the Gospel to hold that Church Government is to be patterned by the Law, as B. Andrewes and the Primate of Armagh maintain.*"

"Chap. IV.: *That it is impossible to make the Priesthood of Aaron a pattern whereon to ground Episcopacy.*"

"Chap. V.; *To the Arguments of B. Andrewes and the Primate,*" *i.e.* a more particular notice of their statements on the subject in the Oxford Tracts.

"Chap. VI.: *That Prelaty was not set up for prevention of Schism, as is pretended, or, if it were, that it performs not what it was set up for, but quite the contrary.*"

"Chap. VII.: *That those many Sects and Schisms by some supposed to be among us, and that Rebellion in Ireland, ought not to be a hindrance, but a hasting of Reformation.*"

Book II.:

Preface: Autobiographical, at some length.

"Chap. I.: *That Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel three ways — and, first, in her outward form,*" *i.e.* arguing that in the external pomp of lordliness belonging to the Episcopal system, and really inseparable from it, a mind of true spirituality will find a contrariety

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 142, 143.

to the very spirit of the Gospel; for, inasmuch as Christ himself "took upon him the form of a servant," ought not the *ministerial* character to be perennial in his followers? Milton brings forward this argument hesitatingly, as one of deep force with himself, but which he knows it may be bad policy to put in the front; so meaningless it will be for ordinary minds.

"Chap. II.: *That the ceremonious doctrine of Prelaty opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel;*" *i.e.* arguing that the rites, symbolisms, and vestments used in the Episcopal Church conceal and distort the simple truth of Christianity as it is in the Bible.

"Chap. III.: *That Prelatical jurisdiction opposeth the reason and end of the Gospel and the State.*" This is a long chapter, arguing that the Church is really a spiritual and moral agency, and ought to depend solely on spiritual and moral means of discipline, leaving temporal power and civil punishment in the hands of the civil magistrate.

"The Conclusion: *The mischief that Prelaty does in the State.*"

While this analysis may indicate the general course of Milton's argument in the pamphlet, and the order of his topics, it fails to give any idea of the power of mind shown in the pamphlet and of its casual passages of eloquence and beauty. A quotation or two may repair this defect:—

Discipline. There is not that thing in the world of more grave and urgent importance throughout the whole life of man than Discipline. What need I instance? He that hath read with judgment of nations and commonwealths, of cities and camps, of peace and war, sea and land, will readily agree that the flourishing and decaying of all civil societies, all the moments and turnings of human occasions, are moved to and fro as upon the axle of Discipline. So that whatsoever power or sway in mortal things weaker men have attributed to Fortune, I durst, with more confidence (the honour of Divine Providence ever saved), ascribe either to the vigour or the slackness of Discipline. Nor is there any sociable perfection in this life, civil or sacred, that can be above Discipline; but she is that which with her musical cords preserves and holds all the parts thereof together. Hence in those perfect armies of Cyrus in Xenophon, and Scipio in the Roman stories, the

excellency of military skill was esteemed, not by the not needing, but by the readiest submission to, the edicts of their commander. And, certainly, Discipline is not only the removal of disorder, but, if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of Virtue, whereby she is not only seen in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walks, but also makes the harmony of her voice audible to mortal ears. Yea, the Angels themselves, in whom no disorder is feared, as the Apostle that saw them in his rapture describes, are distinguished and quaternioned into their celestial Princedoms and Satrapies, according as God himself hath writ His imperial decrees through the great provinces of Heaven. The state also of the Blessed in Paradise, though never so perfect, is not therefore left without Discipline, whose golden surveying reed marks out and measures every quarter and circuit of New Jerusalem. Yet, [if] it is not to be conceived that these Eternal Effluences of sanctity and love in the glorified Saints should by this means be confined and cloyed with repetition of that which is prescribed, but that our happiness may orb itself into a thousand vagancies of glory and delight, and with a kind of eccentrical equation be as it were an invariable planet of joy and felicity, how much less can we believe that God would leave his frail and feeble, though not less beloved, Church here below to the perpetual stumble of conjecture and disturbance in this our dark voyage without the card and compass of Discipline! Which is so hard to be of man's making that we may see, even in the guidance of a civil state to worldly happiness, it is not for every learned or every wise man, though many of them consult in common, to invent or frame a Discipline; but, if it be at all the work of man, it must be of such a one as is a true knower of himself, and himself in whom contemplation and practice, wit, prudence, fortitude, and eloquence must be rarely met, both to comprehend the hidden causes of things and span in his thoughts all the various effects that passion or complexion can work in man's nature; and hereto must his hand be at defiance with gain, and his heart in all virtues heroic. So far is it from the ken of these wretched projectors of ours that bescrawl their pamphlets every day with new forms of government for our Church.[1]

Prelacy and Schism. The Prelates, as they would have it

[1] Compare this passage of Milton's on the all-importance of Discipline or Subordination with a similar passage in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, Act I., Scene 3, where Ulysses discourses on the importance of "Degree."

thought, are the only mauls of Schism. Forsooth, if *they* be put down, a deluge of innumerable sects will follow—we shall be all Brownists, Familists, Anabaptists! For the word *Puritan* seems to be quashed, and all that heretofore were counted such are now *Brownists*. And thus do they raise an evil report upon the expected reforming grace that God hath bid us to hope for, like those faithless spies whose carcases shall perish in the wilderness of their own confused ignorance, and never taste the good of reformation. Do *they* keep away Schism? If to bring a numb and chill stupidity of soul, an inactive blindness of mind, upon the people by their leaden doctrine, or no doctrine at all—if to persecute all knowing and zealous Christians by the violence of their courts—be to keep away schism, they keep away schism indeed; and by this kind of discipline all Italy and Spain is as purely and politicly kept from schism as England hath been by them. With as good a plea might the Dead Palsy boast to a man, "'Tis *I* that free you from stitches and pains, and the troublesome feeling of cold and heat, of wounds and strokes; if *I* were gone, all these would molest you." The Winter might as well vaunt itself against the Spring, "I destroy all noisome and rank weeds; I keep down all pestilent vapours." Yes, and all wholesome herbs, and all fresh dews, by your violent and hidebound frost; but, when the gentle west winds shall open the fruitful bosom of the Earth thus overgirded by your imprisonment, then the flowers put forth and spring, and then the sun shall scatter the mists, and the manuring hand of the tiller shall root up all that burdens the soil, without thank to *your* bondage.

Natural Character of the English. The Englishman, of many other nations, is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity; but, in his weakness, and want of instruction (which among us too frequently is neglected, especially by the meaner sort), turning the bent of his own wits, with a scrupulous and ceaseless care what he might do to inform himself aught of God and his worship, he may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other land-man, into an uncouth opinion. And, verily, if we look at his native towardliness in the rough cast without breeding, some nation or other *may* haply be better composed to a natural civility than he. But, if he get the benefit once of a wise and well-rectified nurture—which must come in general from the godly vigilance of the Church—I suppose that, wherever mention is made of countries' manners or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised,

may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation.

The Prelatists and the Irish Rebellion. What can the Irish subject do less, in God's just displeasure against us, than revenge upon English bodies the little care that our Prelates have had of their souls? Nor hath their negligence been new in that Island, but even notorious in Queen Elizabeth's days, as Camden, their known friend, forbears not to complain. Yet so little are they touched with remorse of these their cruelties—for these cruelties are theirs, the bloody revenge of those souls which they have famished—that, whenas against our brethren the Scots, who by their upright and loyal deeds have now bought themselves an honourable name to posterity, whatsoever malice by slander could invent, rage in hostility attempt, they greedily attempted, toward these murderous Irish, the enemies of God and mankind, a cursed offspring of their own connivance, no man takes notice but that they seem to be very calmly and indifferently affected. Where, then, should we begin to extinguish a rebellion that hath his cause from the misgovernment of the Church? Where, but at the Church's reformation? . . . But it will be here said that the reformation is a long work, and the miseries of Ireland are urgent of a speedy redress. They be indeed; and how speedy we are—the poor afflicted remnant of our martyred countrymen, that sit there on the sea-shore counting the hours of our delay with their sighs, and the minutes with their falling tears, perhaps with the distilling of their bloody wounds, if they have not by this cast off, and almost cursed, the vain hope of our foundered ships and aids, can best judge how speedy we are to their relief. But let their succours be hasted, as all need and reason is, and let not therefore the reformation, which is the chiefest cause of success and victory, be still procrastinated.

Self-respect: Every man potentially a Priest. If the love of God, as a fire sent from Heaven to be ever kept alive upon the altar of our hearts, be the first principle of all godly and virtuous actions in men, this pious and just honouring of ourselves is the second, and may be thought as the radical moisture and fountain-head whence every laudable and worthy enterprise issues forth. And, although I have given it the name of a liquid thing, yet it is not incontinent to bound itself, as humid things are, but hath in it a most restraining and powerful abstinence to start back, and globe itself upward from the mixture of any ungenerous and unbeseeming motion, or any soil wherewith it may peril to

stain itself. Something I confess it is to be ashamed of evil-doing in the presence of any; and to reverence the opinion and the countenance of a good man rather than a bad, fearing most in his sight to offend, goes so far as almost to be virtuous. Yet this is but still the fear of infamy; and many such, when they find themselves alone, saving their reputation, will compound with other scruples, and come to a close treaty with their dearer vices in secret. But he that holds himself in reverence and due esteem, both for the dignity of God's image upon him and for the price of his redemption, which he thinks is visibly marked upon his forehead, accounts himself both a fit person to do the noblest and godliest deeds, and much better worth than to deject and defile, with such a disbasement and such a pollution as sin is, himself so highly ransomed and ennobled to a new friendship and filial relation with God. Nor can he fear so much the offence and reproach of others as he dreads and would blush at the reflection of his own severe and modest eye upon himself, if it should see him doing or imagining that which is sinful, though in the deepest secrecy. How shall a man know to do himself this right, how to perform this honourable duty of estimation and respect towards his own soul and body? What way will lead him best to this hill-top of sanctity and goodness, above which there is no higher ascent but to the love of God, which from this self-pious regard cannot be asunder? No better way, doubtless, than to let him duly understand that, as he is called by the high calling of God to be holy and pure, so is he by the same appointment ordained, and by the Church's call admitted, to such offices of discipline in the Church to which his own spiritual gifts, by the example of Apostolic institution, have authorized him. For we have learnt that the scornful term of *Laic*, the consecrating of temples, carpets, and table-cloths, the railing-in of a repugnant and contradictive Mount Sinai in the Gospel (as if the touch of a lay Christian, who is nevertheless God's living temple, could profane dead judaisms), the exclusion of Christ's people from the offices of holy discipline through the pride of a usurping clergy, causes the rest to have an unworthy and abject opinion of themselves, to approach to holy duties with a slavish fear, and to unholy doings with a familiar boldness.

But what, amid all these powerful incidental passages, is Milton's own definite conclusion as to the true form of Church government, the form prescribed by Scripture and

most accordant to reason? That it was not Episcopacy, or any possible modification of Episcopacy, we have known sufficiently from the former pamphlets. But does the present pamphlet take us so far in advance of these as to inform us, roundly and distinctly, what form of Church government Milton desired to see established in England instead of Episcopacy? It does. It informs us that Milton was at this time a kind of Presbyterian. The form of Church government which he then desired to see set up in England was one somewhat after the model of the Presbyterian Kirk of Scotland as restored by Henderson and the Glasgow Assembly of 1638. As this is a fact not generally recognised, and as Milton afterwards snapped his connexion with Presbyterianism and turned round upon it with fury as no better than Episcopacy, it may be well to bring the matter out by specific quotation.

At the very outset of his pamphlet Milton declares the question respecting Church government to be "whether it ought to be Presbyterial or Prelatical;" nay, shortly afterwards (chap. iii.), he has a sentence which shows that at this time there was little dream either in his mind or in that of people round him of the possibility of any form of Church government that should not be definable as the one or the other of these two. "This position," he says, "is to be first "laid down as granted, that one of these two, and none other, "is of God's ordaining." Nor is he long in announcing his own conclusion. After having spoken of those recent researches of Usher which brought in view not merely ordinary Bishoprics, but the larger ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Metropolitan Bishops and Patriarchs, and having referred to Brerewood's attempt to settle the exact boundaries of the three great Patriarchates of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and to determine in what relation to these Britain stood, he adds, "I "shall in the meanwhile not cease to hope, through the mercy "and grace of Christ, the head and husband of his Church, "that England shortly is to belong neither to see Patriarchal "nor see Prelatical, but to the faithful feeding and disciplin-"ing of that ministerial order which the blessed Apostles

"constituted throughout the Churches; and this I shall assay "to prove can be no other than that of Presbyters and "Deacons." He contends, accordingly, that in the Apostolic or primitive days of the Church disputes were settled not by the authority of individuals but by Councils; "from which, "by anything that can be learnt from the 15th of the *Acts*, "no faithful Christian was debarred to whom knowledge "and piety might give entrance."

So far, in avowing his preference for the democratic over the hierarchical constitution of a church, Milton regards himself as declaring for Presbyterianism. But he is more specific. Not only does he think of Councils or General Assemblies over a whole country as the court of last resort in cases of Church dispute, but he thinks of such Assemblies as constituted or led up to by smaller and more local bodies, each acting on the same principle of free debate and vote. "Of such a Council as this," he says, speaking of a Council of the Church over a large tract of territory, "every Parochial "Consistory is a right homogeneous and constituting part; "being in itself as it were a little Synod, and towards a "General Assembly moving upon her own basis in an even "and firm progression, as those smaller squares in battle unite "in one great cube, the phalanx, an emblem of truth and "stedfastness." In contrast to this image of Presbyterial organization as a perfect cube he then presents the image of the Prelatic or hierarchical organization as a pyramid, tapering from base to apex; and, with a curious ingenuity in the language of solid geometry, he compares the occasional attempts of such an organization to remedy its own defects by Convocations and Councils in extreme cases to abortive efforts of a pyramid to become fluid so as to be able for the nonce to "inglobe" or "incube" itself. In his image of the Presbyterial government, it will be observed, he confines himself to mentioning the smallest unit and the largest of the cubical system—the *Parochial Consistory*, or court of the individual parish or congregation, answering to what the Scotch call the *Kirk-session;* and the complete territorial or national Council, which he expressly calls by its Scottish name of

General Assembly, but which he calls afterwards, in another place, a *General Presbytery*. There is no distinct mention of the two bodies intermediate, in the Scottish Presbyterian system, between the Kirk-session and the General or National Assembly—to wit, the *Presbytery*, specially so called, or periodical meeting of office-bearers of a cluster of contiguous parishes; and the *Provincial Synod*, or periodical meeting of all the Presbyters of a shire or other large district. His language does not imply that he did not contemplate these gradual or intermediate "cubings," and indeed may be construed to imply that he had such in his mind; but, on the other hand, it is possible that Milton did not favour the stringency of the Scottish gradation up from the constant Kirk-session through monthly or quarterly Presbyteries and twice-a-year Synods to the annual General Assembly, but rather preferred the notion of a multitude of coequal Kirk-sessions representing and managing individual parishes or congregations, but merging into Assemblies larger or smaller as there might be occasion.

In his farther description, however, of the smallest ecclesiastical unit, the Parochial Consistory or Kirk-session, and its relations to the people, Milton does seem to agree pretty closely with the Scottish system. Distinct from the power or authority of the civil magistrate, whose punishments may extend to person and goods, he recognises as still necessary to the well-being of society a certain organized power of spiritual or ecclesiastical censure, acting solely on the conscience. In the early ages of the world this authority of spiritual censure had been vested, as was also civil authority, in each father of a family; in later ages it had been exercised, more or less laxly, and in conjunction with more or less of civil power, by Sages and Philosophers among the heathen, and by Prophets and Scribes and Pharisees among the Jews. Under the Gospel, however, God had granted more freedom, and was less the schoolmaster than the indulgent father of sons arrived at discreet age. "Therefore, in the sweetest and mildest manner "of paternal discipline, he hath committed this other office "of preserving in healthful constitution the inner man,

"which may be termed the spirit of the soul, to his spiritual "deputy, the Minister of each congregation; who, being best "acquainted with his own flock, hath best reason to know all "the secretest diseases likely to be there." The pastor of every particular parish or congregation, therefore, is, according to Milton, to be regarded as the person specially invested with the power of spiritual censure within that parish or congregation. But he is not to be alone in the office even there: "The Holy Ghost, by the Apostles, joined to the minister, as "assistant in this great office sometimes, a certain number of "grave and faithful brethren. For neither doth the physician "do all in restoring his patient: he prescribes, another pre-"pares the medicine; some tend, some watch, some visit." On this ground, and because the pastor may err, and also because "nothing can be more for the mutual honour and love "of the people to their pastor, and his to them, than when in "select numbers and courses they are seen partaking and "doing reverence to the holy duties of discipline by their "serviceable and solemn presence," there ought to be, round the pastor in every parish or congregation, a certain number of lay-elders as his assessors. Milton expressly calls them "lay-elders," as in the Scottish Presbyterian system, and defines their duties very much as they are recognised in that system. They are to assist the pastor in his ministrations, and, together with him, are to form the parochial consistory, or congregational court.

It is in describing the duties of this little consistory, or court of the Pastor and Lay-elders, in every particular parish or congregation, that Milton brings out most fully his idea of the true functions of the Church in modern society. Teaching or Doctrine is one of the functions, but by no means the only one, nor perhaps the most important. Besides Teaching there is the great function of "censure" or "discipline." The distinction is explained by a comparison. "Public "Preaching," says Milton, "is the gift of the Spirit, working "as best seems to his secret will; but Discipline is the practic "work of preaching directed and applied as is most requisite "to particular duty; without which it were all one to the

"benefit of souls as it would be to the cure of bodies if "all the physicians in London should get into the several "pulpits of the city, and, assembling all the diseased in "every parish, should begin a learned lecture of pleurisies, "palsies, lethargies, to which perhaps none present were in- "clined, and so, without so much as feeling one pulse, or giv- "ing the least order to any skilful apothecary, should dismiss "'em from time to time, some groaning, some languishing, "some expiring, with this only charge, to look well to them- "selves and do as they hear." In short, Discipline or Censure is practical spiritual Therapeutics, or the dealing with the special diseases, in the shape of error or evil conduct, that may present themselves in individuals or in localities. Now, this function, within each parish or congregation, is vested, according to Milton, in the above-described consistory or kirk-session. He dilates at some length on the great effects that might be produced by a pastor and lay-elders earnestly and skilfully exercising within their bounds this function of ecclesiastical censure, confined as they should be to merely spiritual and moral means of enforcing their authority, and debarred, as they should be, in a true theory of the Church, from every pretence of jurisdiction. Armed with the powerful weapons of Admonition and Reproof, the minister, where there was an errant member of his flock, might first privately deal with him to recover him. This failing, the counsel of the lay-assistants might be called in, and stronger measures of rebuke and remonstrance employed. Shame and the fear of exposure are, next to innate purity and magnanimity, the most effective motives to virtuous conduct. But, if a case proved desperate, if some evil-doer were obdurate in his iniquity, then the whole church or congregation might be called in; for, though censure is ordinarily vested in the minister and elders, it is not so vested but that, in extreme cases, all the brethren must participate. For a time, therefore, the whole Church beseech the obstinate sinner, deplore him, pray for him. "After all this performed with what patience and "attendance is possible, and no relenting on his part, having "done the utmost of their cure, in the name of God and of

"the Church they dissolve their fellowship with him, and, "holding forth the dreadful sponge of excommunion, pro- "nounce him wiped out of the list of God's inheritance and "in the custody of Satan till he repent." Even this horrid sentence of excommunication, however, must be purely spiritual, a mere dissolution of fellowship with the person so punished, and without the least consequence, except what may be produced through opinion, to life, or limb, or any worldly possession. Nothing is more striking than the deep ideal faith in the efficacy of the great dynamic forces of Love, Fear, Shame, and the like, unaided by any civil rewards or penalties, which pervades all this portion of Milton's pamphlet. It is the superiority of the Presbyterian system of Church government, as he conceives it, in this respect of its more complete trust in these dynamic forces, and its greater capacity in using them, that chiefly recommends it to him. "So little is it," he says, "that I fear lest any crooked- "ness, any wrinkle or spot, should be found in Presbyterial "government, that, if Bodin, the famous French writer, "though a Papist, yet affirms that the commonwealth which "maintains this discipline will certainly flourish in virtue "and piety, I dare assure myself that every true Protestant "will admire the integrity, the uprightness, the divine and "gracious purposes thereof, and, even for the reason of it, "so coherent with the doctrine of the Gospel, besides the "evident command of Scripture, will confess it to be the only "true Church government."——One item in Milton's conception of such Church government remains to be noted. As the pastor and lay-elders of any parish were sometimes to merge themselves in the whole congregation for the exercise of Church discipline, so, Milton clearly hints, they ought originally to be elected by the congregation.

That Milton's theory of Church government, so expounded, accorded in all points with the system of the contemporary Scottish Kirk, or that the straiter Presbyterian Scottish critics, like Baillie or Gillespie, would not have found flaws and deficiencies on it, some taint of Brownism or Independency, or at least a general vagueness, will hardly be asserted. After

all, however, the difference was to be attributed mainly to the fact that here was a free English mind thinking for itself, coming to the essential Presbyterian conclusions in its own way, and expressing them in their dynamical aspects rather than with attention to all points of the rigid mechanism. All the more on this account was this a writer at whom the Scottish Presbyterian leaders, Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, and Gillespie, might look with interest. Might they not think of him as likely to aid them in the task which they had so much at heart, and on behalf of which they too were printing pamphlets in London?[1] Was *he* not contributing also to the formation of a sufficient Presbyterian opinion in England, and so to an ecclesiastical uniformity between the two kingdoms? That some of the Scottish Presbyterians saw and read this pamphlet of Milton's may be assumed as certain. If they wondered at first how there should be so much of the root of the matter in an Englishman of Cambridge training, the mystery might have been solved for some of them by the information that he was an associate of the Smectymnuans, and had been a pupil of Mr. Young of Stowmarket.

Milton took express pains that the world *should* know something about himself in connexion with this pamphlet. It can hardly have been merely because people had already been talking of him in connexion with his former pamphlets that, not content with simply putting his name to this one, he inserted the extraordinary chapter of autobiography which opens the Second Book. For any ordinary purpose, in any ordinary pamphlet, such a chapter would be a mere excess of egotism. But this was no ordinary pamphlet, nor was Milton's purpose ordinary. He had thrown himself into a great work. He had done so reluctantly but deliberately, not concealing from himself, on the one hand, what sacrifices it might require of him, nor, on the other, how important it might be

[1] I may note here, by way of coincidence, a pamphlet of Baillie's published in London about the time of the publication of Milton's *Reason of Church Government*, and to the same effect. It is entitled *The Unlawfulnesse and Danger of Limited Episcopacie, &c., by Robert Baillie, Pastor of Kilwunning* [*sic*] *in Scotland: London: Printed for Thos. Underhill, at the Bible in Wood Street:* 1641. The coincidence is the more worth noting because the publisher of this pamphlet, Underhill, was the publisher of Milton's first three pamphlets.

for his countrymen that *he* had assumed this hard office. He had been talked of for his former pamphlets, and he knew he would be much more talked of by the world ere he left it. Let him therefore burst all bounds of common literary restraint, and, while delivering a message to his countrymen, tell them frankly what sort of man the messenger was. This might really import much to the message itself. It was no mere book he was publishing, no mere literary performance to be enjoyed or admired, irrespectively of knowledge of its author. It was a prophecy like those of old, and as full of thundering. People were entitled therefore to see his personal warrant. "Who are you," they might justly say, "that talk in this high strain? Is it all mere mouth? If we saw the man to whom the mouth belongs, and knew him thoroughly, heart, look, and life, should we listen or should we laugh? Come forth and show yourself!" Exactly on this principle, Milton did come forth. In one entire chapter he gives a summary, but exact, account of himself, his previous history, and his recent occupations. "This is the kind of man I am," he virtually says; "such has been my life from my childhood hitherto; these are my credentials. Even on such a ground as this I do, before God, believe that you are bound to listen to me; but judge for yourselves." And, whatever may have been thought at the time by English readers of the pamphlet, we now are thankful for that chapter, and read it with reverence.

Nothing can be more dreadful, Milton begins, than for a conscientious man, possessed by some truth which he feels himself commissioned to express, but who is at the same time a lover of peace, to find himself a cause of variance and discord. "This is that which the sad prophet, Jeremiah, laments, "*Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me a man of "strife and contention!*" All prophets, Heathen as well as Hebrew, had felt this sorrow. In his own case there was an additional trouble. That he, an untitled Englishman, still in his "green years," had come forward to denounce Prelacy, and, in doing so, to oppose the traditions of his country, and "contest with men of high estimation," might be imputed—

nay, he had found, *had* been imputed—to "some self-pleasing humour of vain-glory." Nothing could be farther from the fact. Had he consulted mere natural inclination, had he followed out the plans he had laid for his own life, had he persisted in doing what he could do best and should have had most of personal enjoyment in doing, he would not now have been attacking Episcopacy, or writing pamphlets at all. Very different was the work to which he had been looking forward. Until this turmoil in England, all his hopes, all his projects, had pointed to a purely intellectual or speculative life, a life dedicated to the very noblest and calmest of all the Muses. It had been his happy lot, through the ceaseless care and diligence of one of the best of fathers—"whom God recompense," he adds, signifying that his good father was yet alive—to receive the best education, "by sundry masters and teachers both at home and at the schools," that England could afford. Even in those his youthful days, his calling to literature had been apparent. "It was found that, whether "aught was imposed upon me by them that had the overlook-"ing, or betaken to of mine own choice, in English or other "tongue, prosing or versing, but chiefly the latter, the style, "by certain vital signs it had, was likely to live." Of his English poems already published Milton makes no mention. He passes at once to his journey to Italy, and the cordial nature of his reception among the scholars there, especially in their meetings in the literary Academies. "I began," he says, "thus far to assent both to them and divers friends here "at home, and not the less to an inward prompting which "now daily grew upon me, that, by labour and intent study "(which I take to be my portion in this life) joined with "the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave some-"thing so written to after times as they should not willingly "let it die." Connected with this thought of a life of intense devotion to literature, and of some great master-work in particular that might grow out of such a life, there was, he says, another thought. Latin was the language in which most Englishmen, or at least most Englishmen of the learned as distinct from the popular class, had chosen

to write their greatest works. They had sought, like the learned writers of France, Italy, and Germany, to address the entire world of Europe. He himself (this he does not say, but it is well to note it) had used the Latin tongue in his writings nearly as much as the English. But, while making up his mind to a career wholly devoted to literature, he had come to a new resolution. In such a career, if his works should have any chance of endurance, his immediate care, he had come to see, ought to be the "honour and instruction" of his own country. "For which cause," he continues, "and "not only for that I knew it would be hard to arrive at the "second rank among the Latins, I applied myself to that "resolution which Ariosto followed against the persuasions of "Bembo, to fix all the industry and art I could unite to the "adorning of my native tongue—not to make verbal curio-"sities the end (*that* were a toilsome vanity), but to be an "interpreter and relater of the best and sagest things among "mine own citizens throughout this Island in the mother "dialect—that what the greatest and choicest wits of "Athens, Rome, or modern Italy, and those Hebrews of "old, did for *their* country, I, in my proportion, with this "over and above of being a Christian, might do for *mine;* "not caring to be once named abroad, though perhaps I "could attain to that, but content with these British Islands "as my world, whose fortune hath hitherto been that, if "the Athenians, as some say, made their small deeds great "and renowned by their eloquent writers, England hath "had *her* noble achievements made small by the unskilful "handling of monks and mechanics." What have we here but a repetition publicly of what we heard Milton saying to himself privately, two years before, in his *Epitaphium Damonis?*[1]—

> "What then? For one to do all things,
> One to hope all things, fits not! Prize sufficiently ample
> Mine, and distinction great (unheard-of ever thereafter
> Though I should be, and inglorious, all through the world of the stranger),

[1] *Ante*, pp. 91, 92.

If but yellow-haired Ouse shall read me, the drinker of Alan,
Humber, which whirls as it flows, and Trent's whole valley of orchards,
Thames, my own Thames, above all, and Tamar's western waters
Tawny with ores, and where the white waves swinge the far Orkneys."

Returning to England, he says, with these plans and resolutions, he had employed himself in meditations as to the proper *subject* and *form* for his intended English poem. Here, though Milton says nothing of the long list of subjects for tragedies, from Scripture and from British History, which we know he had written out, and which may have been on his desk in Aldersgate Street while he was penning this very pamphlet, he describes in the most exact manner those hesitations of his as to form and subject, those changing schemes of his mind "at home in the spacious circuits of her musing," of which we have cited that list as documentary proof![1] But, whatever subject and form he might finally choose, the poem should at least be an example of new nobleness in English Literature! The corrupt state into which that Literature had fallen of late, and especially the depravation of the youth and gentry of England by "the writings and interludes of libidinous and ignorant poetasters," were matters of serious national concern. It might even be well if the Magistracy and Government were to take these matters to some extent within their charge, managing the public sports and pastimes, like the famous Governments of old, and arranging that not only in the pulpit, but in academies, and by wise and artful public recitations, and at "set and solemn panagories in theatres, porches, or what other place and way may win most upon the people to receive at once both recreation and instruction," there should be the means of the highest, richest, and most exquisite popular culture. His own contribution to the Literature of England, at all events, should be one conceived and perfected according to this all but forgotten standard!

[1] *Ante*, pp. 103–119.

Could it have been vain glory, he proceeds, that had torn him from such dreams as these? Was there anything so charming in controversy for its own sake, anything so glorious in fighting with blockheads and bishops, that a man who had such a private Elysium of poetic schemings and studies to rejoice in, and whose means permitted him to remain there without anxiety or perturbation, should voluntarily leave that Elysium to become an Anti-Episcopal pamphleteer? And why, then, had he taken this step? Solely, he declares, from a sense of duty.

"For me, I have determined to lay up as the best treasure and solace of a good old age, if God vouchsafe it me, the honest liberty of free speech from my youth, where I shall think it available in so dear a concernment as the Church's good. For, if I be, either by disposition or what other cause, too inquisitive or suspicious of myself and mine own doings, who can help it? But this I foresee, that, should the Church be brought under heavy oppression, and God have given me ability the while to reason against that man that should be the author of so foul a deed, or should she, by blessing from above on the industry and courage of faithful men, change this her distracted estate into better days without the least furtherance or contribution of those few talents which God at that present had lent me,—I foresee what stories I should hear within myself, all my life after, of discourage and reproach:—'Timorous and ungrateful, the Church of God is now again at the foot of her insulting enemies, and *thou* bewailest! What matters it for thee or thy bewailing? When time was, thou couldst not find a syllable of all that thou hadst read or studied to utter in her behalf. Yet ease and leisure was given thee for thy retired thoughts out of the sweat of other men! Thou hadst the diligence, the parts, the language of a man, if a vain subject were to be adorned or beautified; but, when the cause of God and his Church was to be pleaded, for which purpose that tongue was given thee which thou hast, God listened if he could hear thy voice among his zealous servants, but thou wert dumb as a beast. From henceforward be that which thine own brutish silence hath made thee!' Or else I should have heard on the other ear:—'Slothful and ever to be set light by, the Church hath now overcome her late distresses after the unwearied labours of many, her true servants, that stood up in her defence. *Thou* also wouldst take

upon thee to share amongst them of their joy; but wherefore *thou?* Where canst thou show any word or deed of thine which might have hastened her peace? Whatever thou dost now talk, or write, or look, is the alms of other men's active prudence and zeal. Dare not now to say or do anything better than thy former sloth and infancy; or, if thou darest, thou dost imprudently, to make a thrifty purchase of boldness to thyself out of the painful merits of other men. What before was thy sin is now thy duty to be—abject and worthless!' These, and such-like lessons as these, I know, would have been my matins duly and my even-song. But now by this little diligence mark what a privilege I have gained! with good men and saints, to claim *my* right of lamenting the tribulations of the Church, if she should suffer, when others that have ventured nothing for her sake have not the honour to be admitted mourners; but, if she lift up her drooping head and prosper, among those that have something more than wished her welfare *I* have my charter and freehold of rejoicing to me and my heirs."

In addition to these general reasons, affecting all Englishmen, there was a particular reason in his case for taking part in this battle. He had himself been intended for the Church by his parents and friends, and in his own resolutions, until, arriving at an age when he could judge what the Church was, he had recoiled from it in disgust, and preferred being a layman all his life to being a perjured or servile priest. All the more was he bound, now that there was a chance, to assist in restoring the Church to such a condition that future free and young spirits, the flower of English manhood, might enter her service without degradation. It was a great work; but was it one which *he* was likely to have chosen for mere personal satisfaction? Who that knew him could think so? Surely, if he "hunted after praise by the ostentation of art and learning," he would not thus be writing "out of his own season." He would not be writing rough pamphlets for the mere hasty perusal of a passing hour. If left to himself, would he have chosen prose at all for his element? That was a manner of writing in which he knew himself to be inferior to himself, and in which he had the use but of his "left hand"! If, therefore, he had interrupted his own natural pursuits, and forsaken a

calm and pleasing solitariness, "to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes," let his reasons for doing so be understood by his countrymen. Nay, he would make them a promise! He had taken his countrymen so far into his confidence as to tell them of his literary projects, and especially of the great English Poem that had been shaping itself in his dreams. Well, as to these projects, and as to that intended English poem, let this pledge (Feb. or March 1641-2) be registered:—

"The accomplishment of them lies not but in a power above man's to promise; but that none hath by more studious ways endeavoured, and with more unwearied spirit that none shall—*that* I dare almost aver of myself, as far as life and free leisure will extend, and that the land had once enfranchised herself from this impertinent yoke of Prelaty, under whose inquisitorious and tyrannical duncery no free and splendid wit can flourish. Neither do I think it shame to covenant with any knowing reader that for some few years yet I may go on trust with him toward the payment of what I am now indebted, as being a work not to be raised from the heat of youth, or the vapours of wine, like that which flows at waste from the pen of some vulgar amorist, or the trencher fury of a riming parasite, nor to be obtained by the invocation of Dame Memory and her Siren Daughters, but by devout prayer to that Eternal Spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge, and sends out his seraphim with the hallowed fire of his altar to touch and purify the lips of whom he pleases. To this must be added industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs, till which in some measure be compassed at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them."

The reader has by this time had enough perhaps of Milton speaking about himself. By way of variation he may like now to have a specimen of what other people were saying and publishing about Milton. Here, accordingly, is the opening or preface of a pamphlet, written wholly and specially against Milton, which was out in London only a week or two after that of Milton from which we have been quoting. The

circulation of the two pamphlets must indeed have clashed in some English households:—

"To the Reader.

"Reader: If thou hast any general or particular concernment in the affairs of these times, or but natural curiosity, thou art acquainted with the late and hot bickerings between the Prelates and Smectymnuans. To make up the breaches of whose solemn scenes (it were too ominous to say tragical) there is thrust forward upon the stage, as also to take the ear of the less intelligent, a scurrilous Mime—a personated, and, as himself thinks, a grim, lowering, bitter Fool. I have no farther notice of him than he hath been pleased, in his immodest and injurious Libel, to give of himself, and therefore, as our industrious critics, for want of clearer evidence concerning the life and manners of some revived authors, must fetch his character from some scattered passages in his own writings. It seems he hath been initiated in the Arts by Jack Seton and Bishop Downam,[1] confirmed a logician; and, as he says his companions did, it is like he 'spent his youth in loitering, bezzling, and harloting.' Thus, being grown to an imposthume in the breast of the University, he was at length vomited out thence into a suburb sink about London; which, since his coming up, hath groaned under two ills—him and the Plague. Where his morning haunts are I wist not; but he that would find him after dinner must search the playhouses or the bordelli, for there I have traced him. [Here, in justification of this inference respecting Milton's afternoon haunts and habits, the author quotes from Milton's pamphlets these phrases from the Playhouse or worse—*old cloaks, false beards, tires, cases, periwigs, Modena vizards, night-walking cudgellers, salt-lotion.*] Marry, of late, since he was out of wit and clothes, as Stilpo merrily jeered the poor starveling Crates, he is now clothed in serge and confined to a parlour; whence he blasphemes God and the King, as ordinarily erewhile he drank sack and swore. Hear him speak [here are introduced a few coarsish passages from Milton]. Christian, dost thou like these passages? or doth thy heart rise against such unseemly beastliness? Nay, but take this head [another quotation from Milton]. Horrid blasphemy! You that love Christ and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest yourselves smart for his impunity. This is my adversary; to encounter whom at his own weapons I am much too weak, and must despair of victory, unless it may be gotten by the strength of a good cause and a modest defence of it. I dare not say but there may be hid in my nature as much venomous Atheism and profanation as hath broken out at his lips (every one that is infected with the sickness hath

[1] This means that Milton had been educated at Cambridge—where Seton's Logic was an established text-book, and where Downam, afterwards Bishop of Kerry, and who died in 1634, had taught the Ramist Logic from and after 1590. See *ante*, Vol. I. pp. 229—231, foot-notes.

not the sores running upon him); of which should I be as lavish as he hath been, it might be said of us that we encountered one the other like a toad and a spider, and each died of the other's poison, or, whiles we should seem to fall out about some petty matters in Religion, we well enough agreed together to be eminently wicked. It is my prayer to God that all those and the like scandals with which he and I may grieve the Church may be forgiven to him and prevented in me, and that in his good time himself would undertake the curing of his Church's wounds, which, by the ignorance of some and malice of others, are likely to be but worse for the plaster.—Farewell!"

These are refreshing observations, and in beautiful taste. Whose are they? As far as is known, they are Bishop Hall's, or his son's, or they are a concoction by the father and son between them. And here we must go back a little in our story.

The reader has not forgotten the Smectymnuan series of Pamphlets. These were (1) Bishop Hall's *Humble Remonstrance*, the origin of all, published in January 1640-41; (2) the bulky Smectymnuan *Answer to the Humble Remonstrance*, published in March 1640-41; (3) Bishop Hall's *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance against Smectymnuus*, published in April 1641; (4) the Smectymnuan rejoinder entitled *A Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance*, published in June 1641; and (5) Milton's *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant*, written in aid of his friends, the Smectymnuans, and published in July 1641.

So far the Smectymnuans had had the last word. Nay, they had had twice the last word—first, in No. 4 of the series, or their own "Vindication of their Answer," and next in No. 5, or Milton's auxiliary "Animadversions." But Hall was not the man to leave matters in this state. In July or August 1641 there had appeared *A Short Answer to the Tedious Vindication of Smectymnuus: By the Author of the Humble Remonstrance*.[1] This formed No. 6 of the Smectymnuan series of pamphlets, and was intended as a demolition of No. 4. It consists of 119 pages in all, and is in Hall's usual style, going back upon the "Areopagi," the "light froth," &c.[2] The

[1] "Printed for Nathaniel Butter, in Paul's Churchyard, at the Pyde Bull, near St. Austin's Gate:" Registered in the Stationers' Books, July 23, 1641.

[2] See *ante*, pp. 254, 256.

reader need be troubled with no more of it here than the concluding sentences. "Since I see," Hall there says, "that "our Smectymnuans have vowed (like as some impetuous "scolds are wont to do) to have the last word, and have set up a resolution (taking advantage of their multitude) to tire "out their better-employed adversary with mere length of "discourse, and to do that by bulk of body which by clear "strength they cannot, I have determined to take off my "hand from this remaining controversy of Episcopacy "(wherein I have said enough, without the return of answer, "and indeed anticipated all their thread-bare objections "which are here again regested to the weary reader), and to "turn off my combined opposites to matches more fit for their "age and quality: with this profession notwithstanding—that, "if I shall find (which I hope I never shall) this just and "holy cause (whether out of insensibleness or cautious re-"servedness) neglected by more able defenders, I shall "borrow so much time from my better thoughts as to bestow "some strictures where I may not afford a large confutation."[1] Whether, when Hall wrote these words, he had seen No. 5 of the Smectymnuan series—*i.e.* Milton's *Animadversions*—must remain doubtful. Quite possibly not; for Milton's pamphlet, though in order it is No. 5 of the Smectymnuan series, seems to have appeared almost simultaneously with this No. 6. Or it may be that the above closing words of No. 6 contain an allusion to No. 5 as having just come into Hall's hands, but too late to be noticed by him in the pamphlet then at press, and which was a reply to the Smectymnuan No. 4.

But that this No. 5, these anonymous *Animadversions on the Remonstrant*, should be out in the world unanswered must have been an annoyance to Hall. For this anonymous auxiliary to the Smectymnuans was a much more formidable adversary than the Smectymnuans themselves. Here was no mere heavy plodder, reasoning on the subjects of Liturgy and Episcopacy, but a man who could intermingle his reasonings on these subjects with thoughts of power, and passages

[1] Pp. 102, 103, of pamphlet.

of eloquence and invective. Nay, what was hardest to bear, here was a man to whom Hall's whole literary, as well as his Episcopal career, seemed to be familiar, and who had evidently an extreme contempt for his abilities as well as a dislike of his principles. That one whose reputation in the English world of letters dated from the days of Elizabeth should now, in his sixty-eighth year, be held up to scorn by an anonymous critic as only a low-tempered practitioner of spurious rhetoric was too much to be borne. For still the worst of it was that the anonymous critic was evidently not a nobody, but a man himself cultivated in letters and the history of letters, with a genius that could soar, as well as a wit that could sting. To suppose, for example, that Hall could have read that extraordinary burst of prayer in the *Animadversions* beginning "O, if we freeze at noon" (see *antè*, pp. 267-8), without recognising in the writer some one more than his own equal in poetic expression, would be simply to suppose that Hall, with all his literary celebrity, did not know what literary merit was. There is not the least doubt, however, that Hall did appreciate, more than was comfortable for himself, the powers of his new antagonist.

As the *Animadversions* had been in circulation since July 1641, the wonder is that Hall, who wrote readily, had not at once published an answer. But the autumn of 1641 had passed, and the next winter, and even the spring of 1641-2, and still no reply had appeared. There may have been various reasons for this. Actually too much amazed at first to answer, Hall may have afterwards found it best for a while to assume the "silent contempt" mood; or he may have taken refuge in his declaration, in the end of his last pamphlet, that, for his part, the Smectymnuan controversy should now be at an end, unless something extraordinary happened. Then, from October onwards, there had been the unusual press of Church business in Parliament, occupying the thoughts and time of all the Bishops there, and ending at Christmas with the imprisonment of Hall and his brother Bishops for their famous Protest. Hall remained a prisoner in the Tower eighteen weeks in all, or from Christmas

1641 till May 5, 1642; during which time, however, the custody of him and the other Bishops was not so strict but that they might see visitors and friends. In the Tower, accordingly, if not before, Hall had leisure to think of these unanswered *Animadversions*. But, indeed, he *had* been thinking of them before. He had been making inquiries respecting the author.[1] There being no real concealment of Milton's name, and the fact of his being a Cambridge man having been ascertained, it was easy for Hall, himself a Cambridge man, to find out more. Could they tell him anything down at Cambridge of the character and college reputation of one Milton, who had been at Christ's, and had taken his degree in or about 1632? Such, in effect, was the tenor of Hall's inquiries, whether sent down to Cambridge, or only put incidentally to people likely to know. And to assist Hall in such inquiries, and in fact make them for him, there was his son, the Rev. Robert Hall, M.A., Canon-residentiary of Hall's old see of Exeter, but now much in London. This Rev. Robert Hall, the Bishop's eldest son, had been incorporated into Oxford and had taken his M.A. degree there; but he had received his first academic education, and taken his B.A. degree, at Cambridge.[2] He was about two years Milton's senior, and they may have been at Cambridge for some time together. In short, Hall, having made up his mind at last that it would be useful to notice the *Animadversions*, did, some time after the commencement of 1642, publish such a notice or authorize its publication: "*A Modest Confutation of a Slanderous and Scurrilous Libell intituled Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence against Smectymnuus: Printed in the year* 1642." Such is the title of this new pamphlet, which we may call No. 7 of the Smectymnuan series. The writer (if rumour at the time, and the style and manner of the pamphlet itself, are to be taken as proof) was mainly Hall; but parts may have been written by his son, who may also have acted as editor.

[1] Our authority for this is Milton himself, who had been informed of the fact: see sequel.

[2] Wood's Fasti: I. 449, and II. 69. Hall was made D.D. of Oxford in 1643.

It is from this pamphlet, copies of which must now be extremely scarce,[1] that we have already extracted, for the reader's entertainment, the beautiful opening Address, in which Milton is described as a blackguard, whom the University had "vomited forth," and who was now living, no one knew how, in a "suburb-sink" of London. The pamphlet, however, is a longish affair. It consists of 40 small quarto pages, divided numerically into twelve sections. In each section a portion of the *Animadversions* is cited and replied to. Without taking much account of what is again said on the subjects of Episcopacy and the Liturgy, let us attend chiefly to the personalities between Milton and Hall with which the pamphlet abounds.

There is, of course, plenty of reiterated abuse of Milton in the style of the opening Address to the Reader. "Such carping poetasters as you," says the Confuter in one place, showing that he knew of Milton's pretensions to poetry. "Which shows," he says in another place, referring to a disagreeable simile of Milton's, "that you can be as bold with a Prelate as familiar with your laundress." In a third place, referring to an incidental phrase of Milton's, to the effect that, though no Bishop, he could discuss such and such topics, the Confuter says ironically that it had been thought by some that, when philosophers had denounced riches, and pleasures, and high places, it had often been on the principle of the Fox in the fable who called the grapes sour that were out of his reach. He will not be so uncharitable, however, as to suppose, in the case of the author of the *Animadversions*, that it was mortified ambition in not having seen his own way to high rank in the Church that had made him such an Anti-Prelatist. By all accounts, he had other and more practicable aims. "A rich widow, or a lecture, or both, contents *you*." A good deal of Milton's pamphlet, it is hinted, was written to win the widow. "To "the first (*i.e.* the widow) you make way by a long, tedious,

[1] In a copy of the pamphlet among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum (E. $\frac{134}{41}$) the words "Against Mr. Milton" are written on the title-page in a contemporary hand.

"theatrical, bigmouthed, astounding prayer, put up in the "name of the Three Kingdoms" [this is that extraordinary prayer in the *Animadversions* with which, on mere literary grounds, we have supposed it impossible that Hall should not have been struck], "not so much to please God or benefit "the weal-public by it as to intimate your own good abilities "to her that is your rich hopes:—

"'Petit Gemellus nuptias Maronillæ,
Et cupit, et instat, et precatur.'"

But, amid much to the like effect, there is a constant return on the subject of Milton's bizarre and piebald style. He is strongly taken to task, in particular, for his profanity and bad taste in having mixed coarse and slang terms with the discussion of sacred matters. "What moral precept in "Solomon," asks the Confuter, "countenances such language "as this: *Scum, ladles, kitchen, physic, brawn, beef, kickshaws,* "*and crambo-prayers, motley and patched incoherences, with* "*heypass-repass and the mystical man of Sturbridge, your* "*barber leading in Balaam's ass, Christ and his Apostles,* "*capon and white-broth,* in the same leaf; *Esau's red pottage* "*and a spur-galled galloway; bastards and centaurs of* "*spiritual fornications; a Christian minister's surplice and* "*an Egyptian priest's frock in the same suds; your primero* "*of piety, cogging of dice into heaven; gleeking and Bacchanalia,* "*and flanks and briskets,* &c."? These phrases in italics are all quoted from Milton's pamphlet as instances of his bad taste, the Confuter winding up, "Such language you should "scarce hear from the mouths of canting beggars at an "heathen altar; much less was it looked for in a treatise "of controversial theology." Then, among other things, Milton's defence of the philological slip of the Smectymnuans in the matter of the *Areopagi* is redargued, and his references to Bacon declared invalid, and met by counter-citations of Bacon, Sandys, Machiavelli, and others.

In most of these passages of abuse of Milton I detect Hall's own hand. His hand may also be distinctly detected in those parts of the pamphlet which are defences of himself, although

here much is so directly and luxuriantly eulogistic of the Prelate's character and career that it must be attributed to the filial hand of his coadjutor. Milton's contemptuous references to Hall's purely literary performances—his English *Satires*, and his Latin burlesque, *Mundus Alter et Idem*—had evidently been very nettling; and there is, accordingly, a special and rather long defence of the *Satires*. "You begin with his "youth," says the Confuter, addressing Milton; "the sport "and leisure of his youth, even that must be raked out of "the dust, and cited to witness against him, as it were to "disparage the holiness of his age and calling." The *Satires* had been written by Hall in his youth, continues the Confuter, to whip vices from which he had freed himself; "which "timely zeal, as it did not misbecome his youth, so can it not "disparage his Prelacy—no, not as Poesy, not as Satire. The "first you condemn; and the latter I will maintain against "greater critics than you would dare boast to have been con- "versant with." Then follow two or three pages of critical defence of the *Satires*, and of the name that had been given to them, fortified by a sketch of the history of this form of literature, and quotations from Horace, Martial, Chaucer, and Sir David Lindsay. All this is pretty certainly Hall's own; but the following, in answer to Milton's epithets, "a false prophet," "a belly-god, proud and covetous," "a Laodicean," "a dissembling Joab," as applied to Hall, must have been written by his son:—"Good God! . . view well that heap of "age and reverence, and say whether that clear and healthful "constitution, those fresh cheeks and quick eyes, that "round tongue, agile hand, nimble invention, staid delivery, "quiet, calm and happy bosom, be the effect of three-score "years' surfeit and gluttony. What time could *he* steal "to bestow upon Mammon, the god of this world, whose "whole life hath been nothing but a laborious search after "human and divine truths; which having picked out (as "that little miracle of nature doth honey) from weeds and "flowers, he did not improper to himself, but liberally "dealt them to the good of the public! . . May ye stay for "such another glorious light of the Church till ye can deserve

"him! . . . Had former times shown him, or foreign Churches "nourished him, he that is now your scorn had been your "wonder; happy had that man been that could have dressed "a sermon in his grave and weighty sentences or his study "with his picture." If Hall was in the Tower when this was written, there may have been a motive for the eulogy as well as for the following respectful reference to the Parliament in an earlier part of the pamphlet: "The sun looks not on a "braver, nobler Convocation than is that of King, Peers and "Commons, whose equal justice and wise moderation shall "eternally triumph, in that they have hitherto deferred to do "what the sour exorbitancies on one hand and eager solicita-"tions on the other, not permitting them to consult with "reason, would have prompted them to." These words are probably Hall's own. They seem to imply that the Bishops' Ejection Bill had not yet been passed by the Peers and the King; and, if so, the pamphlet, though bearing to be printed in 1642, must have been written before February 1641-2. If written after the 14th of that month, when the King's consent to the Exclusion Bill was given, the words indicate a singular abatement of Hall's courage.

For personal reasons, as well as from regard to his Smectymnuan friends and their cause, Milton felt himself bound to answer the pamphlet of Hall and his son. Accordingly, shortly after its appearance—probably in March or April 1642—there came forth what we will call No. 8 in the Smectymnuan series, or the fifth of Milton's own pamphlets on the Church question. It bore this title: "*An Apology against a Pamphlet call'd A Modest Confutation of the Animadversions of the Remonstrant against Smectymnuus: London, Printed by E. G. for John Rothwell, and are to be sold at the Signe of the Sunne in Paul's Churchyard,* 1642."[1] Here Milton, it will be

[1] In a copy of the pamphlet in the British Museum (E. $\frac{147}{54}$) the words "*By Mr. Milton: Ex dono Authoris*" are written on the title-page, by a contemporary hand—which, however, is not Milton's own. The pamphlet contains allusions to the numerous Anti-Episcopal Petitions to Parliament—including the Petitions of the Women and the Prentices of London—which fix the date of its publication as after Feb. 4, 1641-2. On the other hand, there are such allusions to the exclusion of Bishops from Parliament as an event only just accomplished, or in the act of being accomplished, that, though the pamphlet is dated 1642, it *may* have been in print *before* the formal commencement of that year, *i.e.* before March 25.

observed, relapses, as the state of the case required, into the anonymous; but his publisher is the same "Rothwell" who had published his last, or acknowledged, pamphlet, and not the "Underhill" who had published his three first pamphlets, including the *Animadversions*.

The pamphlet consists of 55 pages of close type, small quarto. The arrangement accords formally with that of the pamphlet to which it is an answer. In other words, there are introductory observations, followed by twelve sections of text, in reply to the twelve sections of the other side. But the matter is so mixed throughout that it will be best here not to follow the numerical order, but rather to mass the substance of what Milton says under the three heads of *Self-Defence against the Aspersions on his Character, Farther Attacks on Hall*, and *Farther Expressions of Opinion on the Church question*. Milton, it ought to be premised, distinctly assumes, as a fact of which he had evidence satisfactory to himself, that his antagonists were Hall and his son; and one can see him, as he writes, regarding the father as the principal throughout, and the son as only a subordinate. He also states that he had been "credibly informed" that Hall had been making private inquiries about him.

Milton begins calmly and gravely with a repetition of his reasons for engaging in the Church controversy. It was a time when no Englishman ought to stand neutral; and, in his case, the consciousness of "gifts of God's imparting" and of "almost a whole youth" spent in "wearisome labours and studious watchings" acquitted him of presumption. Therefore it was that he had "not doubted to single forth, more than once, such of them as were thought the chief and most nominated opposers on the other side, whom no man else undertook." Especially he had felt himself called upon to come to the aid of his reverend friends, the Smectymnuans, against the Remonstrant. "I had no fear," he says, "but "that the authors of *Smectymnuus*, to all the show of solidity "which the Remonstrant could bring, were prepared both "with skill and purpose to return a sufficing answer, and "were able enough to lay the dust and pudder in antiquity

" which he and his, out of stratagem, are wont to raise; but, " when I saw his weak arguments headed with sharp taunts, " and that his design was, if he could not confute them, at " least with quips and snapping adagies to vapour them out, " which *they*, bent only upon the business, were minded to let " pass, by how much more I saw them taking little thought " for their own injuries, I must confess I took it as my part " the less to endure that my respected friends, through their " own unnecessary patience, should thus lie at the mercy of " a coy, flurting style, to be girded with frumps and curtal " gibes by one who makes sentences by the statute, as if all " above three inches long were confiscate."[1] Moreover, it had been his desire, in the service of his cause, to disabuse certain people of "the conceit that all who are not Prelatical are gross-headed, thick-witted, illiterate, shallow," as if "nothing but Episcopacy could teach men to speak good English." But, in becoming a controversialist, he had, of course, not expected to escape obloquy. And it had come upon him. It had come upon him, however, fortunately in such a shape that there was something almost ludicrous in its inappropriateness. His friends, indeed, were already congratulating him on this. With so many forms of calumny possible, why had Hall and his son made such a blunder as to attack Milton on the ground of his morals? Perhaps, however, Hall had his motive in choosing this style of attack. To those who knew Milton it might seem absurd; but there was a wider world where he was not known, and where Hall's pamphlet might be read.

"I must be thought," says Milton, "if this libeller can find " belief, after an inordinate and riotous youth spent at the " University, to have been at length *vomited out thence*." He thanks the libeller for this as a "commodious lie." It is commodious, inasmuch as it gives him (Milton) an opportunity of acknowledging publicly the quite extraordinary

[1] In other places Milton ridicules Hall's affection for short "tizzical," or asthmatic, sentences, but nowhere so characteristically as here. It is a revelation of the difference between our modern notion of prose style and the older notion that Milton here, in a sentence about "three inches long" itself, should laugh at an author for always keeping within that length.

"favour and respect" which he had experienced from the authorities of his College and others during his student-life at Cambridge. It had been much against the will of the Fellows of Christ's College that he had not remained among them permanently; since his leaving the College, the letters of "kindness and loving respect" he had received from them had been numerous;[1] and, though he must admit that he had never, even in his youthful years, "greatly admired" the system at Cambridge, and now, in these her days of more ostentatious Prelacy, much less, yet there were still there "ingenuous and friendly men" to whom he wished the best and happiest things that friends in absence could wish one another. To these, and to the recollections of all his coevals at Cambridge, he could appeal for any testimony that might be required as to his conduct and his reputation during his University career. But the libeller, it seemed, was not content to stop at the University. He followed him to London, tracing him to a "suburb sink" there, where he and the Plague were well-matched associates. "A suburb sink!" we can hear Milton saying to himself: "has Hall or his son taken the trouble to walk all the way down to Aldersgate here, to peep up the entry where I live, and so have an exact notion of my whereabouts? There has been plague in the neighbourhood certainly; and I hope Jane Yates had my door-step tidy for the visit." Thus we can see Milton thinking; but in his pamphlet he contents himself with resenting Hall's impertinent prying into such matters at all. He calls him mildly a "rude scavenger," and tells him he has a worse plague than the ordinary one in his own "middle entrail," *i.e.*

[1] On the faith of this statement of Milton, may we not reckon among his Cambridge correspondents since he had left the University these—Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, still Master of Christ's; the good Joseph Meade, till his death in 1638; Edward King (Lycidas), till his death in 1637; the Rev. Nathaniel Tovey, the tutor of Milton and of his brother Christopher at Christ's, and who remained there till his appointment to the Rectory of Lutterworth in 1637; and perhaps also Henry More, only an undergraduate of Christ's when Milton left, but since then a Fellow? Chappell, Milton's first tutor at Christ's, is, I fear, out of the question, both from the nature of Milton's connexion with him there and from his subsequent career as a Laudian and Irish bishop. We shall find proof, indeed, that Chappell never forgot his quarrel with his old pupil, and spoke ill of him. I have an impression that a good deal of the scandal about Milton's student-life, with which his Prelatic opponents now began to assail him, came circuitously from Chappell.

heart, or spleen. After which bit of elegance he proceeds to work.——"Where my morning haunts are he wisses not," the libeller had said. Milton will give him the required information. "These morning haunts are where they should "be, at home: not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits of an "irregular feast, but up and stirring: in winter often ere the "sound of any bell awake men to labour or to devotion, in "summer as oft with the bird that first rouses or not much "tardier—to read good authors, or cause them to be read, till "the attention be weary or memory have his full fraught: "then, with useful and generous labours preserving the body's "health and hardiness, to render lightsome, clear, and not "lumpish obedience to the mind, to the cause of Religion and "our Country's Liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in "sound bodies to stand and cover their stations, rather than "see the ruin of our Protestantism and the enforcement of a "slavish life."——This is interesting; Milton, it seems, has for some time been practising drill! The City Artillery Ground was near, where, under Skippon and other officers of the Train-Bands, one might have daily exercise in the pike and other weapons, and in marching. Did Milton, among others, make a habit of going there of mornings? Of this more hereafter; meanwhile let us follow him into his afternoons.——These, according to his antagonist, he spent in playhouses and brothels; else how could he have attained his familiarity with *old cloaks, false beards, night-walkers, salt-lotion,* and other such terms of Corinthian slang? And, pray, Milton cleverly retorts, how does my antagonist himself know the meaning of such terms, if they can only be known in one way? But, really, one might acquire such learning without taking all that trouble. Was there not, for example, a little book called *Mundus Alter et Idem,* written by the Right Rev. Father in God, Joseph Hall, lately Bishop of Exeter, and now Bishop of Norwich, and which was, for its size, quite an encyclopædia of ribaldry and coarse ideas? Might not a poor student have chanced to look into that volume, and have enriched his vocabulary accordingly? Or, even without that, had not the Universities, under the sway of Prelacy, suffi-

ciently provided for the instruction even of undergraduates in the language and business of playhouses and bordelloes? Had not he, Milton, as an undergraduate at Cambridge, seen University dons, who were then students of Divinity, and who had since then risen to high places in the Church, acting in obscene Latin and English plays in the College halls, and "writhing their clergy-limbs" most abominably?

For a while Milton proceeds in this strain of fierce banter, but only by way of prelude to an autobiographic passage of noble seriousness, which is the gem of the whole pamphlet. It is that passage already referred to by us long ago, and partly quoted from,[1] where, reviewing the whole course of his youthful life and studies, he expounds, in terms so memorable, the principle on which, from the first, he had been careful to build up his character. Let the reader here again remember that principle. It is impossible to remember it too often in a Life of Milton; for it is, without exception, the profoundest thing that Milton has told us about himself, and the key to all that we now call Miltonic. It is hinted at, or expounded, in not a few of Milton's writings, but perhaps nowhere with such roundness and precision as in the passage now under notice. It is the principle of the inevitable congruity of the fruit with the tree, of the works that a man may do in the world with that man's personality or secret and intrinsic self. More expressly, it is the principle of the necessity of moral purity, of a conscience void of offence, to a life of the highest endeavour or the highest achievement in any walk whatsoever. It is the principle that courage or magnanimity presupposes self-respect, and that consequently he who would lay up for his mature years a store of this great virtue of courage or magnanimity, who would look all men in the face unabashed, and dare all things according to the highest conceptions of his reason, must begin by preserving from his earliest youth, and in the most secret sessions of his memory of himself, a spotless title to self-respect. Applied to literature, it is the principle that he who looks forward to a career of

[1] Vol. I. pp 282–284.

great things in that kind must, if he would not be frustrate of his hope, make his own life a true poem first of all. On this principle, and not on any modification of the opposite theory so much in favour—the "wild oats theory," as we ventured to call it—Milton avows that his own life had been consciously framed. It had dawned upon him at an early date, and it had gradually acquired strength and clearness, so that, amid his wide, and even indiscriminate, readings in books, it had affected his critical judgments, and determined his literary likings and dislikings. His natural niceness or fastidiousness of disposition, not to speak of his Christian training, would, he believed, have kept him free from the grosser forms of vice, even without the aid of this principle; but, with this principle co-operating, his success had been easy. Up to the moment at which he was then writing, he challenged all inquiry, however rigorous, into his past life, in those respects in which the libeller had at random assailed it; and, if he should be found to have swerved from the principle he had now avowed, let him be branded as a liar! Nay, might there not be a subtle providence in the accident that had led thus to this declaration about himself and this exposition of a principle in his private philosophy? There was probably a considerable extent of life yet before him, in which he should still be in antagonism with men high in the world's esteem and should be pursued by hostile criticism. He had willingly, in the prospect of such a life, given his enemies an advantage. He had registered an affirmation which, if at any time they could disprove it, or prove that he had begun to be unfaithful to it, they could quote to his confusion!

Of Milton's continued hostility to Hall throughout the pamphlet we have already had instances. But, indeed, in every page Hall is gored and mangled. His unfortunate *Mundus Alter et Idem* is again and again hoisted up, and his *Satires* quoted for ridicule. "What frigid conceits are these!" he exclaims, after one quotation from Hall's Sixth Satire, Book II., containing the phrase "Bridge-Street in Heaven" and the like. And this is the man who, with such

models of true Satire before him as were to be found in the Latin and Italian writers, and in the English Vision and Creed of Piers Plowman, claimed to be the prototype of English satirists! Published sermons of Hall are also referred to and sneered at; and, with elaborate irony, it is professed (and, I think, truly) that no one who knew Hall's style, and his uncandid habit of always begging a verdict in the very wording of his title-pages, could have doubted that a pamphlet entitling itself "A *modest* Confutation of a *slanderous* and *scurrilous* Libel, &c.," was written by Hall or under his eye. But perhaps what Hall and his son must have disliked most at the moment were Milton's comments on the fair words they had thought it politic, in their straits, to use respecting the Parliament. Quoting their phrase, "The sun looks not upon a braver, nobler Convocation than is that of King, Peers, and Commons," Milton bids the reader observe the wonderful "decorum" of the expressions. Did this "cloistered lubber," this "losel Bachelor of Art" (he surely means the son here), know no better than "to term the high and sovran Court of Parliament a *Convocation?*" Was this the flower of all these voluminous papers (of the father's), the best of which were predestined to no better end than to be winding-sheets in Lent for pilchards? And then, to show how an eulogium on Parliament *should* be written, Milton writes one himself.

The new expressions which the pamphlet contains of Milton's opinions on points of the Church question will be best exhibited in the form of extracts, with headings prefixed to them, as before:—

Praise of the Parliament.—"The most of them being either of ancient and high nobility, or at least of known and well-reputed ancestry—which is a great advantage towards virtue one way, but, in respect of wealth, ease, and flattery, which accompanies a nice and tender education, is as much a hindrance another way—the good which lay before them they took, in imitating their worthiest progenitors, and the evil which assaulted their younger years by the temptation of riches, high birth, and that usual bringing-up, perhaps too favourable or too remiss, through the strength of an inbred goodness, and with the help of divine grace, they nobly

overcame. Yet had they a greater danger to cope with; for, being trained up in the knowledge of learning, and sent to those places which were intended to be the seed-plots of piety and the liberal arts, but were become the nurseries of superstition and empty speculation, as they were prosperous against those vices which grow upon youth out of idleness and superfluity, so were they happy in working off the harms of their abused studies and labours, correcting by the clearness of their own judgment the errors of their mis-instruction, and were, as David was, wiser than their teachers. . . . Thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their country), having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue than others under the holiest precepts and best examples have been headstrong and prone to vice, and having, in all the trials of a firm-ingrafted honesty, not oftener buckled in the contest than given every opposition the foil, this moreover was added by Heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself—God and man consenting in joint approbation to choose them out as worthiest above others to be both the great reformers of the Church and the restorers of the Commonwealth."

Illiteracy of the Clergy.—"This is undoubted—that, if any carpenter, smith, or weaver, were such a bungler in his trade as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custom. And, should he exercise his manufacture as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art: and, should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few of them that know how to write or speak in a pure style, much less to distinguish the ideas and various kinds of style! In Latin, barbarous and oft not without solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous gear blown together by the four winds, and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of Apuleius, Arnobius, or any modern fustianist, before the native Latinisms of Cicero! In the Greek tongue most of them unlettered, or unentered to any sound proficiency in those Attic masters of moral wisdom and eloquence! In the Hebrew text, which is so necessary to be understood, except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcised. No less are they out of the way in Philosophy—pestering their heads with the sapless

dotages of old Paris and Salamanca. And, that which is the main point, in their sermons affecting the comments and postils of Friars and Jesuits, but scorning and slighting the Reformed writers."

The English Liturgy.—"Inconveniences and dangers follow the compelling of [any] set forms; but that the toleration of the English Liturgy now in use is more dangerous than the compelling of any other which the Reformed Churches use, these reasons following may evince:—To contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless, in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the Responsories. For such alternations as are there used must be by several persons; but the Minister and the People cannot so sever their interests as to sustain several persons, he being only the mouth of the whole body which he presents. And, if the people pray, he being silent, or they ask one thing and he another, it either changes the property, making the priest the people and the people the priest by turns, or else makes two persons and two bodies representative where there should be but one—which, if it be nought else, must needs be a strange quaintness in ordinary prayer. The like or worse may be said of the Litany, wherein neither priest nor people speak any entire sense of themselves throughout the whole I-know-not-what-to-name-it; only, by the timely contribution of their parted stakes, closing up as it were the schism of a sliced prayer, they pray not in vain, for by this means they keep life between them in a piece of gasping sense, and keep down the sauciness of a continual rebounding nonsense. And hence it is that, as it hath been far from the imitation of any warranted prayer, so we all know it hath been obvious to be the pattern of many a jig. And he who hath but read in good books of devotion and no more cannot be so either of ear or judgment unpractised to distinguish what is grave, pathetical, devout, and what not, but will presently perceive this Liturgy all over in conception lean and dry, of affections empty and unmoving, of passion or any highth whereto the soul might soar upon the wings of zeal destitute and barren; besides errors, tautologies, impertinences—as those thanks in the Woman's Churching for her delivery from sunburning and moonblasting, as if she had been travailing not in her bed, but in the deserts of Arabia. So that, while some men cease not to admire the incomparable frame of our Liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what they think is become of judgment and taste in other men that they can hope to be heard without laughter."

Of one curious passage of personal allusion in the pamphlet we have taken no notice hitherto. It is Milton's reply to the suggestion that he was looking after a rich widow, and had written his former pamphlet, and especially had inserted in it the extraordinary prayer in the name of the three kingdoms, in order to gain this widow's affections. In part of his reply Milton is properly facetious over this imputation, observing that *she* must be a queer kind of widow that was to be won in this fashion, and he but a rustic kind of wooer, far less deft at love-making than the Remonstrant, on the evidence of his *Satires*, had been in his youth, if he had no other fashion. But it is the graver part of his reply that is the most interesting. It is as follows:—

"He proceeds, and the familiar [*i.e.* Hall's informant respecting Milton] belike informs him, that *a rich widow, or a lecture, or both, would content me.* Whereby I perceive him to be more ignorant in his art of divining than any gipsy. For this I cannot omit, without ingratitude to that Providence above who hath ever bred me up in plenty, although my life hath not been inexpensive in learning and voyaging about:—So long as it shall please Him to lend me what He hath hitherto thought good (which is enough to serve me in all honest and liberal occasions, and something over besides), I were unthankful to that highest bounty if I should make myself so poor as to solicit needily any such kind of 'rich hopes' as this fortune-teller dreams of. And, that he may farther know how his astrology is wide all the houses of the Heaven in spelling marriages, I care not if I tell him this much profestly, though it be to the losing of my 'rich hopes,' as he calls them—that I think with them who, both in prudence and elegance of spirit, would choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow."

What have we here? Surely nothing less, if we choose so to construe it, than a marriage-advertisement! Ho! all ye virgins of England (widows need not apply), here is an opportunity such as seldom occurs:—A bachelor, unattached; age, thirty-three years and three or four months; height, middle or a little less; personal appearance, unusually hand-

some, with fair complexion and light auburn hair; circumstances, independent; tastes, intellectual and decidedly musical; principles, Root-and-Branch! Was there already any young maiden in whose bosom, had such an advertisement come in her way, it would have raised a conscious flutter? If so, did she live near Oxford?

CHAPTER VIII.

DRIFTING INTO WAR: CHOOSING OF SIDES: RAISING OF THE KING'S STANDARD.

THE King's absence from Whitehall, inconvenient as it had been from the first, had become doubly inconvenient since he had gone into the north and established himself at York (March 19, 1641-2). That is to say, it had become inconvenient on the supposition that the national business was still to be carried on constitutionally by King, Lords, and Commons. On another supposition it was even convenient. If the King's removal to York was to be interpreted as a permanent rupture between him and Parliament, then the separation of the opposed elements, as by their aggregation respectively towards two poles, distant two hundred miles from each other, was convenient for both parties.

For a considerable time it was the policy of both parties to proceed publicly as if the separation were only temporary. Messages went and came between Westminster and York; deputations and commissioners went and came; elaborate declarations and papers of propositions towards a settlement of differences went and came: to get the King to return to Whitehall seemed the one anxiety of Parliament. All in vain! On the great question of the power of the Militia the King would not yield a jot, and on this question the Parliament remained resolute. Kept apart, accordingly, by this dispute, the two parties had to confine themselves to such actions as were competent to each without the aid of the other, or to declarations of mutual hostility.[1]

[1] Clarendon devotes a large space, a whole Book of his History (Book V.), to the narration of the proceedings and negotiations between the King and the Parliament during the five months of their separation before the out-

Among the King's actions may be mentioned the appointment of several new Bishops, to fill the vacancies left after the last batch of promotions and appointments in the previous November and December.[1] As Williams's successor in the see of Lincoln, there had been appointed (Jan. 5, 1641-2) Dr. Thomas Winniffe, Dean of St. Paul's; and, after the King's departure from Whitehall, but before his arrival at York, there had been two new appointments. Dr. Henry King, Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, was appointed to the see of Chichester, vacant by the promotion of Duppa; and Archbishop Usher was nominated (Feb. 16, 1641-2) to the see of Chester, vacant by the death of the Puritan bishop Barnabas Potter—the arrangement being that Usher should meanwhile hold this English bishopric *in commendam* along with his Irish Primacy. Appointments made *after* the King's removal to York were, that of Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, to Hall's vacant bishopric of Exeter (March 31, 1642), and that of Dr. Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, to the bishopric of Bristol in succession to Skinner (June 26). Against these appointments the Parliament seem not to have cared to make any protest. They were satisfied, in the meantime, with that blow against Episcopacy, by the Bishops' Exclusion Bill, which had rendered Bishops comparatively unimportant personages in the realm.

It was different, however, when the chance of the King's creating new lay-peers came to be considered. In contemplation of such an exercise of the King's power, the Lords passed (May 14) a Bill to restrain any new peers that the King might create in existing circumstances from sitting in their House: six Lords dissenting.[2] Then, again, when the King proposed, by way of threat, to go into Ireland and assume the command against the Rebels there, Parliament pronounced its veto on any such step. And so backwards and forwards,

break of the war. This is in fact a vast pamphlet, written with all Clarendon's skill, to secure the sympathies of his readers for the King's side throughout the sequel. It is a masterly pamphlet for its purpose; but the facts of real interest for *us* in that period of mere negotiation and elaborate paper-pleading are few.

[1] See *antè*, pp. 324, 325.

[2] Lords Journals.

move and countermove, in a great variety of particulars. The most resolute action of each party was always when the other issued an order of a military kind, or attempted to gain military strength. The King, with a body of horse, having tried to get admittance into Hull, where there was a large magazine of arms and ammunition, and having proclaimed the governor, Sir John Hotham, a traitor for refusing him admission (April 23), Parliament instantly approved of Hotham's firmness, and had the arms and ammunition brought to London. The King doing his best to secure the Yorkshire gentry to his side, and even forbidding them to obey any summons of Parliament, the Parliament sent commissioners into Yorkshire.[1] The Parliament, on the other hand, having issued orders that their Militia Ordinance of the previous February should be carried out in counties, the King declared the action illegal. The King, again, meditating a proclamation for the removal of the "Term" or Law-Courts to York, the Parliament declared this illegal. It is impossible, in all this, not to notice the superior vigilance of the Parliament, prompted by their conviction that war was coming. This is the explanation of several very severe proceedings of theirs in the months of April, May, and June. They suppressed, for example, a pro-Episcopacy agitation in Kent, got up by Sir Edward Deering since his ejection from the Commons (Feb. 2) for a breach of privilege in publishing his speeches; and they impeached Lord Mayor Gurney, so as to get him out of the chief magistracy of the city and secure that important post for the trusty Alderman Pennington. Where public necessity did not oblige severity, they were lenient enough. Thus, on the petition of the twelve imprisoned Bishops, they were released and allowed to go at large upon bail (May 5). In the case of Williams there was the farther condition that he should not go to his northern Archbishopric while the King was there.

The phenomenon of most significance through all this was the gradual polarization of all the conspicuous Royalists, atom by atom or in twos and threes at a time, towards the King

[1] Parl. Hist. II. 1222.

at York. When the King had gone to York there were with him, or near him, not only the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York (the younger children were still at Whitehall or Windsor), but also a few of his leading lords and counsellors, such as the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Newcastle, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas. These, with the northern lords and gentry that flocked in, formed a tolerable semblance of a Court. But it only waited the King's bidding to swell this Court by accessions from Parliament itself, and from the whole south of England. For a while it was thought best that most of the King's friends in Parliament should remain in their places. The King's first orders to join him were addressed, therefore, rather to those peers of his Council of whose attachment to him he was least sure. The Earls of Essex, Holland, and Salisbury, and Lord Savile, were first summoned; and, on their refusing to comply, Essex was required to resign his office of Lord Chamberlain, and Holland his various offices. Another experiment in which Charles was more successful was in the case of the Lord Keeper Littleton. Dissatisfied with some parts of this peer's recent conduct, the King had some intention of taking the Great Seal from him. But Hyde, knowing Littleton better, reasoned with his Majesty in private letters, and undertook that Littleton would be found loyal. Accordingly, after some conferences between Hyde and Littleton, the great seal was sent by sure hands to York, and Littleton himself took the desperate step of following in person. He chose the interval between a Saturday and a Monday (May 21—23) for his flight. Hyde himself, who had hitherto stayed on, with his friends Falkland and Colepepper, that they three might watch the King's interests in the Commons, did not dare to remain in London after the Lord Keeper. His close correspondence with the King was already more than suspected, he says, and his connexion with the Lord Keeper's flight could not be concealed. So, actually before the Lord Keeper had set out, Hyde was half-way to York by a different route. He stayed first near Oxford, where he picked up his friend Mr. Chillingworth. The two went thence by by-roads

to Lutterworth in Leicestershire, where they rested a night with a friend of Mr. Chillingworth, "who was parson of the parish"—no other, in fact, than our old friend Mr. Nathaniel Tovey, Milton's second tutor at Cambridge. Setting out from Tovey's, the two reached York almost as soon as the Lord Keeper. But it was the Lord Keeper's flight, with the removal of the great seal and the vacating of the woolsack in the House of Lords, that caused the most profound sensation in London. Spreading a kind of awe among the weaker-minded even of the Parliamentarian party, it became for the King's friends generally the signal that they too should be gone. Accordingly, Falkland and Colepepper soon followed Hyde; and the ranks of Parliament became day by day thinner.

Some curious statistics, showing the gradual shedding-off of the members of both Houses from their places in Parliament as the moment of Civil War approached, are to be culled from the Lords and Commons Journals.——In the Peers the diminution of attendance was most rapid. Thus, on a call of that House, on the 21st of April, *sixty-one* peers were found to be absent. On that occasion, however, some of the most earnest of the Parliamentarians were among the absentees, being away on Parliament business. Before the end of the following month, however, the Lord Keeper's flight having occasioned a more exact census, it was found that *thirty-two* peers were with the King at York; which, as there were also *thirteen* absentees from reasons of old age, minority, &c., and other peers were non-effective as being Roman Catholics or in foreign parts, left only *forty-two* peers then in effective attendance. Messages were sent after the runaways to York, and especially after nine of them, who were summoned to return as delinquents. All to no effect. Even the ranks of the effective residue—who, having no Lord Keeper among them, had now to appoint a Speaker from day to day—were gradually thinned by fresh secessions, till, before the end of June, it was a full House if thirty were present.——And so, with some differences, in the Commons. In that House the divisions through the months of April and May show an average

attendance of about 200 or somewhat less. This was not a large number in proportion to the whole; but it was as large as there had perhaps generally been since Parliament had first settled to its work and the ornamentals had dropped off. Not very many of the absentees were yet with the King at York; for, as we have seen, it was not till the end of May that even Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper went thither. *Their* departure, and the knowledge that the King by private letters was inviting others of the Commons to follow them, led to an order of the House that all members should be punctually in their places on the 16th of June, under a penalty of 100*l.* each, to go to the fund for Ireland. This whip had interesting results. On the appointed day, *forty-five* members were marked as absent, all of whom had presumably gone to the King. Among them, besides Hyde, Falkland, and Colepepper, we may note Sir Ralph Hopton, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Edymion Porter, Mr. John Ashburnham, and Mr. Philip Warwick. Either in this list there were not counted the absent members who had valid excuses, or else a large number must have come into the House for form's sake and gone off immediately after the roll was called; for, in three divisions which occurred on that day, all on this very business of the absentees, the numbers were 142 against 122, 147 against 91, and 100 against 79. This would show the maximum of effective or voting attendance that day to have been 264; which, if added to the 45 culpable absentees, would account for only 305 members out of an original House of 500. But, except on very great occasions, about 300 had always been thought a full House, so that, in the middle of June, the secession was not so large as might have been expected. The loss, however, probably increased as June passed into July, for in this latter month the divisions show most frequently an attendance of but a hundred or little more. By that time, however, the most zealous Parliamentarians had work out of Parliament, and may have been coming and going between town and country. The largest vote I have found in the Commons after June is on Saturday the 9th of July, on which day, on a proposition or raising 10,000 Volunteers for the country's defence (*i.e.* for

the Parliament in the approaching Civil War) there divided *Yeas* 125 against *Noes* 45. There were thus 170 present. The Tellers for the *Yeas* were Mr. Denzil Holles and Sir John Evelyn, for the *Noes* Sir John Strangeways and Mr. Selden. What strikes one perhaps most, in looking over the Commons Journals at this time, is the frequency with which Cromwell's name appears. The member for Cambridge was now a man much looked to.[1]

Which way was Scotland to go? This was a question of some concern; and we see both King and Parliament bidding for the help of the little kingdom. On the King's side, there was the plea that he had given the Scots, at all events, all *they* wanted, and left them, at his recent visit, comfortable in the enjoyment of their Presbyterianism and of a Government to match. Were they not bound then to the King by gratitude? On the other hand, there was the plea of the good understanding that had recently existed between the English Parliament and the Scottish Covenanters, the many mutual tokens of respect that had passed between them, and the real service that the Parliament had done the Scots in securing them the fruits of their Revolution. Were the Scots to forget all this? Moreover, what was the English Parliament struggling for but the overthrow in England of that system of Prelacy which had been overthrown in Scotland? Would the Scots refuse their sympathy in the struggle, and so abandon that idea for which they had so often argued on paper, and which had gained so much ground among the English already, the idea of a uniformity of Religion and Church discipline between the two kingdoms?

Since the King's visit, there had been no meeting of the Scottish Parliament to enounce the national opinion. This, however, mattered the less because the Scottish Privy Council, with Lord Chancellor Loudoun as its nominal head, but with the Marquis of Argyle and Sir Archibald Johnstone of

[1] Authorities for statements in this and the preceding paragraph are Clarendon (Hist. p. 227, *et seq.*, and Life, p. 948, *et seq.*); Parl. Hist. II. 1172, 1212, 1270–74, 1296–7, 1365–6, 1373, 1409; and the Lords and Commons Journals over the time and for the days referred to.

Warriston as the leading spirits, had been able to keep the nation in the straight course. It had not been an easy task. With peace and prosperity to the Scots, there had come, as usual, personal jealousies among the leading nobles, and numerous little questions of animosity among the clergy and the town-councils. Then there were the schemes of Montrose, Napier, and the other malcontents. Nevertheless, and chiefly through the care of Argyle, the policy of the Scottish Government had been all along one of friendship with the English Parliament. Commissioners had been sent up to London on the business of the Irish Rebellion; and these Commissioners—among whom were the Earls of Lothian and Lindsay, and Sir Archibald Johnstone—had become organs of communication with the English Parliament on affairs in general. Through them, as early as January, 1641-2, the Scottish Privy Council had offered to mediate between the King and the Parliament; and, these offers failing, the Scottish Privy Council had joined with the Parliament in opposing the King's proposal to go to Ireland in person, and had helped the Parliament through their immediate Irish difficulty by lending them a force of 6,000 Scots, under Leslie's subordinate, General Monro. For these and other services the Parliament had thanked the Scottish Council in most cordial letters. But, the King remonstrating, Loudoun himself had gone to York to continue the so-called mediation. This not being what was wanted, he had been sent back into Scotland to call a special meeting of Privy Council for the 25th of May. In order that a great effort might be made at this meeting to win a decision for the King, the Earls of Roxburgh and Kinnoull, and other Royalists of the Scottish Privy Council then in England, were sent down to gather adherents and attend the meeting in force. Johnstone of Warriston, however, who was thoroughly in the confidence of the English Parliament, came express from London to counteract these "Banders;" and this he did so effectually that, though the "Banders" made a great show at the meeting, they could accomplish nothing. The Duke of Hamilton afterwards came to Scotland, apparently as agent for the King, but really, as those who knew him best supposed,

to "eschew drowning" in the meeting of two contrary tides. In short, all that Charles could at this time fish out of Scotland for his help against the Parliament was the contribution of a few valuable volunteer recruits in the shape of trained army-men fit to be officers. Among them was Colonel Sir John Cochrane, brother of Sir William Cochrane of Cowdon, the ancestor of the Dundonald family.

Even had the Scottish Privy Council refused the policy of sympathy with the English Parliament urged by Argyle and Johnstone of Warriston, the temper of the Scottish people would have compelled such a policy. It was the flocking to Edinburgh of crowds from Fife and the Lothians on the day of the Privy Council meeting that had protected Argyle and Johnstone, and prevented the "Banders" from resorting to force. And the same enthusiasm for the Parliamentary cause in England was exhibited as strikingly and more formally in the General Assembly of the Kirk, which met at St. Andrews on the 27th of July and sat till the 6th of August. At these ten days' sittings of the Assembly there were present not only the representatives of the clergy from all the shires, but also, as lay-elders, such noblemen and Privy Councillors as Argyle, the Earls of Eglinton, Cassilis, Glencairn, Lauderdale, and Wemyss, Lords Balcarres, Elcho, Burleigh, Sinclair, and Maitland, and Johnstone of Warriston. Not members of Assembly, but in attendance on his Majesty's Commissioner, the Earl of Dunfermline, who sat enthroned in it to represent Royalty, were the Lord Chancellor Loudoun, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Morton and Southesk, Lord Yester, and others. The Moderator, or president, was Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of Kirkcaldy. But the chief man in the Assembly, now as before, was, of course, Alexander Henderson.

A weariness had begun of late to creep over this most powerful man in the Scottish Israel. It was partly from advancing age and incessant work, but partly also from fatigue with the pettiness and impatience of the men around him. Since the last Assembly he had been occupied, as much as his parish-work and other distractions would permit, in

considering the great business, committed to him by that Assembly,[1] of preparing a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a Directory for Worship, and a Form of Church Government, such as, while they suited Scotland and agreed with her recent Presbyterian Revolution, might be offered, with some prospect of acceptance, to England. But, the more he had thought of the work, the more he had doubted his strength. This appears, very creditably, in a letter of his to Baillie, dated "Edinburgh, April 20, 1642." Baillie had sent Henderson, for his approval, the manuscript of a little work he meant to publish against Brownism, or Independency, and at the same time had asked Henderson how he was getting on with his great labour. Henderson, in his letter, advises Baillie to keep his little work back for some time, "because much more is lately come to light on both sides in Holland and England" than had yet found its way to Scotland. Then, with reference to his own great labour, he says, "Although "neither time nor weakness had hindered, I cannot think it "expedient that any such thing, whether Confession of Faith, "Direction for Worship, Form of Government, or Catechism "less or more, should be agreed upon and authorized by our "Kirk till we see what the Lord will do in England and "Ireland, where I still wait for a Reformation and uniformity "with us; but this must be brought to pass by common con- "sent, and we are not to conceive that they will embrace our "Form, but a new Form must be set down for us all, and in "my opinion some men set apart some time for that work; "and, although we should never come to this unity in "religion and uniformity in worship, yet my desire is to see "what Form England will pitch upon before we publish "ours." In other words, Henderson's broad judgment had begun to be aware of elements in the English mind that would probably not brook the control of any mere Scottish form of Church discipline, nor stay within its limits.

It was in this temper, of hopeful interest in what was going on in England, and desire to see the English Parliament advancing freely in its own career of Church Reformation,

[1] See *ante*, p. 290.

that Henderson had come to the St. Andrews General Assembly. In that Assembly, amid much smaller and more local business, including "an Act for restraining Witchcraft," the great business of the strife between the King and the English Parliament naturally came up. It was, indeed, formally forced upon the attention of the Assembly by his Majesty's Letter of date July 23, presented by the Commissioner on opening the Assembly, as well as by a Declaration addressed to the Assembly by the English Parliament, and by a Letter to the Assembly, dated "London, July 22," from "some ministers in England" (*i.e.* the Smectymnuans and their adherents), acknowledging past favours, and reiterating their conviction that it was the desire of "the most godly and considerable part" of the English ministers and people that the Presbyterian Government should be established in England. Vain efforts were made by the King's Commissioner and his assessors to extract from the Assembly some opinion distinctly in favour of the King. On the contrary, in a supplication (Aug. 3) to his Majesty, by way of answer to his Majesty's letter, the Assembly venture to remind him of his former promises for the furtherance of a uniformity of Religion and Church government between the two kingdoms. In a letter of the same date to the English Parliament, drawn up by Henderson, the Assembly, though still speaking cautiously, intimated clearly enough on which side their sympathies lay. "What hope can there be," they write, "of "unity of religion, of one Confession of Faith, one Form of "Worship, and one Catechism, till there be first one Form of "ecclesiastical government? Yea, what hope can the King-"dom and Kirk of Scotland have of a firm and durable "peace, till Prelacy, which hath been the main cause of "their miseries and troubles, first and last, be plucked up, "root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, "and from which no better fruit can be expected than "such sour grapes as this day set on edge the kingdom of "England?"[1]

[1] Baillie, II. 1—56; and Acts of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland: Assembly of 1642.

While the Scottish Assembly so wrote, the sword was already half out of the scabbard in England. As early as June 2 a ship had arrived on the North-English coast, bringing the King arms and ammunition from Holland, purchased by the sale of the crown-jewels which the Queen had taken abroad. On the 22nd of the same month more than forty of the nobles and others in attendance on the King at York had put down their names for the numbers of armed horse they would furnish respectively for his service.[1] Requisitions in the King's name were also out for supplies of money; and the two Universities, and the Colleges in each, were invited to send in their plate.[2] On the other hand, the Parliament had not been more negligent. There had been contributions or promises from all the chief Parliamentarian nobles and others; there was a large loan from the City; and hundreds of thousands, on a smaller scale, were willing to subscribe. And already, through all the shires, the two opposed powers were grappling and jostling with each other in raising levies. On the King's side there were what were called *Commissions of Array*, or powers granted to certain nobles and others by name to raise troops for the King. On the side of Parliament, in addition to the Volunteering which had been going on in many places (as, for example, in Cambridgeshire, where Oliver Cromwell was forming a troop of Volunteer horse, and in Suffolk, where I find a Mr. John Bright conspicuously busy in the same kind of work),[3] there was the *Militia Ordinance*,

[1] MS. list in the State Paper Office of date June 22, 1642. About 2,000 horse in all are subscribed on that day, to serve three months. At the head of the list is the Prince of Wales, for 200 horse; the Duke of Richmond, Lord Coventry, and Lord Capel subscribe 100 each; the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Hertford, the Earl of Dorset, the Earl of Devonshire, and the Earl of Bristol, 60 each; under whom come the rest, for 50, 40, 30, or 20 each. Falkland and Colepepper subscribe 20 each. The lowest is Lord Grey of Ruthen, who subscribes 10 horse only.

[2] Here, from the State Paper Office, is an interesting record of one loan to the King: "Charles R. We have received "of Inigo Jones, Esq., surveyor of our "works, 500 pounds sterling in pieces, "which we promise to satisfy again. "Given at our Court at Beverley, the "28th of July, 1642." There must have been many such loans.

[3] Lords Journals, July 23, 1642. But many names of active promoters of Volunteering for Parliament may be picked out of the Lords and Commons Journals from July 6 onwards. In the State Paper Office I found a letter of date Aug. 16, 1642, from a Nehemiah Wharton to his "worthy and much honoured friend Mr. George Willingham, marchant, at the Golden Anchor in St. Swithin's Lane," in which Wharton, then going about with Parliamentarian recruits in the neighbourhood of Uxbridge, gives some curious details of the conduct of these recruits. Their Colonel, he says, is "a God-damn-me

available wherever the persons named in that ordinance were really zealous for Parliament and able to act personally in the districts assigned them. And so on the 12th of July the Parliament had passed the necessary vote for supplying an army, and had appointed the Earl of Essex to be its commander-in-chief, and the Earl of Bedford to be its second in command as general of horse. It was known, on the other side, that the Earl of Lindsey, in consideration of his past experience of service both on sea and land, was to have the command of the King's army, and that his master of horse was to be the King's nephew, young Prince Rupert, who was expected from the Continent on purpose.

Despite all these preparations, however, it was probably not till August had begun that the certainty of Civil War was universally acknowledged. It was on the 9th of that month that the King issued his proclamation "for suppressing the present Rebellion under the command of Robert, Earl of Essex," offering pardon to him and others if within six days they made their submission. The Parliamentary answer to this was on the 11th; on which day the Commons resolved, each man separately rising in his place and giving his word, that they would stand by the Earl of Essex with their lives and fortunes to the end. Still, even after that, there were trembling souls here and there who hoped for a reconciliation. Monday the 22nd of August put an end to all such fluttering:—On that day, the King, who had meanwhile left York, and come about a hundred miles farther south, into the very heart of England, was known to be moving about between Coventry and Leicester, not without the expectation of a conflict between the force of some 2,000 horse and foot who were then with him and the Parliamentarian troops who had been gathered to prevent his threatened seizure of Coventry. But, late in the day, after dining at

blade," and ought to be removed; but the soldiers are sufficiently Anti-Prelatical, for they go to Papists' houses to demand loaves, and they tear down the rails in churches. "Thursday," he says, "I marched to Uxbridge, and, at Hillingdon, one mile from Uxbridge, the "rails being gone, we got the surplice to "make us handkerchers, and one of the "soldiers wore it to Uxbridge. This "day, the rails of Uxbridge, formerly "removed, were, with the Service-Book, "burned: this evening Mr. Harding "gave a worthy sermon."

Leicester, he made a backward movement as far as the town of Nottingham, where preparations had been made for the great scene that was to follow. With the King there were the Prince of Wales and Prince Rupert, together with such lords and gentlemen as he had chosen to keep round him for the occasion. Among these was Sir Edmund Verney, Knight Marshal of England and hereditary royal standard-bearer. This gentleman's position, in consideration of the part he had to perform, is worth describing. "My condition," he had recently said to Mr. Hyde in a private conversation, "is much "worse than *yours*, and different, I believe, from any other "man's, and will very well justify the melancholy that, I "confess to you, possesses me. *You* have satisfaction in your "conscience that you are in the right, that the King ought "not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your "duty and business together: but, for *my* part, I do not like "the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the King would yield, "and consent to what they desire, so that my conscience is "only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my "master. I have eaten his bread and served him near "thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake "him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I "shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are "against my conscience to preserve and defend; for I will "deal freely with you—I have no reverence for the Bishops, "for whom this quarrel subsists." It was on this gentleman, in virtue of his office, that the chief duty devolved in the ceremony that was now enacted at Nottingham. This consisted in bringing out the royal standard and setting it up in due form. It was about six o'clock in the evening when it was done, the spot being the top of the Castle-hill, or a field close at the back of the old Castle. When Sir Edmund Verney and his assistants had done their work, and the great standard was streaming out, with a special flag attached, bearing the King's arms quartered and the emblem of a hand pointing to a crown, interpreted by the motto "Give Cæsar his due," then, the King, the Prince of Wales, Prince Rupert, and all the train, standing close round, and the horse and foot

near, a Herald read a proclamation, declaring the cause why the standard had been set up, and summoning all the lieges to assist his Majesty. Those who were present cheered and threw up their hats, and, with a beating of drums and a sounding of trumpets, the ceremony ended. During the night, it was afterwards said, the standard was blown down by a violent tempest of wind, and it could not be set right again for several days. Nevertheless from that evening of the 22nd of August, 1642, the Civil War had begun.[1]

[1] Clar. Hist. 288, 289, and Life, 954; Rushworth, IV. 183, 184; Whitlocke, I. 179; Parl. Hist. II. 1456–1458; Rapin, II. 457–459.—It is strange that, in so remarkable an affair as the setting up of the King's standard, there should be such a contrariety of accounts. Rushworth makes August 22 the day, in which he is confirmed by Whitlocke and other unexceptionable authorities; Clarendon distinctly makes it the 25th. Rushworth makes the place of the ceremony "a field a little on the back of the castle wall;" Clarendon makes it "the top of the castle hill." Clarendon introduces Sir Edmund Verney as the principal figure; Rushworth, though mentioning some of the "knights-bannerets" who bore the standard, does not name Verney. Rushworth makes the affair one of great deliberation and state, after previous appointment and lodging of the standard in Nottingham Castle for the purpose; Clarendon represents it as hurried. Clarendon says the King had very few with him, "not one regiment of foot yet levied and brought together," and that the whole affair had a melancholy look; Rushworth distinctly speaks of the King's train as numerous, "besides a great company of horse and foot, in all to the number of 2,000." Finally, Rushworth says nothing of the windy night and the blowing down of the standard; but, on the contrary, he says the standard was formally *taken* down the same evening it was set up, and again next day set up and taken down, and so the day after, the King each day being present as at first, till the third day inclusively—after which there was less ceremony. Clarendon's account, as being the more picturesque, has been followed by Rapin and later historians. I have not the least doubt, however, that Rushworth is the authority to be trusted, both as to the day and as to other particulars.

BOOK III.

AUGUST 1642—JULY 1643.

HISTORY:—Commencement of the Civil War: The Long Parliament continued: Meeting of the Westminster Assembly.

BIOGRAPHY:—Milton still in Aldersgate Street: His Marriage.

CHAPTER I.

STATISTICS OF THE TWO SIDES: THE TWO ARMIES AND THEIR OFFICERS—FIRST ACTIONS OF THE WAR: BATTLE OF EDGEHILL AND THE MARCH TO TURNHAM GREEN—SKETCH OF EVENTS TILL MIDSUMMER, 1643.

A COMPLETE narration of the events of the great Civil War is not to be looked for in this History. We shall but move on through the war, seeking for whatever, in the midst of it, may be more properly interesting to ourselves, and only taking care to be cognizant all the while of the fury that is raging around. There were, however, certain preliminary studies of a statistical kind, bearing on the war, which the author had to make for himself before he could proceed with any satisfaction, or feel that he understood his element; and he believes that, by presenting here the results of these studies, he will be clearing the route for his readers, and perhaps saving trouble to future writers.

STATISTICS OF THE TWO SIDES.

From and after the setting-up of the King's standard at Nottingham on the 22nd of August, 1642, England was rent asunder into the two parties of the ROYALISTS and the PARLIAMENTARIANS, otherwise called CAVALIERS and ROUNDHEADS. All England was so divided; for, whatever masses of indifferency there may have been in some parts of the country at first, no sooner had the two armies begun their marchings, and their exactions of supplies, than these masses were effectually drawn into the strife. In the course of the four years of war there were instances, and some

very notorious, of shiftings from the one side to the other. With all allowance for these, however, and also for the deaths on both sides which remove some from the lists almost as soon as they are formed, a tabular census of the two parties, calculated as exactly as possible for the actual commencement of the war, will be more welcome here to the real student than pages of flowing description.

We begin with the Peerage. The Bishops being no longer peers, the English Peerage in August 1642—if we omit the Prince of Wales (*ætat.* 13), the Duke of York (*ætat.* 9), the Duke of Gloucester (*ætat.* 2), and their cousin Prince Rupert (*ætat.* 23, and not an English peer till 1644, when he was created Duke of Cumberland)—consisted of 132 persons; of whom 2 were Dukes, 2 were Marquises, 59 were Earls, 6 were Viscounts, and 63 were Barons. The following is the best classification of these I can make for our present purpose:—

I.—ROYALIST PEERS, EFFECTIVE.[1]

Duke of Richmond and Lennox.
Marquis of Hertford.
,, Winchester (widower of that Marchioness of Winchester on whose death in 1631 Milton had written an elegy).
Earl of Bath (taken prisoner 1642).
,, Berkshire.
,, Bristol.
,, Cambridge (*i.e.* the Scottish Marquis of Hamilton); fidelity suspected.
Carlisle (went over to the Parliament, March 1643–4).
,, Carnarvon (killed Sept. 20, 1643).
,, Chesterfield (taken prisoner, March 1642–3).
,, Cleveland.
,, Cumberland (died Dec. 1643).
,, Denbigh (killed April 1643).
Earl of Devonshire.
,, Dorset.
,, Dover.
,, Huntingdon (died Nov. 1643).
,, Kingston (killed July 1643).
,, Leicester (leaning to Parliament).
,, Lindsey (killed Oct. 1642).
,, Marlborough.
,, Monmouth.
,, Newcastle (created Marquis, Oct. 1643).
,, Newport.
,, Northampton (killed March 1642–3).
,, Peterborough. (His father was to have been Parliamentarian General of Ordnance under Essex, but had died June 18, 1642, leaving the Earldom to this Royalist.)

[1] I account "effective" those whom I find with the King at York in May or June 1642 (Clar. Hist. 262; Parl. Hist. II. 1296–7 and 1374; and copy by me of a list in the State Paper Office of date June 22, 1642); also those whom I find afterwards figuring in the King's service through the war, and especially in his Parliament at Oxford in 1643 (Parl. Hist. III. 218–19). Three "Calls of the House," with lists of absentees, in the Lords Journals (April 21, 1642; Jan. 22, 1643–4; May 24, 1644), have also been of assistance; as well as the list of Peers who met in the Long Parliament given in the Parl. Hist., with marks indicating the subsequent career of each (II. 591—597).

Earl of Portland.
" Rivers.
" Shrewsbury.
" Southampton.
" Thanet.
" Westmoreland (at first with the King, but made his peace with Parliament 1645).
" Worcester (created Marquis, Nov. 1642; *ob.* 1646).
Viscount Campden (*ob.* 1643).
" Conway (went over to the Parliament, April 1644).
Lord Abergavenny.
" Arundel of Wardour (died of wound, May 1643).
" Brudenel.
" Capel.
" Chandos (went over to the Parliament, June 1644).
" Cottington.
" Coventry.
" Craven, of Hamstead-Marshall (some time abroad).
" Cromwell (created Earl of Ardglass in Irish Peerage, 1644).
" D'Arcy and Conyers.
" Deincourt (created Earl of Scarsdale, Nov. 1645).
" Digby (abroad at first, but revisited England).
" Dunsmore (made Earl of Chichester, June 1644).
" Eure (killed 1645).
" Fauconberg (made Viscount, Jan. 1642–3).
" Goring (abroad for a time, but returned, and was created Earl of Norwich, Nov. 1644).
" Grey of Ruthen (died June 1643).
" Hastings (son of the Earl of Huntingdon, but peer in his own right; succeeded his father as Earl 1643).
" Herbert of Cherbury (became Parliamentarian).
Lord Howard of Charlton (eldest son of Earl of Berkshire, but peer in his own right).
" Lovelace.
" Lyttleton (Lord Keeper: died July 1645).
" Mohun (died 1644).
" Montague of Boughton (an old man, brother of Earl of Manchester: taken prisoner soon, and *ob.* 1644).
" Morley and Mounteagle.
" Mowbray and Maltravers (son of the Earl of Arundel, but a baron in his own right since 1639).
" Paget (apt to change sides).
" Paulet.
" Pierrepoint (son of the Earl of Kingston, but peer in his own right; succeeded his father 1643, and made Marquis of Dorchester, March 1644).
" Powis.
" Rich (eldest son of the Parliamentarian Earl of Warwick: called to Peers, January 1641–2).
" Savile (created Earl of Sussex, May 1644).
" Seymour (brother of the Marquis of Hertford).
" Spencer (a very young man; created Earl of Sunderland, June 1643; killed September 1643).
" Stourton.
" Strange (succeeded his father as Earl of Derby, Sept. 1642).
" Wentworth (eldest son of the Earl of Cleveland, but peer in his own right).
" Willoughby D'Eresby (son of the Earl of Lindsey, but a baron in his own right since 1640; succeeded his father as Earl, Oct. 1642).

II.—PEERS NEARLY ALL CERTAINLY OR PRESUMABLY ROYALIST, BUT NON-EFFECTIVE.[1]

Duke of Buckingham (a minor, on his travels abroad).
Earl of Anglesea.
" Arundel and Surrey (had gone abroad with the Queen Feb. 1641–2; created Earl of Norfolk June 1644; *ob.* at Padua 1646).

[1] Under this head of "Non-Effective" I class all who, either from old age and infirmity, or as minors, took no personal part, or who were abroad, or so soon went abroad as to be of little use to the King in England. In the same class I include those respecting whom I have failed to find any information—that circumstance seeming to signify "non-effectiveness." But all in this list, with perhaps one or two exceptions, may be accounted as Royalists

Earl of Bridgewater (the Earl of *Comus;* invalid. His eldest son, Viscount Brackley, had just married Elizabeth, second daughter of the Earl of Newcastle).
" Danby (old and infirm; *ob.* Jan. 1643-4).
" Derby (old and infirm; *ob.* Sept. 1642, when succeeded by his son, Lord Strange).
" Exeter (*ob.* April 1643, and succeeded by his son John, a minor).
" Kent (old or invalid; *ob.* 1643, and succeeded by his son Henry, a Parliamentarian).
" Manchester (*ob.* Nov. 1642, when succeeded by his son Ld. Kimbolton, the Parliamentarian).
" Nottingham (*ob.* Oct. 1642, succeeded by his half-brother Charles Howard, a Parliamentarian).
" Oxford (a minor).
" St. Alban's (Earl Clanrickarde in the Irish peerage, and made Marquis of Clanrickarde 1644; a Roman Catholic and Royalist, but abroad).
Earl of Somerset (shelved from all public sight since 1616; *ob.* 1645).
" Strafford (a minor; restored to his great father's honours Dec. 1641).
" Winchilsea.
Viscount Montague (abroad).
" Purbeck (elder brother of the first Duke of Buckingham; in retirement).
" Stafford (a younger son of Earl of Arundel: abroad).
Lord Audley (Earl of Castlehaven in the Irish Peerage; serving against the Rebels in Ireland).
" Butler of Bramfield (*ob.* 1647).
" Delawar (a minor; afterwards a Parliamentarian).
" Dudley (old; *ob.* 1643).
" Finch (Ex-Keeper; abroad).
" Gerard of Bromley (a minor?).
" Petre (minor, and a Roman Catholic).
" Stanhope (abroad).
" Teynham (a minor?).
" Vaux (abroad).

III.—PARLIAMENTARIAN PEERS.[1]

Earl of Bedford (succeeded his father May 1642, and took his place as a Parliamentarian leader; was General of Horse under Essex for a time, but went over to the King, autumn 1643; again returned to Parliament, Dec. 1643, and was forgiven, but shelved).
" Bolingbroke.
" Clare (went over to the King, autumn 1643, but soon came back, and was forgiven, but shelved).
Earl of Essex (Parliamentarian General).
" Holland (apt to change sides; went over to the King, autumn 1643, but came back).
" Lincoln.
" Middlesex (on the whole on this side; *ob.* 1645).
" Mulgrave (old; *ob.* 1646).
" Northumberland.
" Pembroke and Montgomery.
" Rutland.
" Salisbury.
" Stamford.
" Suffolk.

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in feeling; and some, like Arundel and St. Alban's, were very ardent Royalists, though abroad. My authorities in compiling the list are (1) Absence from the King's list of Effectives in 1643-4, (2) List of Peers absent from Parliament for various reasons, but not with the King, May 1642 (Parl. Hist. II. 1297); (3) List of Royalist Peers abroad (Parl. Hist. III. 219).

[1] Authorities, besides general Histories and Peerage-books, are—Lists of Peers present in the House, given day after day in the Lords Journals from Sept. 1643 onwards; List of Parliamentarian Peers for Jan. 1643-4, in Clar. Hist. p. 467; and a List in a fly-sheet in the British Museum, of date July 30, 1646, printed for "Francis Leach at the Falcon in Shoe Lane," and entitled "The Great Champions of England; being a Perfect List of the Lords and Commons that have stood right to this Parliament." In this last list 29 names of Parliamentarian Peers are given. Lord Brooke, who is in *our* list, having been killed so early as 1642-3, does not figure among the "Champions" in 1646; nor, as having been shelved meanwhile, does the Earl of Bedford; but among those "Champions" *do* figure Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who has in the meantime changed sides, and a new Earl of Kent and a new Earl of Nottingham, successors of the "non-effectives" of these names in our preceding list.

Earl of Warwick.
Viscount Saye and Sele.
Lord Berkeley.
" Brooke (killed March 1642-3).
" Bruce of Whorlton (Earl of Elgin in Scottish Peerage).
" Dacres.
" Fielding (son of the Royalist Earl of Denbigh, but himself a Parliamentarian; succeeded his father as Earl of Denbigh, April 1643).
" Grey of Wark.
" Howard of Escrick.
Lord Hunsdon (Viscount Rochfort, son of the Royalist Earl of Dover: a baron since 1640 in his own right).
" Kimbolton (succeeded his father as Earl of Manchester Nov. 1642).
" Maynard (till 1647).
" North of Kirtling (not very active; lived chiefly in the country, among his books).
" Roberts.
" Wharton.
" Willoughby of Parham.

Thus, in the great body of the English Peerage, there was a very large preponderance of Royalism. The distinctly Parliamentarian peers at the beginning of the war did not number more than 30, if quite so many, while there were over 70 peers on the King's side, and about 28 non-effective peers who would, almost to a man, have been on that side too, but for the causes that made them non-effective.

An analysis of the Commons' House according to the same plan of distribution is much more difficult. The basis, of course, must be the complete roll of the House in August 1642. This roll was, of course, not quite the same as the original roll of the House on its first assembling in Nov. 1640, or after the informal returns of that date had been rectified by fresh elections (see *antè*, pp. 159—173). In so large a body two-and-twenty months had necessarily made changes. One member (Secretary Windebank) had fled at the very outset; about 14 had died; some 9 or 10 had been expelled for being concerned in flagrant commercial monopolies; several had been expelled on grounds of political offence to the House, by breach of privilege or decorum, before the actual rupture with the King; 4 had been expelled in Dec. 1641 for their concern in the first Army-Plot; and 8 had been called to the House of Peers, either by natural succession or by express promotion, since the opening of the Parliament. Thus, by the month of August 1642, there were, in all, about 40 members on the roll of the House that had not been original members, but had been elected from time to time in the places of such. With these, even if we

allow for the chance that one or two of the most recent vacancies had not been yet filled up, the roll of the House must have exhibited its full tale of 500 and odd members. But rarely, as we know, in the fullest House, had any number approaching to this been present, and for two or three months before August, as we also know, there had been a special thinning of the attendances caused by the desertion of Royalist members. On the call of the roll on the 16th of June, as we have seen (*antè*, p. 415), not many more than half the members, or let us make a large allowance and say 300, were present—leaving 200 and odd astray, some of whom may have sent sufficient excuses, but 45 of whom were definitely known even then to have gone to the King's quarters. Well, taking into our hands, as we might do, that roll of 500 and odd names which was actually called over in the House on the 16th of June, then, with the results of that call as part of our data, but with other data to aid us, we might try to distribute all the members, as we have done the Peers, into the three classes of *Royalists, Non-effectives,* and *Parliamentarians,* according to their known, or most probable, whereabouts individually when the Civil War was actually in progress.——I have actually attempted such a distribution; and it was my intention here to print the lists which I have laboriously made out, accounting for the total House of Commons, as far as I could, in the three categories: the names in each arranged alphabetically, and with notes to some of them. In this I was to act on the principle that incidental errors in such lists might be excused in consideration of the amount and complexity of the research required to bring them even to the state attained, and also because, unless some one shall dare to put forth such lists *with* inaccuracies, we shall never have them built into accuracy. On the whole, however, I have resolved to suppress the lists, or reserve them meanwhile. A block of some pages of mere names in small type, inserted at this point, would be too great a tax on most readers for the use of a few; and, to tell the truth, the more I revise my lists, the more I doubt whether there are not

more inaccuracies in them, in the way of wrong distribution of individuals, than would be pardonable even on the principle I have stated. I shall content myself, therefore, with indicating in a footnote the authorities on which I have prepared the lists,[1] and with presenting here the averages or general results. In these the amount of error cannot be great.

The lists exhibit a preponderance in the Commons House in favour of Parliament. The numbers are, *Effective Royalists*, 202; *Non-Effectives* and *Unstables*, 58; *Parliamentarians*, 245; giving a total of 505: which is about the full tale of the House, if we allow for two or three seats casually vacant. If the Non-effectives and Unstables are distributed between

[1] In addition to general readings in the history of the period, the authorities are chiefly these:—(1) The list of the 45 culpable absentees on the 16th of June in Commons Journals of that date. (2) Notices, in the Commons Journals and elsewhere, of the subsequent expelling, or as the phrase was, *disabling*, of these and many other absentees, individually or in batches, for being with the King, or at least for neglect of Parliamentary duty. I have counted 195 such cases between Aug. 1642 inclusively and the beginning of 1644. The disabling is not always at the moment of the offence. It is so in glaring cases; but it is often, or perhaps generally, an indication that the culprit has been long and persistently absent. On the other hand, one finds no record of the disabling of some few who are yet independently known to have been with the King. (3) A list of about 220 members of the House of Commons who were still doing duty in that House in September 1643, inasmuch as, on or after the 25th of that month, they signed the Solemn League and Covenant adopted by the Westminster Assembly. This almost fixes who were real Parliamentarians in the Commons after the war had lasted a year. (4) Official lists put forth by the King at Oxford in March 1643-4, or six months after the above signing of the Covenant, of the Lords and Commons still adhering to him. These lists (Parl. Hist. III. 218—220) contain the names of 118 members of the Commons who had assisted in the King's Convention or Anti-Parliament at Oxford, and had subscribed a Royalist letter of that Convention sent to the Earl of Essex on the preceding 27th of January, together with the names of 57 others who had joined the King since, or were absent on the King's service and with leave—in all 175 of the Commons claimed by the King as on his side in March 1643-4. Some of these had signed the Covenant at Westminster six months before, so that their secession to the King must have taken place in the interval.——A sort of *resumé* or combination of the facts of these lists will be found in the preliminary catalogue of members of the Commons House for the entire duration of the Long Parliament given in the Parl. Hist. II. 599—629. There the letter *C* prefixed to a name denotes that the member signed the Covenant in Sept. 1643 and therefore was then still with the Parliament; the letter *O* similarly denotes that the member's name is in the King's Oxford lists of March 1643-4; consequently, where we have both *C* and *O* prefixed to a name, we have to conclude that the member was so conspicuously unstable as meanwhile to have changed sides. There are some errors in the catalogue, however, and it must be examined with care, and with attention not only to the letters *C* and *O*, but also to the notices it gives of the *disablings*, when these are dated.——Finally, the printed fly-sheet of date July 30, 1646, entitled "The Great Champions of England," referred to in a former note (p. 430), has checked and extended other information. It gives 266 of the original Commons as then deserving the credit of having been faithful to the Parliamentary interest.

the opposed parties according to their probable tendencies, the Royalists might claim about 8 of them, leaving the remaining 50 or so as presumably more or less Parliamentarian in their sympathies. This would give over 295 Parliamentarians in the Commons House against some 210 Royalists or thereabouts; or, if we take round numbers, and say that three-fifths of the Commons adhered to the Parliamentary cause and two-fifths went with the King, we shall not be far wrong. At all events, while the vast majority of the Peers were Royalists, the balance in the Commons was decidedly the other way.

How as to the country at large? The Commons House of England being a representative body, it is a fair enough conclusion that the division of opinion exhibited by this body corresponded with the division that would have been exhibited by the electing constituencies. True, the House had been elected, with the exception of a few members more recently returned to fill accidental vacancies, nearly two years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and while as yet the constituencies were far from anticipating so violent a result. Still, when the House was first composed, the constituencies did have in view a very exciting struggle, and did send in the men they wished to represent them in that struggle; nor can it be supposed that, during the progress of the struggle, the constituencies had warmed less to the work than their representatives. It rather accords with what we know of representative bodies to fancy that the House, as a whole, may have fallen short of the pitch of Parliamentarian enthusiasm that would have been required of them by the body of the electors, and that, had a dissolution taken place, and the constituencies been appealed to expressly on the question of King or Parliament, a House much more Parliamentarian numerically would have been returned. Waiving such a conjecture, however, we may certainly assume that the proportion of three-fifths Parliamentarian to two-fifths Royalist exhibited by the Commons House was not in excess of the preponderance of Parlia-

mentarian feeling that would have been found prevailing throughout that substantial and well-to-do portion of the English people in whose hands the franchise was then placed. But we may go farther. Still on the principle that the statistics of the representative body may be taken as telling us something respecting the state of feeling among the people represented, we may now present these statistics in a form which will assist us in determining approximately what *parts* of England were most decidedly Royalist and what most decidedly Parliamentarian in their sympathies. The following is a list of the counties of England and Wales, with the numbers of cities, towns, and Parliamentary boroughs in each, at the date in question, as also the numbers of members returned by each to the Long Parliament, and the most exact distribution I have been able to make of these members into Parliamentarians, Royalists, C. O.'s, and Non-effectives. *P.* stands for Parliamentarian; *R.* for Royalist; *C. O.* has been already explained (see footnote p. 433); *n.e.* stands for non-effective:—

County.	No. of Members.	Distribution.
Bedfordshire (shire and 1 town)	4 =	all P.
Berkshire (shire and 4 boroughs)	10 =	5 P. + 2 R. + 1 C. O. + 2 n. e.
Buckinghamshire (shire, 1 town, and 5 boroughs)	14 =	10 P. + 3 R. + 1 C. O.
Cambridgeshire (shire, University, and 1 town)	6 =	5 P. + 1 R.
Cheshire (shire, and 1 city)	4 =	1 P. + 3 R.
Cornwall (shire, and 21 boroughs)	44 =	14 P. + 23 R. + 2 C. O. + 5 n. e.
Cumberland (shire, 1 city, and 1 borough)	6 =	3 P. + 3 R.
Derbyshire (shire, and 1 town)	4 =	2 P. + 1 R. + 1 n. e.
Devonshire (shire, 1 city, 10 boroughs and 1 group of boroughs)	26 =	13 P. + 10 R. + 3 n. e.
Dorsetshire (shire, 1 town, and 8 boroughs)	20 =	11 P. + 7 R. + 2 n. e.
Essex (shire, and 3 boroughs)	8 =	all P.
Gloucestershire (shire, 1 city, and 2 boroughs)	8 =	2 P. + 4 R. + 1 C. O. + 1 n. e.
Hampshire (shire, 1 city, 2 towns, and 9 boroughs)	26 =	15 P. + 8 R. + 3 n. e.
Herefordshire (shire, 1 city, and 2 boroughs)	8 =	1 P. + 6 R. + 1 C. O.
Hertfordshire (shire, 1 town, and 1 borough)	6 =	5 P. + 1 R.
Huntingdonshire (shire, and 1 town)	4 =	3 P. + 1 R.
Kent (shire, 2 cities, and 2 boroughs)	10 =	7 P. + 2 R. + 1 n. e.
Lancashire (shire, 1 town, and 5 boroughs)	14 =	8 P. + 5 R. + 1 n.
Leicestershire (shire, and 1 town)	4 =	3 P. + 1 R.

County.	No. of Members.	Distribution.		
Lincolnshire (shire, 1 city, and 4 boroughs)	12 =	9 P. +	2 R.	+ 1 n. e.
Middlesex (shire, and cities of London and Westminster; London returning 4 members)	8 =	all P.		
Monmouthshire (shire, and 1 town)	4 =		2 R.	+ 2 n. e.
Norfolk (shire, 1 city, 2 towns, and 2 boroughs)	12 =	7 P. +	2 R.	+ 3 n. e.
Northamptonshire (shire, 1 city, 1 town, and 2 boroughs)	10 =	8 P. +	1 R.	+ 1 n. e.
Northumberland (shire, 2 towns, and 1 borough)	8 =	3 P. +	5 R.	
Nottinghamshire (shire, 1 town, and 1 borough)	6 =	2 P. +	4 R.	
Oxfordshire (shire, University, 1 city, and 2 boroughs, one of which returns but *one* member)	9 =	6 P. +	3 R.	
Rutlandshire (shire only)	2 =		2 R.	
Shropshire (shire, 2 towns, and 3 boroughs)	12 =	2 P. +	10 R.	
Somersetshire (shire, 3 cities, and 5 boroughs)	18 =	4 P. +	11 R.	+ 3 n. e.
Staffordshire (shire, 1 city, 1 town, and 2 boroughs)	10 =	3 P. +	6 R. + 1 C. O.	
Suffolk (shire, 1 town, and 6 boroughs)	16 =	10 P. +	3 R.	+ 3 n. e.
Surrey (shire, and 6 boroughs)	14 =	7 P. +	2 R.	+ 5 n. e.
Sussex (shire, 1 city, and 8 boroughs)	20 =	10 P. +	7 R.	+ 3 n. e.
Warwickshire (shire, 1 city, and 1 borough)	6 =	4 P. +	2 R.	
Westmoreland (shire, and 1 town)	4 =		all R.	
Wiltshire (shire, 1 city, and 15 boroughs)	34 =	23 P. +	9 R.	+ 2 n. e.
Worcestershire (shire, 1 city, and 3 boroughs)	10 =	3 P. +	5 R.	+ 2 n. e.
Yorkshire (shire, 1 city, and 13 boroughs)	30 =	13 P. +	16 R.	+ 1 n. e.
Cinque Ports (*i. e.* Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, Sandwich, Seaford, Rye, and Winchilsea, each returning *two* members)	16 =	9 P. +	4 R. + 1 C. O.	+ 2 n. e.
Wales (12 counties, and 12 towns or boroughs, each returning *one* member)	24 =	4 P. +	17 R.	+ 3 n. e.
Total	511 =	255 P. +	198 R. + 8 C. O.	+ 50 n. e.

Various questions of historical interest are suggested by this table. How had it happened, for example, that the single remote county of Cornwall was then of such political importance as to send a far larger number of members to the House of Commons than any other county—more than a twelfth part of the whole representation of England and Wales being vested in that extreme western horn of the island? How did Wiltshire chance to be next in this

respect, and why were some of the English shires that are now of greatest weight so feebly represented in comparison? Without staying on such questions, which would lead back into too extensive researches, let us note what is of chief interest for our present purpose. Of the 39 English counties, it will be noted, there were *three* which were wholly represented by Parliamentarians—viz.: Bedford, Essex, and Middlesex. In twenty-one others, the Parliamentarians were more or less distinctly in the majority—viz.: Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Derby, Devon, Dorset, Hants, Herts, Hunts, Kent, Lancashire, Leicester, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northampton, Oxfordshire, Suffolk, Surrey, Sussex, Warwick, and Wilts; and it was the same with the Cinque Ports. On the other hand, there were two counties—Rutland and Westmoreland—wholly represented by Royalists; while in twelve others Royalism was decidedly preponderant—viz.: Cheshire, Cornwall, Gloucester, Hereford, Monmouth, Northumberland, Notts, Shropshire, Somerset, Stafford, Worcester, and York. Royalism was greatly preponderant also throughout Wales. In one county only, Cumberland, was there an equal balance. ——If, with these facts in mind, one looks at the map, they assume a geographical, and perhaps an ethnographical, significance. The strength of Parliamentarianism, it is seen at a glance, lay in the eastern counties of Middlesex, Essex, Bedford, Cambridge, Hunts, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincoln, with the midland counties and the south-eastern counties nearest to these. Royalism, on the other hand, was strongest in the west and the north—especially in Wales and Cornwall, and in Somerset, Hereford, Shropshire, Stafford, Cheshire, Westmoreland, and other counties near the Welsh borders. The balance was most nearly even in some of the central counties, and in Devon, Dorset, Hants, Sussex, Lancashire, and York.

It is not to be forgotten that the foregoing calculations as to the relative strengths of Royalism and Parliamentarianism in different parts of the country are founded mainly on the returns that had been made to Parliament two years before the rupture. In these returns only the electors of that day, and not the whole body of the people, had been con-

cerned. Could we take the whole body of the people into account, Parliamentarianism might be found to have been even more in the ascendant than the foregoing figures would indicate. Puritanism or Anti-Episcopacy, we know, had taken possession of the popular mind in many districts where those who wielded political influence still adhered to the old Church forms; and, wherever there was Puritanism or Anti-Episcopacy ecclesiastically, there the political sympathies were Parliamentarian. London, not only as being the capital, and as encircling the Houses of Parliament, but also as being the city where Puritanism was most rife, was necessarily the Parliamentarian head-quarters. What city or town should become the head-quarters of the King depended on the military exigencies that might arise in the course of the war. In Chester or in Shrewsbury he would be in the midst of a population adhering to him, and on the verge of the western and Welsh region whence he was to draw much of his levies; but Oxford, as nearer to London, and as a rendezvous of the higher clergy and doctors, and of all the Royalism they brought in their train, might have peculiar advantages.

THE TWO ARMIES AND THEIR OFFICERS.

Whatever may have been the numerical distribution of the entire population of England and Wales between the two sides, the decision was likely to be determined not by any process of polling, but by a much more practical test. It was likely to be determined by the superiority that might be shown by one side or the other in raising, supporting, and officering its army. It was quite possible that the weaker side numerically might have the superiority in this respect; or, if the two sides began on something like equality in this respect, the victory would be with that side which should first work itself into the superiority.

How were the two armies raised? Take, first, the Parliamentarian army. So far as this army was already in existence, it had been raised by two processes. Much had been

done by the regular plan of executing that ordinance which had been the subject of dispute between the King and the two Houses, and which at length the two Houses had passed by their own authority without the King's assent (March 5, 1641-2). By this ordinance Parliament had taken what may be called the regular military machinery of the country into its own hands, inasmuch as it appropriated to itself the power of appointing those persons who were to be the lords-lieutenant, or heads of array, in the different counties. In pursuance of the ordinance, certain persons, chiefly noblemen of high rank, had been nominated to the lieutenancies of the different counties. The Earl of Bolingbroke had been nominated for Bedfordshire; the Earl of Holland for Berkshire; Lord North for Cambridgeshire; Lord Roberts for Cornwall; the Earl of Warwick for Essex; Lord Kimbolton for Hunts; the Earl of Essex for Staffordshire; the Earl of Northumberland for Sussex; Lord Brooke for Warwickshire; the Earl of Pembroke for Wiltshire; &c. Most of the noblemen so appointed were men of known Parliamentarian views; but, whether from want of foresight at the time, or to preserve appearances, a few peers of Royalist sympathies had also been nominated. Thus, Lord Strange had been nominated for Cheshire; Lord Spencer for Northamptonshire; the Marquis of Hertford for Somersetshire. Each lord-lieutenant was to have power to appoint deputy-lieutenants under him, to be approved by Parliament, and to assemble, arm, and train the subjects within his county or district, appoint officers over them, and the like. Having thus, as early as March 1641-2, arranged the machinery, Parliament had, by subsequent orders, when civil war seemed inevitable (May 1642), put it in operation. The lords-lieutenant who had been nominated, or at least those of them who adhered to Parliament, had been busy, personally or through their deputies; ardent members of the Commons had been sent into the counties where they had influence, to stimulate preparations; and the consequence was that, at the outbreak of the war, Parliament had levies over a considerable part of the country ready or forthcoming. In addition, however, to these levies, raised by

the application of the Militia ordinance, there were, wherever Parliamentarian feeling was strongest, troops and companies of Volunteers, authorized by Parliament. Nowhere, out of London, was the Volunteering movement more eager than in Cambridgeshire and the adjacent eastern counties, where Cromwell had set the example.———Meanwhile, the King, dependent also to a considerable extent on Volunteering from the higher ranks that were loyal to him, and especially from the young aristocracy, had set in operation a machinery for ordinary levies in opposition to that of the Militia ordinance of Parliament. The subjects had been forbidden, under pain of treason, to obey the Parliamentary ordinance, and had been called upon to obey rather the King's "Commissions of Array" —*i.e.* commissions given in the King's name to loyal noblemen and gentlemen, empowering them to raise and arm the subjects in different shires and districts for the King's service (May and June 1642). By the exertions of those who acted on these commissions of array, forces for the King had been raised, or were forthcoming, from various parts of the country, but chiefly from Wales, the western English, and the northern counties.

When the two armies, thus diversely raised, were first brought into the field, or were organized on paper with a view to being brought into the field, this is about the shape they assumed:—

ROYALIST ARMY.[1]

(Estimated at 40,000 in Oct. or Nov. 1642.)

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF: Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey (Lord Great Chamberlain), till his death at Edgehill fight, Oct. 1642; when he was succeeded by Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth.
General of Horse: Prince Rupert (the King's nephew, *ætat.* 23).
Lieutenant-General of Foot: Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth in the Scottish Peerage. (He had served under Gustavus-Adolphus, and had recently been Governor of Edinburgh Castle. He succeeded the Earl of Lindsey as Commander-in-Chief, and was created Earl of Brentford in 1644.)
Lieutenant-General of Horse: Henry Wilmot (afterwards Lord Wilmot).
Major-General of Foot: Sir Jacob Astley (afterwards Lord Astley).

[1] The information I have been able to obtain as to the composition and organization of the King's army is less full and exact than that I have obtained respecting the Parliamentarian army. I trust chiefly to a pamphlet a copy of which I have examined in the British Museum. It is dated 1642—"Nov. 12" added in MS. on the title-page—and is entitled "A Copy of a List of all the Cavaliers and Brave Commanders of His Majesty's Marching Army, with the number of Captains in each several Regiment." In Harl. MS. 989 there is

Major-General of Horse: Lord Wentworth.
General of Ordnance: Henry Percy (afterwards Lord Percy).
Lieut.-General of Ordnance: Sir John Heydon; and then Colonel Richard Fielding.
Commissary-General of Horse: First, Colonel Wilmot; then Sir Arthur Aston (a Roman Catholic).
Treasurer of the Army: William Ashburnham.
Muster-master: Sir William Bronckard.
Adjutant-General: David Scrimshere (*i.e.* Scrimgeour: a Scot).

I. KING'S LIFE-GUARDS.

We put these by themselves, as a most distinguished part of the army:—(1) In the King's "Troop of Guards," properly so called, were included, according to Clarendon (Hist. 306), "most of the persons of honour and quality"—*i.e.* most of the young or middle-aged noblemen, baronets, and knights of courtly habits—who wished to give their personal service to the King, as private gentlemen-soldiers, without having commands. It was "so gallant a body," according to Clarendon, "that, upon a very modest computation, the estate and revenue of that single troop might justly be valued at least equal to theirs who then voted in both Houses," *i.e.* the residuary Peers and Commons at Westminster. Serving in this troop as privates were the Earls of Dover and Denbigh, and many other Earls and Lords; its commander was Lord Bernard Stewart, the King's kinsman, and a younger brother of the Duke of Richmond and Lennox (he was killed, 1645); and in this troop was the King's standard, borne by Sir Edmund Verney.—(2) The servants of the noblemen and gentlemen in the King's troop of Guards made another full troop of themselves, and, according to Clarendon, "always marched with their lords and masters." Their commander was Sir William Killigrew.

II. MAIN BODY OF FOOT = ABOUT 14,000 MEN.

Fourteen Regiments, averaging a thousand men each, seem to have been available for the King about the beginning of the war. The following is a list of them, with the names of the principal officers:—

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a List of Regiments, Officers, &c., of the Royalist army; but, as it refers to the latter part of the year 1644, it does not represent the state of the King's forces at the outset of the war. Even the former list is vague and imperfect, and has to be rectified in particulars. For example, being drawn up after the Earl of Lindsey's death, it does not name him as commander-in-chief. By the help of Clarendon and other authorities, I have tried to make the necessary additions and rectifications; but there may be errors or anachronisms still remaining. No one can know, till he has tried it, the difficulty of compiling such a list with anything like accuracy.—Since compiling my list, I have seen a reprint of the Tract of Nov. 1642, which has been one of my authorities, in Mr. Edward Peacock's *Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers* (London 1863). Mr. Peacock's reprint is from a copy in the Bodleian, of which he does not give the date, and which differs somewhat in its title, but apparently not in its text, from the British Museum copy examined by me. He has confined himself to a mere reprint of the Tract, which hardly accounts for the King's whole army; but I have added a particular or two to my digest from his footnotes to individual names. I stop my naming, in each regiment, at the Major (then called "Sergeant-Major"); the Tract itself goes on to the Captains.

1. The Earl of Newcastle's Regiment: *Colonel*, the Earl of Newcastle; *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Rich; *Major*, — Babthorpe; eight *Captains*.
2. Lord Taffe's Regiment: *Colonel*, Theobald, Viscount Taffe in the Irish Peerage (afterwards Earl of Carlingford); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Sir John Rhodes; *Major*, Thomas Treveere; nine *Captains*.
3. Colonel Hastings's Regiment: *Colonel*, Henry Hastings (younger son of the Earl of Huntingdon); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Langley; *Major*, — Stanley; five *Captains*.
4. Sir Thomas Glenham's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Thomas Glenham; *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Vaughan; *Major*, — Wagstaff (afterwards Sir Joseph Wagstaff, and in higher command); five *Captains*.
5. Sir Francis Wortley's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Francis Wortley; *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Russell; *Major*, — Waller; three *Captains*.
6. Lord Grandison's Regiment: *Colonel*, William Villiers, Viscount Grandison of the Irish Peerage (afterwards Lieut.-General, and died of wounds received at the siege of Bristol, July 1643); *Lieut.-Colonel*, John Digby (afterwards Sir John); *Major*, — Willoughby; seven *Captains*.
7. Colonel Porter's Regiment: *Colonel*, Endymion Porter (Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Vavasour; *Major*, — Stanhope (one of the sons of the Earl of Chesterfield); seven *Captains*.
8. Colonel Ashburnham's Regiment: *Colonel*, William Ashburnham; *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Bruerton; *Major*, Sir Henry Carey, Knt. (co. Devon); seven *Captains*.
9. Colonel Bellasis's Regiment: *Colonel*, John Bellasis (second son of Lord Fauconberg, and afterwards himself a peer, as Lord Bellasis); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Murray; *Major*, — Pope; seven *Captains*.
10. Lord Kilmurray's Regiment: *Colonel*, Viscount Kilmurray, of the Irish Peerage; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Sir Faithful Fortescue (deserted to the King at Edgehill); *Major*, Sir Hugh Pollard (killed 1646); seven *Captains*.
11. Sir Lewis Dives's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Lewis Dives, Knt. (M.P. for Bridport, made prisoner Aug. 1645); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Lacy; *Major*, Sir William Widdrington, Bart. (made Baron Widdrington, Nov. 1643); five *Captains*.
12. Sir Charles Lucas's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Charles Lucas (shot after the siege of Colchester, Aug. 1648); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Stanley; *Major*, — Kelly; five *Captains*.
13. Sir George Gothericke's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir George Gothericho; *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Washington; *Major*, — Powell; five *Captains*.
14. Colonel Osborne's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Edward Osborne, Bart. (father of Thomas Osborne, first Duke of Leeds); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Savage; *Major*, Daniel O'Neale; seven *Captains*.

III. Main Body of Horse.

Respecting this portion of the King's army, all the information given in the pamphlet which is my principal authority is as follows:—There was a "Prince's Troop," consisting of about 500 horse, and commanded by Sir Thomas Byron, brother of the first Lord Byron; the Earl of Bristol had "two troops;" the Earl of Crawford (Ludovic Lindsay, fifteenth Earl of Crawford in Scotland) had "three troops;" Lord Digby "two troops;" Lord Capel "two troops;" Lord Grandison, Lord Kilmurray, Lord Rich, Sir Charles Lucas, Sir Geo. Gothericho, Sir Francis Wortley, and Sir John Byron (afterwards Lord Byron, and ancestor of the poet), "one troop." But, in Clarendon (Hist. 306), we hear of two or three regiments of Dragoons besides, about 1,000 strong in all, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston.

IV. Provincial Detachments = 16,000.

"I have omitted," says the compiler of the pamphlet, "the Earl "of Cumberland his horse and foot, the Marquis of Hertford's

"horse and foot, the Earl of Derby's horse and foot—[all] which is "at the least 16,000—none of which has yet [Nov. 1642] been "with his Majesty." In other words, besides the main army as above accounted for, there were large forces acting for the King in different parts of England under great noblemen who had been despatched by the King on special territorial commands before he had left Yorkshire and set up his standard at Nottingham. The Earl of Cumberland had been placed in command of Yorkshire itself; the Earl of Newcastle had been sent into Northumberland, and had acquired possession of Newcastle, and been made governor of that town, so important for the King as a seaport; the Earl of Derby (Lord Strange till Sept. 1642) had undertaken Cheshire and Lancashire, under the King's commission of array; and the Marquis of Hertford, at one time thought of for commander-in-chief, had been sent into Somersetshire with a separate commission as "General in all the Western parts," and had taken the Earl of Bath and some of the ablest of the King's officers with him, including Sir Ralph Hopton (afterwards Lord Hopton).[1]

PARLIAMENTARIAN ARMY.

I.—Essex's, or Main Army.

Commander-in-Chief: Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex; *atat.* 50 (Essex's colours were "a deep yellow").

General of Horse: William Russell, fifth Earl of Bedford (afterwards went over to the King, then came back to Parliament: became first Duke of Bedford in 1694, died 1700).

Lieut.-General of Horse: Sir William Balfour, Knt. (formerly Lieutenant of the Tower).

General of Ordnance: John, Earl of Peterborough (died June 18, 1642, before he could serve).

Lieut.-General of Ordnance: Philibert Emanuel de Boyes.

Sergeant-Major-General: Sir John Merrick, Knt. (M.P. for Newcastle-under-Line), succeeded by Philip Skippon.

Quartermaster-General: John Dalbier (a Dutchman, who had seen service).

Treasurer-at-War: Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bart. (M.P. for Middlesex).

Advocate of the Army: Dr. Isaac Dorislaus (a Dutchman, who had resided long in England, had held the History Professorship at Cambridge, and had become one of the Professors in Gresham College, London).

Foot = about 25,000 Men.

The Foot-Regiments were 20 in number; each calculated at 1,200 men, exclusive of officers, and divided into *ten* companies—the *Colonel's* company, of 200 men; the *Lieut.-Colonel's*, of 160; the *Sergeant-Major's*, of 140; and seven *Captains'* companies, of 100 men each. Each company had, of course, its *Lieutenant* and *Ensign*. The Regiments, with their chief officers, successively were as follows:[2]—

[1] Clar. Hist. 288, 273, 304.

[2] My authority is a pamphlet in the British Museum, of date Sept. 14, 1642, entitled "The List of the Army raised under the command of His Excellency, Robert, Earl of Essex." The names of *all* the officers—Captains, Lieutenants, and Ensigns included—are given in this pamphlet.—I find a reprint of this pamphlet in Mr. Peacock's *Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers* (1863)

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's Regiment: *Colonel*, His Excellency; *Lieut.-Colonel*, W. Davies; *Sergeant-Major*, Jo. Bampfield; seven other *Captains* of Companies. Attached to this Regiment was a company of 100 Cuirassiers, for his Excellency's Guard, under Sir Philip Stapleton, Knt. (M.P. for Boroughbridge) as *Captain*; also a troop of 50 Carbineers. The Regiment had a Physician and a Surgeon; and its *Chaplain* was Stephen Marshall.
2. Sir John Merrick's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir John Merrick; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Vincent Kilmady; *Sergeant-Major*, William Herbert; seven *Captains*.
3. Earl of Peterborough's Regiment: *Colonel*, the Earl of Peterborough; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Sir Faithful Fortescue (wrongly named "Faithful:" he deserted at Edgehill); *Sergeant-Major*, Francis Fairfax; seven *Captains*.
4. Earl of Stamford's Regiment: *Colonel*, the Earl of Stamford; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Edward Massey (became distinguished); *Sergeant-Major*, Constantine Ferrer; seven *Captains*.
5. Lord Saye's Regiment: *Colonel*, Viscount Saye and Sele; *Lieut.-Colonel*, George Hutchinson; *Sergeant-Major*, James Acheson; seven *Captains*.
6. Lord Wharton's Regiment: *Colonel*, Lord Wharton; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Jeremiah Horton; *Sergeant-Major*, Owen Parry; seven *Captains*.
7. Lord Rochford's Regiment: *Colonel*, John Carey, Lord Rochford (son and heir of the Earl of Dover); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Edward Aldrich; *Sergeant-Major*, Thomas Leighton; seven *Captains*.
8. Lord St. John's Regiment: *Colonel*, Oliver, Lord St. John (eldest son of the Earl of Bolingbroke: killed at Edgehill, Oct. 1642); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Thomas Essex; *Sergeant-Major*, Edward Andrews; seven *Captains*.
9. Lord Brooke's Regiment: *Colonel*, Lord Brooke (killed, April 1643); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Sir Edward Peto; *Sergeant-Major*, Walter Ashworth; seven *Captains* —one of whom is John Lilburne.
10. Lord Mandeville's Regiment: *Colonel*, Viscount Mandeville, Lord Kimbolton; *Lieut.-Colonel*, John Parkinson; *Sergeant-Major*, John Drake; seven *Captains*. The *Chaplain* to this Regiment is Simeon Ashe.
11. Lord Roberts's Regiment: *Colonel*, Lord Roberts; *Lieut.-Colonel*, William Hunter; *Sergeant-Major*, Alex. Hurry; seven *Captains*.
12. Sir Henry Cholmley's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir Henry Cholmley, Knt. (M.P. for Northallerton); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Lawrence Alured; *Sergeant-Major*, Thomas Southcot; seven *Captains*. The *Chaplain* is Adoniram Byfield.
13. Colonel Holles's Regiment: *Colonel*, Denzil Holles (M.P. for Dorchester); *Lieut-Colonel*, Henry Billingsley; *Sergeant-Major*, James Quarles; seven *Captains*.
14. Colonel Bampfield's Regiment: *Colonel*, William Bampfield (went over to the King); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Roger Wingfield; *Sergeant-Major*, Samuel Price; seven *Captains*.
15. Colonel Grantham's Regiment: *Colonel*, Thomas Grantham (M.P. for Lincoln); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Francis Clarke; *Sergeant-Major*, John Holman; seven *Captains*.
16. Sir William Constable's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir William Constable, Bart. (M.P. for Knaresborough); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Robert Grain; *Sergeant-Major*, Henry Frodsham; seven *Captains*. The *Chaplain* is William Sedgwick.
17. Colonel Ballard's Regiment: *Colonel*, Thomas Ballard; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Francis Martin; *Sergeant-Major*, William Lowe; seven *Captains*.
18. Sir William Fairfax's Regiment: *Colonel*, Sir William Fairfax (killed, Sept. 1644); *Lieut.-Colonel*, William Monings; *Sergeant-Major*, Jarvis Paine; seven *Captains*.
19. Colonel Charles Essex's Regiment: *Colonel*, Charles Essex (killed at Edgehill, Oct. 1642); *Lieut.-Colonel*, Adam Cunningham (killed, June 1644); *Sergeant-Major* ———; seven *Captains*—one of whom is the Colonel's father, Sir William Essex.
20. Colonel Hampden's Regiment: *Colonel*, John Hampden (M.P. for Bucks); *Lieut.-Colonel*, — Wagstaff; *Sergeant-Major*, William Berriff; seven *Captains* —one of whom is Richard Ingoldsby. The *Chaplain* is William Spurstow.

Horse = Total about 5,000.

The Horse consisted of 75 troops of Horse, each of 60 mounted men; besides 5 troops of Dragoons, each of 100 men. There were six *Colonels* of Horse, and one *Colonel* of Dragoons, each with

a *Major*. The six Colonels of Horse were the Earl of Bedford, General of Horse; Sir William Balfour, Lieut.-General (whose Major-General was his somewhat noted fellow-Scot, John Urry, or Hurry); Basil, Lord Fielding; Lord Willoughby of Parham; Sir William Waller, Knt. (M.P. for Andover); and Edwin Sandys (mortally wounded in a skirmish, Sept. 1642). The Colonel of Dragoons was John Browne (M.P. for Dorsetshire). Under these Colonels and their Majors were the individual troops of Horse, each with its Captain, Lieutenant, and Cornet. The following is a list of the *Captains* of all the troops:[1]—

75 Troops of Horse.

1. The Lord-General of Horse.
2. Sir William Balfour: his *Lieutenant* is John Meldrum, a Scotsman.
3. Lord Grey of Groby (M.P. for Leicester).
4. The Earl of Peterborough.
5. Viscount Saye and Sele.
6. Lord Brooke. In this troop Robert Lilburne is *Cornet*, and John Okey is *Quartermaster*.
7. Lord Hastings.
8. Lord St. John (killed at Edgehill, Oct. 1642). The *Lieutenant* in this troop is a Marmaduke Cooper, and the *Cornet* is Oliver Cromwell, junior, Cromwell's eldest son (killed before 1644).
9. Lord Stamford.
10. Lord Fielding.
11. Lord Wharton.
12. Lord Willoughby of Parham.
13. Lord Grey of Wark.
14. James Sheffield (son of the Earl of Mulgrave).
15. Sir William Waller, M.P. His *Lieutenant* is Richard Newdegate, and his *Cornet* Fulk Greville.
16. John Gunter (afterwards Colonel, and killed at Chalgrove Field, June 1643).
17. William Pretty.
18. Robert Burnell.
19. Francis Dowett.
20. James Temple.
21. John Bird.
22. Matthew Draper.
23. — Dymock.
24. Horatio Carey.
25. John Alured (M.P. for Heydon, Yorkshire).
26. John Neal.
27. John Hammond.
28. Edward Ayscough (? *Sir* Edward, M.P. for Lincolnshire).
29. Alexander Pym (one of Pym's sons).
30. John Hotham (M.P. for Scarborough).
31. Arthur Evelyn.
32. George Thompson.
33. Edwin Sandys (mortally wounded Sept. 1642).
34. Anthony Mildmay.
35. Edwin Kyghley.
36. The Hon. Nathaniel Fiennes (M.P. for Banbury).
37. Edward Berry.
38. Alexander Douglas.
39. Thomas Lidcott.
40. Thomas Hammond.
41. John Dalbier.
42. Francis Fiennes.
43. Sir Arthur Haselrig, Bart. (M.P. for Leicestershire).
44. Sir Walter Earle, Knt. (M.P. fo Weymouth).
45. John Fleming.
46. Arthur Goodwin (M.P. for Bucks Hampden's colleague).
47. Richard Grenville.
48. Thomas Terrill.
49. John Hale.
50. H. Mildmay.
51. W. Balfour (? a son of the Lieut.-General).
52. George Austin.
53. Adrian Scroope.
54. Hercules Langrich.
55. Edward Wingate (M.P. for St. Albans).
56. Edward Baynton (? *Sir* Edward Baynton, M.P. for Chippenham).
57. Charles Chichester.
58. Henry Ireton (a lawyer, *ætat.* 32).
59. Walter Long (M.P. for Ludgershall, Wilts).
60. Hon. John Fiennes.
61. Francis Thompson.

[1] The authority is the pamphlet already cited, where all the officers' names, down to the Cornets, are given.

62. Edmund West.
63. Sir Robert Pye, Knt. (M.P. for Woodstock).
64. Thomas Hatcher (M.P. for Stamford).
65. Robert Vivers.
66. William Anselme.
67. OLIVER CROMWELL (M.P. for Cambridge). His *Lieutenant* is Cuthbert Baildon, his *Cornet* Joseph Waterhouse, and his *Quartermaster* John Desborough.
68. Robert Kirle.
69. William Wray.
70. William Bretty (*secundus* or *junior*).
71. Sir John Sanders.
72. Thomas Temple.
73. Valentine Walton (M.P. for Hunts).
74. Sir Faithful Fortescue.
75. Simon Rugeley.

DRAGOONS: 5 TROOPS.

1. Sir John Browne.
2. Robert Mower (? Muir, and a Scotsman).
3. William Buchan (? a Scot).
4. Sir Anthony Irby, Knt. (M.P. for Boston).
5. James Wandloe.

II.—FORCES OF THE CITY OF LONDON AND SUBURBS: TRAINED BANDS AND AUXILIARIES.[1]

GENERAL: "The Right Worshipful Philip Skippon, Esq., Major-General of all "the Forces of the City of London, one of the Committee for the Militia, and "Captain of that ancient and worthy Society exercising arms in the Artillery-"Garden of the same City."

1. SIX REGIMENTS OF CITY TRAINED BANDS.

Name of Regiment, &c.	Officers.	Estimated Numbers in Sept. 1643.
1ST, OR RED REGIMENT (limits, Aldgate, Mark Lane, Tower Street, Billingsgate).	*Colonel*, Alderman Atkins; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Captain Royden; *Major*, — Mannering (who had "a shop in Cheapside, near Ironmonger Lane"); 4 *Captains*.	1,000
2ND, OR WHITE REGIMENT (limits, Cornhill, Lombard Street, Fenchurch Street, the upper part of Gracechurch Street).	*Colonel*, Alderman Isaac Pennington, M.P.; *Lieut.-Colonel*, George Langham; *Major*, Robert Davis ("a slopmaker for seamen near Billingsgate"); 5 *Captains*.	1,190 (of whom 600 "muskets," 520 "pikes," and 70 supernumeraries).

[1] My information about this very interesting portion of the general army of the Parliament is derived from three sources:—(1) A Tract in the British Museum (669. f. 1. / 1. 122 2*) of date 1642, and "printed for Henry Overton," entitled "A List of the Names of the several Colonels, and their Colours, with the Lieut.-Cols., Sergeant-Majors, and Captains and Lieutenants, appointed by the Committee for the ordering of the City of London;" (2) Another and better fly-sheet in the Museum, dated 1642, "printed for Richard Thrale," and entitled "The Names, Dignities, and Places of all the Collonells, Lieut.-Collonels, Sergeant-Majors, Captains, Quartermasters, Lieutenants and Ensigns of the City of London;" (3) A Manuscript in the British Museum (Harl. 986) written by Richard Symons, a Royalist, containing "The Ensigns of the Regiments in the City of London, both of the Trayned Bands and Auxiliaries: together with the nearest number of their trayned soldiers, taken as they marched into Finsbury Fields, being their last general muster: Tuesday, Sept. 26, 1643: *anno pestiferæ Rebellionis*." In this MS., whose description is later by a year than that of the two printed tracts, the writer has jotted down, in contempt and malevolence, curious particulars as to the occupations and antecedents of some of the chiefs of the city-soldiery.

Name of Regiment, &c.	Officers.	Estimated Numbers in Sept. 1643.
3RD, OR YELLOW REGIMENT (limits, Cheapside, St. Paul's Churchyard, part of Watling Street, part of Newgate Market, Ludgate, Blackfriars, &c.).	*Colonel*, Alderman Wollaston; *Lieut.-Colonel*, John Venn (M.P. for London); *Major*, — Bradley; 4 *Captains*, of whom one is "a grocer" and two are "woollen-drapers." Among the Ensigns is a "Ralph Woodcock."	1,024
4TH, OR BLUE REGIMENT.	*Colonel*, Alderman Adams; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Edmund Foster; *Major*, — Carlton; 4 *Captains*.	1,000
5TH, OR GREEN REGIMENT.	*Colonel*, Alderman Warner; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Captain Covell; *Major*, Matthew Foster; 3 *Captains*.	863
6TH, OR ORANGE REGIMENT.	*Colonel*, Alderman Towes; *Lieut.-Colonel*, Rowland Wilston; *Major*, — Geere; 3 *Captains*.[1]	1,101
	Total of City Trained Bands	6,178

2. ADDITIONS FROM THE SUBURBS.

TOWER HAMLETS REGIMENT	1,304	
WESTMINSTER REGIMENT	2,018	
SOUTHWARK REGIMENT	1,394	
Total of Suburban Bands		4,716
Total of all Trained Bands		10,894

3. AUXILIARIES (VOLUNTEERS?).

Green Regiment	1,200
White Regiment	1,000
——— Regiment	1,000
Yellow Regiment	1,000
Red Regiment	1,000
Blue Regiment	1,000
Orange Regiment	1,000
Total of Auxiliaries	7,200

III.—FAIRFAX'S ARMY IN THE NORTH.

Shortly after the beginning of the war (not till Nov. 1642, however), the Parliament, in order more effectually to counteract the Earls of Newcastle and Cumberland, commanding separately for the King in the north, caused a commission to be made out, appointing Lord Ferdinando Fairfax (M.P. for Yorkshire) to be Parliamentarian General-in-Chief for Yorkshire and the adjacent counties. This Lord Fairfax, who was the Parliamentarian of

[1] I have not continued my notes from the Symons MS. as to the occupations of the officers of the last three regiments; but I find one *Colonel* in 1643 described as "a stiller of strong waters in St. Mary at Hill Road, Billingsgate;" another, a *Lieut.-Col.*, as "a skinner in Southwark;" and a *Major* as "a soap-boiler in Southwark."—Some of these tradesmen turned out good and brave officers.

greatest influence in the north, was about sixty years of age; but he had for his General of Horse and assistant in command his son and heir, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, though only past thirty, was a trained soldier—having served in the Low Countries under Horatio, Lord Vere, whose daughter he had married on returning home. The two Fairfaxes, father and son, under whom Sir John Hotham and *his* son were also prominent men, had speedily an army of about 6,000 horse and foot, with which they maintained the Parliamentary cause in the north as substitutes there for Essex.[1]

In the officering of both armies at the outset, it is easy to see, two principles were observed. Commands were given to the men of greatest rank and influence on either side that were willing to take them; but, *cæteris paribus*, a preference was shown to those who, as having already had military experience, were supposed to be fittest to lead. Some care seems, indeed, to have been taken on both sides to bring in whatever of already trained military talent was to be had. The commanders-in-chief on both sides were noblemen in whom high rank and professional experience in arms were united.[2] On both sides, whether among the lieutenant-colonels or majors of regiments, or among those in higher posts who would practically have most to do in advising and assisting the commander-in-chief, we find the names of known professional soldiers, Scottish, Irish, and Dutch, as well as English; and, though great noblemen, and wealthy knights and baronets, who can have had no previous training in arms, are mingled with these in large proportion, it is generally in posts where their duties may have been honorary until they had learnt something of the real business. The natural post, in either army, for an energetic peer, or an energetic knight or squire of the Commons House, if he came to the work rather from goodwill than from previous practice in soldiering, seems to have been the colonelcy (honorary) of a foot-regiment, where he might leave things to the acting lieutenant-colonel and the sergeant-major, or the captaincy of a troop of horse, where he might hope sooner to acquire a

[1] Clar. Hist. 346, and Wood's Fasti, II. 148, 149.

[2] They had served together as comrades in the Low Countries: Clar. Hist. 307.

knowledge of his work. It was in the latter post that Oliver Cromwell, at the age of forty-three, began his career in the Parliamentary army. There were more than a dozen of his colleagues in the Commons who were also only captains of horse-troops, though one or two took to colonelcies of horse or dragoons at once, and one or two more, like several peers, conjoined captaincies of horse with honorary colonelcies of foot. Hampden, Denzil Holles, and others of the eminent Parliamentarians, and Bellasis, Endymion Porter, and others of the recent M.P.'s of the King's side, began as colonels of foot-regiments.

Now, on the whole, what strikes one in studying the history of the war is the apparent non-preponderance of already trained military efficacy on either side. It seems to be the opinion of competent military critics that there were moments in the first months of the war when first-rate generalship on either side might have brought matters to a swift conclusion. As it was, with all the welding of supposed professional experience, English, Scotch, Irish, and Dutch, into the systems of the two armies at the outset, with all the show of Gustavus-Adolphus men on the one side to match and overcrow Gustavus-Adolphus men on the other, the English Civil War had to breed for itself, out of native stuff, the soldiers that were to conclude it. On the Parliamentarian side, in particular, the very course of affairs consisted in a gradual education of all concerned, bringing gradually to the front the men that were to displace the first commanders and take the war into their own hands. Essex, respected nobleman though he was, and so popular at first with the men that, as he rode along their ranks, they would throw up their caps and cry "*Hey for Old Robin!*"[1] soon proved himself one of the heaviest of generals. It was the same with not a few of his associates and successors from whom better things were expected. When the heaven-born leaders did appear, they were found largely among men who had joined the army with no military experience of a special kind acquired by previous service, but whose natural apti-

[1] Whitlocke, I. 101.

tude for command had been proved in the school of their first training. One might speculate on what might have become of the "John Gunter" mentioned in our list as captain of the horse-troop No. 16 in the Parliamentary army, had he lived to see the war through. He was "looked upon," says Clarendon, "as the best officer of horse they had, and a "man of known malice to the government of the Church, "which had drawn some severe censure upon him before "the troubles, and for which he had still meditated revenge." But this otherwise all but unknown Gunter met his death, when he had attained colonel's rank,[1] in the same action, early in the war, in which Hampden was mortally wounded (Chalgrove Field, June 1643). Without vain conjecture, therefore, over this and similar cases, one may turn, for the best illustration of the way in which the real native military genius latent in the Parliamentary army was training itself for ultimate success, to the case of Oliver Cromwell.

Of extraordinary reputation for zeal and practical energy, and latterly, as we have seen, of the very highest influence in Parliament, Cromwell was now, in his mature life, a captain of Horse Volunteers. From the moment of his assuming this command he had thrown his whole soul into it. He had worked hard at the mechanical part of his duty, in drilling his men and learning how to drill them, taking lessons in the art from the Dutchman Dalbier.[2] But he had, from the first also, a singular notion as to how one might succeed as a military officer. He had a notion that an officer should pick his men, and pick them on a definite principle. "He "had a brave regiment of horse, of his countrymen," says Whitlocke, speaking of Cromwell, when he had just risen to be colonel, "most of them freeholders and freeholders' "sons, and who upon matter of conscience engaged in this "quarrel, and under Cromwell. And thus, being well armed "within by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and "without by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand "firmly and charge desperately."[3] It must have been with a

[1] Whitlocke makes him only "Major:" I. 204.

[2] Carlyle's Cromwell, I. 198.

[3] Whitlocke, I. 209.

view to this double qualification of his men, as not only well-armed and well-drilled, but also of the right sort individually, that Cromwell himself, writing to his kinsman, St. John, in Sept. 1643, uses these words: "My troops "increase. *I have a lovely company;* you would respect "them did you know them." If these words do not go to a Volunteer captain's heart of the present day, that captain has a lesson to learn. At a much later period, we have Cromwell's own most memorable summing-up on this head, in that famous passage of one of his speeches in which, when Protector, he expounded the chief principle of his military success. "I was a person," he there says, "who, "from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and "lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being "a captain of a troop of horse, and did labour as well as I "could to discharge my trust; and God blessed me as it "pleased Him. And I did truly and plainly—and in a "way of foolish simplicity, as it was judged by very great "and wise men, and good men too—desire to make my "instruments help me in that work. And I will deal "plainly with you: I had a very worthy friend then; and "he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is "very grateful to all—Mr. John Hampden. At my first "going out into this engagement, I saw our men were "beaten at every hand. I did indeed; and desired him "that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's "army of some new regiments; and I told him I would "be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought "had a *spirit* that would do something in the work. This "is very true that I tell you; God knows I lie not. 'Your "'troops,' said I, 'are most of them old decayed serving-"'men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and,' said I, "'*their* troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons and "'persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such "'base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter "'gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution "'in them?' Truly I did represent to him in this manner "conscientiously; and truly I did tell him:—'You must

" 'get men of a *spirit;* and take it not ill what I say—I " 'know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as " 'far as gentlemen will go; or else you will be beaten " 'still.' I told him so; I did truly. He was a wise and " worthy person; and he did think that I talked a good " notion, but an impracticable one. Truly I told him I " could *do* somewhat in it."[1]

In this passage we have not only a principle in the philosophy of armies which will hold true to the end of time, but also, as in a flash of light, a *resumé* of the whole history of the English Civil War. The progress of the Parliamentarians towards victory consisted in the gradual extension of Cromwell's principle, which even Hampden thought visionary, to more and more of the Parliamentary army, until the whole was leavened by it. As the principle, however, remained Cromwell's own, this process of the gradual dynamizing of the Parliamentary army into the mood of certain victory is to be conceived as keeping pace, step by step, with his personal promotion.

We have not been anticipating in all this. As we cannot relate the events of the Civil War in detail, it is the more necessary to take any opportunity that may occur of expressing the essence of them in a generalization. Let the reader, therefore, hover for a moment in imagination over the two armies, as we have been able to tabulate their states at the outset, *i.e.* in Sept., Oct., and Nov. 1642. But only for a moment. Even as he gazes down upon the two armies so represented, they are in flux and motion. Deaths are occurring in them, deaths by shot and by sword; prisoners are being taken on both sides and placed *hors de combat;* captains are becoming colonels, colonels are rising into general commands, and subalterns are moving up to captaincies; nay, new masses of recruits are being attached ever and anon to both armies, to repair losses, or to swell the numbers; and these bring with them, of course, new officers, who are to distinguish themselves more or less. Of some of these additions and modifications, whether in

[1] Speech, April 13, 1657: Carlyle's Cromwell, III. 249-50.

the general bodies, or in particular persons, we shall hear in time. Meanwhile, whatever persons of military consequence, on either side, the reader may keep in view, trying to discern their figures and their movements through the mist, let him expect the emergence of Oliver Cromwell.

FIRST WEEKS OF THE WAR: BATTLE OF EDGEHILL—KING'S ADVANCE ON LONDON—THE MARCH TO TURNHAM GREEN.

At the moment of the raising of the King's standard at Nottingham (August 22), neither army was in the full state just represented. The King's levies, according to Clarendon, were much the less forward; so that, if Essex's army, which had its head-quarters then at Northampton, some sixty miles off and between the King and London, had made a sudden move northwards, the King and his small force, including Rupert's cavalry, might have been whelmed into ruin. To gain time, in these circumstances, the King consented to a mock negotiation, and the Earl of Southampton, with Colepepper and Falkland, came up to London on the business. Nothing came of it, or could come of it; and the King, his object having been gained, made a westward movement towards the Welsh borders, in expectation of such forces and supplies there as would enable him to assume the aggressive. There was some doubt whether he should go to Chester or to Shrewsbury, but he resolved on Shrewsbury. He arrived there Sept. 20, and had a splendid reception among the Royalists of those parts. To check him, Essex lifted his army from Northampton to take it to Worcester, about forty miles south-east from Shrewsbury, and rather in the line between it and London. Why he did not do more, why he did not march upon the King and crush him, was still the question among Parliamentarian critics sitting at home. It may be that people at large in such cases expect things which military men know cannot be done; but partly it may be that Essex was really a heavy strategist, and morally unready to fight the King while a chance

of peace was left. But on the other side there was greater alacrity. Rupert and his Cavaliers were out on the dash through the country between Shrewsbury and Worcester; and what was the consternation among the Parliamentarians when the news spread that in a skirmish, quite close to Worcester, between Rupert and an advanced body of Parliamentarian horse under Colonel Sandys, the latter were thoroughly beaten, poor Sandys mortally wounded, and not a few prisoners taken? So, in this first action of the main war—called the Fight of Powick Bridge (Sept. 22)—the success had been for the King! It helped him greatly, and heartened those around him. Troops for him poured in from the Welsh and western counties; plate and supplies came in; an understanding was come to with wealthy Roman Catholics in those parts, on the faith of which they advanced money; one gentleman, anxious to be made a baron, obtained his wish for 6,000*l.*: all was so hopeful in the King's quarters that the cry arose for a direct and swift march upon London, leaving Essex behind or beating him on the way. The alarm of this reached London, rousing Parliament to all sorts of orders about the calling out of Trained Bands and Volunteers, and the erecting of guard-houses, with posts, bars, and chains, in different streets and by-lanes in the City parishes and in Westminster. Meanwhile, after proclamations of the King to his army and of Essex to his, declarations of the King to his loyal subjects, and even another small attempt at negotiation—this time on Essex's part—the King *had* begun his march from Shrewsbury (Oct. 2). By Bridgnorth, Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Kenilworth, he had got as far as the border of Warwickshire towards Oxfordshire, when Essex, who had left Worcester to intercept him, brought him to a stop. There ensued (Sunday, Oct. 23) the BATTLE OF EDGEHILL, called also the Fight of Keinton, as having been fought near that village in South Warwickshire. It was a battle claimed by both sides, or in which, as Whitlocke phrases it, "the Parliament had a great deliverance and a small victory." The slain on both sides together

were calculated at 5,000. Among these were, on the King's side, the Earl of Lindsey, commander-in-chief, Lord Aubigny (brother of the Duke of Richmond and Lord Bernard Stewart), and the Royal standard-bearer, Sir Edmund Verney. On the side of Parliament there fell Lord St. John of Bletsho and Colonel Essex.[1]

It was not till after a day or two that accurate news of the battle reached London. There, meantime, knowing of the King's approach, but not knowing whether Essex might be able to prevent him, the Parliament had made the Earl of Warwick captain-general for the defence of the city, and had ordered the shops to be closed, and all stables searched for horses. When the correct news of the battle did arrive, great was the relief. It was treated as a victory, and speeches in that sense were made at Guildhall. In fact, the battle did stop the King's army for the time in its intended approach to the metropolis, although Oxford, where it took up its quarters after the battle, was considerably nearer to London than was the place where the battle had been fought. But the notion of a march upon London had taken possession of the King and of his chief advisers, especially Rupert; and, accordingly, after a little stay of the King at Oxford, the Londoners began to see an ugly meaning in Rupert's raids with his horse out of Oxford, as if fingering towards London. In one of these raids Reading came into the King's hands; and, when he removed thither himself, instead of merely putting a garrison in it, matters looked still more ominous. It was something, indeed, that Essex, who had quartered himself at Warwick after the battle of Edgehill, was now in London to superintend arrangements. But there was great alarm; and among the citizens there was a vehement party, headed by one Mr. Shute, who, while refraining from any disrespect to Essex, did not hesitate to complain of general mismanagement and want of energy among the Parliamentarian officers. There was a strong appeal on all hands for

[1] Clar. 307—312; Whitlocke, I. 184–7; Rushworth, V. 23—39; Parl. Hist. II. 1456—1504.

Volunteers; London apprentices were released from their bonds for the time, that they might recruit the ranks; and Skippon, as city major-general, was in his glory. All London was astir. And it was high time. The King was pushing on, adjourning the negotiations, for which Parliament had again petitioned, till he should be nearer London. On the 9th of November, when Essex was receiving the thanks of both Houses, and 5,000*l.* from the Commons, for his conduct at Edgehill, the King was at Colnbrook, seventeen miles from London, with his army all round him, part at Staines, part at Milton's old residence of Horton, &c. Here, again petitioned by a Parliamentary deputation for negotiation through commissioners, he seemed to agree, and sent a free-conduct to certain persons that were to treat with him. But scarcely had the Parliamentary deputation returned to London with this message (Nov. 11) when the King, following Rupert's advice, who longed to be in among the rascally Londoners, and had pressed on to Hounslow, resolved to advance to Brentford, some seven miles only from London. His plea was that he had just heard that part of the Earl of Essex's army had been drawn out of London towards Brentford. This act on the Parliamentary side obliged, he said, a change of place on his; which, however, need not interrupt the proposed treaty, if the Parliament were still in earnest about it. He would treat at Brentford! Before this letter, written by the King on the 12th, can have reached London, its purport was carried thither by the boom of great guns heard in the air. They were the guns used in the action by which Brentford became the King's. The small Parliamentary force that was in the town, consisting of a regiment or so under Colonel Holles, had barricaded the streets before the King came up, and behaved stoutly; but, though Lord Brooke and Hampden came up to assist them, they were forced to retire with loss, and on the night between Friday the 11th and Saturday the 12th of November the King entered Brentford.

The effects in London on that Saturday were terrific. There was one burst of inidgnation at what was called the

King's treachery in advancing stealthily towards London while a treaty was in progress; there was a hurry-skurry through the streets in expectation every hour of the tramp of Rupert's horse nearer and nearer for the assault of the city; in thousands of households there was fear of the bullets that might soon be crashing windows, of doors dashed open, Cavalier soldiers rushing in, and the spoliation of goods. Out of all this multitudinous excitement there emerged, however, a most creditable display of courage and discipline. Essex and the Parliament having consulted, and Lord Mayor Pennington, who was also colonel of one of the chief city-regiments, having bestirred himself among his brother officers of the Trained Bands, the right course was adopted. London sent forth her Trained Bands and Volunteers to join the army of Essex in repelling the expected assault and saving the city. Before the night of Saturday the 12th was well over, and all through the morning of Sunday the 13th, there was a stream of marching men on the great road west out of London, by Kensington and Hammersmith. Conspicuous in the stream was Skippon, riding backwards and forwards along the column of his own Trained Bands, and addressing short speeches, now to this company and now to that, all in this strain: "Come, my boys, my brave boys, let us pray heartily, "and fight heartily; remember the cause is for God and for "the defence of yourselves, your wives, and children; come, "my honest brave boys, pray heartily and fight heartily, and "God will bless us." The rendezvous was at Turnham Green, then a common, about two miles from Brentford; and there, accordingly, the whole little army of Essex's regulars and the Londoners, to the number of 24,000 in all, stood drawn up in battalions for many hours on Sunday the 13th, facing the King's somewhat smaller army similarly drawn up.———It was a day and a night long remembered by all who took part; perhaps not the less comfortably that there was no battle after all. The Londoners, indeed, were in high spirits, delighted with Skippon, and calling out "Hey for Old Robin!" wherever Essex appeared; and there were

movements and feints of advance on both sides—on each of which the hundreds of horsemen who had come out as mere spectators would gallop off towards London, thinking the battle was about to begin, and carrying with them, it is said, soldiers, in sixes and sevens, who had slunk from their colours. But Essex and the old Army-men were for letting the King retire if he chose to do so, and, much to Rupert's chagrin, the King at last did think it fit to retire. Back through Brentford town vanished his troops and ordnance gradually, all in retreat to Colnbrook whence they had come, and taking with them only the prisoners captured in the attack on Brentford, among whom was Captain John Lilburne.[1] Then there was such a scene of relief and exultation among the Parliamentarians. The cartloads of provisions, beer and wines, which the good wives of London had sent out, "mindful of their husbands and friends," were brought into requisition, and what had seemed likely to be a great battle ended in a vast picnic. All being clearly safe, Essex at last dismissed the citizen-soldiers, who returned, cheering and chatting along the road, to London, to sleep in their own beds that same night. The whole incident may be remembered as *The March to Turnham Green.*[2]

EVENTS TILL MIDSUMMER, 1643; A MAP-SKETCH.

From Colnbrook the King backed to Reading and thence to Oxford, which from this period and through the rest of the war was the Royal head-quarters. Essex, on the other hand, satisfied with what he had done, went into winter-quarters at Windsor, thus placing himself between the King and London, in view of any fresh attempt on

[1] Lilburne, with other prisoners, was afterwards tried at Oxford before Judge Heath, acting for the King. The most stubborn and pugnacious of men, he refused to plead because he was styled "Yeoman" in the indictment. Sued on an amended indictment, he was condemned to death; but, Parliament threatening retaliation, he was spared, for farther exhibitions of his unique temper.

[2] My authorities for the account of it, and for this paragraph generally, are,—Rushworth, V. 52—60; Clar. Hist. 317—320; Parl. Hist. III. 1—15; Whitlocke, I. 189—193. Whitlocke is more graphic than usual in his account of the Turnham Green march, and has supplied particulars.

London on the King's part, but earnestly hoping that the winter months would bring peace. There were many who shared this hope with Essex, and had indeed expected, from the first, that, if the Civil War took the form of one battle, that would be all. The events of the subsequent winter, and of the spring and early summer of 1643, showed the folly of such hopes. These events need be presented here only in the briefest possible summary.

It is necessary to premise that, though there was no part of England in which there were not actions, skirmishes, and plots, or at least armed vigilance of Royalists against a minority of Parliamentarians, or of Parliamentarians against a minority of Royalists, yet, partly from the peculiar geographical massing of the opposed elements at the commencement, and partly from the efforts at organization made on both sides during the winter, the real strife distributed itself over *five* sections of the country (tending to become fewer), while *two* other sections remained comparatively exempt. Parliamentarianism being strongest, as we have seen, in the eastern counties of Lincoln, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Herts, Hunts, and Beds, and these counties, or the greater part of them, having been formed into an "association" under Lord Grey of Wark, which was extremely well managed—this whole region of the eastern counties, the virtual capital of which was the town of Cambridge, lay, to a great extent, out of the actual strife. It became a source whence the Parliament could derive power and supplies, not requiring to be re-expended on the producing region itself, but available for work in other parts of England.[1] For the King a similar function was served by the Welsh counties in mass, and some parts of the English counties closest to the Welsh border. In Cheshire and Shropshire, indeed, where the King had so recently been in person, and which he had left apparently sure for his cause, there *were* some Parliamentarian efforts. There were such efforts especially in Cheshire, where Sir

[1] For details of the management of the "Eastern Counties' Association," and of Cromwell's part in it, see Carlyle's Cromwell, I. 101—110.

William Brereton, one of the members for the county, fortified Nantwich for himself and his friends, and made it a centre of operations. But, Sir Nicholas Byron having been sent by the King to take command of the city of Chester, and Lord Capel having been subsequently sent to Shrewsbury, with a commission as lieutenant-general for the King in Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales, Brereton and the Parliamentarians were kept in check. The result, generally, was that, just as the eastern counties and their northern fringes were the assured reservoir of strength for the Parliament, so Wales and *its* northern fringes were the assured reservoir of strength for the King. Between these two assured regions, however, and containing the two eyes, or advanced stations, whence the elements massed in the two respectively gazed across the map at each other—London, the Parliamentarian capital, and Oxford, the King's head-quarters—was the large intermediate region of the midland counties generally, divisible into the Northern Midlands of Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire, and the Southern Midlands of Bucks, Berks, and Oxfordshire. This, then, was one great battlefield, or sectional theatre of the general war. It may be called the main or central theatre, for here it was that the King in person, with Rupert and the Earl of Forth, were in conflict more particularly with the strategy of Essex as Parliamentary general-in-chief. But, *out* of this region, and anxiously surveyed from it, there were four others, which were the theatres, for the time, of military operations carried on independently, though with interconnexions and to one end. One of these was the region of the South-Eastern Counties, including Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hants; another was the region of the English counties bordering on South Wales, including Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester; a third was the South-Western region, including Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall; and the fourth was the great region of the North, comprehending the shires of Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, York, and Lancaster. Let us try to grasp the results of the war by following it

in each of its five theatres or regions as far as the Midsummer of 1643. We shall take the regions in the order which will most conduce to clearness in the narrative.

I. *The South-Eastern Counties.*—Next to Essex, no military man on the Parliament side began in the war with more golden opinions than Sir William Waller. This may have been partly from trust in his strongly pronounced Presbyterian principles and his military antecedents (see *antè*, p. 170), but arose also from a series of decided successes of his in the first months of the war itself. Just before the raising of the King's standard, Colonel Goring, to whom the Parliament had entrusted the government of Portsmouth, and whom they intended to make lieutenant-general of horse under Essex, had revealed himself in his true colours and declared that he would hold Portsmouth for the King. To recover this important sea-town of the south became at once an object with the Parliament, and Sir William Waller had been sent to accomplish it. He had done so with comparative ease—Portsmouth surrendering to his army early in September 1642, and Goring taking refuge abroad. The south-eastern parts of England being thus naturally assigned to Waller, he had returned to them, after the battle of Edgehill and the affair of Brentford, and had gradually cleared them of all wrecks of the opposition—taking Farnham in Surrey (Dec. 1), Winchester (Dec. 13), and Chichester (Dec. 29). By these actions the south-eastern counties almost ceased to be a separate theatre of war, and Waller was set free for service elsewhere.[1]

II. *The English Counties on the South-Welsh Border.*—The counties of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford were, from their geographical position, in part manageable from the King's own head-quarters at Oxford. Rupert, indeed, did at first take Gloucestershire within the range of his excursions; and one action of his there—the storming of Cirencester (Feb. 2, 1642-3)—was considered a brilliant feat. But for the farther management of those parts, and especially for the

[1] Wood's Athenæ by Bliss, III. 814; Clar. Hist. pp. 285-7; 340, 352, and 382; Rush. V. 100, &c.; Parl. Hist. II. 1440 and 1465, and III. 37 and 40.

reduction of the important city of Gloucester, which was held most tenaciously for the Parliament by Colonel Massey, a new plan was adopted. The lieutenant-generalship of South Wales for the King had been entrusted to Edward Somerset, styled. Lord Herbert of Raglan, eldest son of the Marquis of Worcester, and himself afterwards *the* Marquis of Worcester so celebrated for his device of a steam-engine and the rest of his "Century of Inventions!" Both father and son were Roman Catholics; but the King's policy now required the services of important men of that religion, and there were no wealthier or more splendid noblemen in the West or in Wales than these. The father, accordingly, had been raised from the Earldom to the Marquisate (Nov. 1642), in which new dignity he continued to live in studious and somewhat eccentric retirement in his castle of Raglan, allowing his son the free use of his great revenues in that more active career which the King had assigned to him. This inventive nobleman, not content with merely governing South Wales and keeping it to the King's interest, made the magnificent offer to raise an army at his father's expense, with which to issue out upon the adjacent English counties, wrest Gloucester from Massey, and then increase the King's central forces at Oxford. The offer having been accepted, Lord Herbert did raise a fine little army, and, with his brother, Lord John Somerset, as his master of horse, and a Colonel Lawley as his major-general, marched (Feb. 1642-3) towards Gloucester. But it proved, as Clarendon says, "a mushroom army." For Sir William Waller, leaving his own south-eastern region, made a rapid march through Wiltshire, and, having acquired Malmesbury on the way (March 21), appeared among Lord Herbert's Welshmen close to Gloucester with such an effect of consternation that, without fighting at all, most of them became his prisoners, and the rest fled. Lord Herbert himself was then at Oxford, but the hopes from his lieutenant-generalship on the Welsh borders were virtually at an end. Waller, pushing on rapidly, took Hereford and Tewkesbury (April and May 1643); and, having thus not only saved Gloucester and

confirmed Massey there, but also extended the sway of Parliamentarianism in all that region of orchards, returned, a triumphant man, to Essex's head-quarters.[1]

III. *The Midland Counties.*—In this large central region of the war—divisible, as we have said, into the Northern Midlands and the Southern Midlands—less was done than had been expected. The Northern Midlands were, in the main, held most effectively for the Parliamentary cause by Lord Brooke, of Warwick Castle, as head of the "association" that had been formed of these counties. He was assisted by such leading Parliamentarians in the several counties as Lord Grey of Groby, son of the Earl of Stamford, in Leicestershire, and Sir John Gell in Derbyshire. Almost all the towns and castles in these Midlands were possessed for Parliament. There were some successful efforts for the King, however, both in Leicestershire and Derbyshire, by Colonel Hastings, a younger son of the Earl of Huntingdon; and Staffordshire was the scene of considerable strife. In this county occurred two incidents of the war, each made memorable by a conspicuous death. The one was the siege of the Cathedral Close of Lichfield by Lord Brooke, who had hastened thither to dispossess a body of Royalists that had taken possession of it,—in the course of which siege his lordship was killed by a musket-shot in the eye received as he was standing at a window near the Close (March 1, 1642-3); the other was a sharp fight at Salt Heath, near Stafford, where the Royalists were victorious, but their leader, the Earl of Northampton, was slain (March 19, 1642-3). These incidents and the quest of forage and ammunition for Oxford brought the rapid Rupert up on an excursion into the North Midlands; and the taking and punishing of Birmingham, then reputed the most heartily disloyal town in England (April 3, 1643), and the re-taking of Lichfield (April 21), were *his* exploits. The first cost the death of the Earl of Denbigh.———Meanwhile, had Essex been personally idle in *his* especial district of the

[1] Clar. pp. 351, 352, and 417; Wood's Athenæ, III. 199—204; Whitlocke, 197; Rushworth, V. 263.

South Midlands, where he had set himself down at Windsor to protect London and watch the King at Oxford? Nearly so. The state of Essex's mind with regard to the war was such as to disable him, even had he had the necessary strategic talent, from being an *aggressive* commander-in-chief. Faithfully and honourably to act on the defensive for London and the Parliament against any move of his Majesty, but not, if it could be avoided, to drive his Majesty to extremities—such was Essex's plan. A bold march upon Oxford, which many cried for, was an enterprise which he may have thought imprudent in generalship, but from which at any rate he shrank morally. Besides, negotiations, those everlasting negotiations, were again on foot. There had been a deputation of eminent members of both Houses to Oxford in January to implore his Majesty to consider the state of the country and to consent to treat. These deputies had made some stay, had seen his Majesty repeatedly, and talked freely with his advisers; and, their arguments aided by the sight of bleeding prisoners from Cirencester and other places carried into Oxford, they had settled preliminaries to farther negotiation through commissioners. Then, early in March, the commissioners appointed by Parliament for the purpose—the Earl of Northumberland, Sir William Armyn, Sir John Holland, the Hon. William Pierrepoint, and Mr. Bulstrode Whitlocke—had gone, in high hopes, to Oxford. For nearly six weeks the treaty lasted, with increase of hope to its close, but with absolutely no result. In consequence probably of recent successes which the King had heard of on his side, Rupert's capture of Birmingham included, it was broken off on April the 12th. Then Essex, who had been waiting anxiously for a different result, *was* moved to some activity. It took the form, not of a march on Oxford, but of a SIEGE OF READING. In this town, lying between Windsor and Oxford, the King had placed a garrison of 3,000 men under Sir Arthur Aston as governor; the town was of importance; and it contained, in addition to its natural population, not a few Royalists who had taken up their residence in it for the time, as well

as deserters from Essex's army. The siege began on the 15th of April, with an army of 15,000 foot and 3,000 horse, commanded by Essex in person; much of the work was done by Skippon; and, on the 27th of April, notwithstanding the advance of the King and Lord Forth from Oxford to the relief, the town was surrendered. The terms of surrender on the part of the garrison were arranged, not by Sir Arthur Aston, who had been disabled by a wound, but by his second in command, Colonel Fielding. A storm of indignation from the King and others descending on this unfortunate gentleman, he was condemned to death by court-martial at Oxford, but reprieved. Satisfied with the taking of Reading, Essex relapsed into torpor.[1]

IV. *The South-Western Counties.*—A great deal of the most important fighting took place in this region, including Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall. We have seen that, just before war was declared, the King, then in Yorkshire, had sent the great Marquis of Hertford into Somersetshire, to stir up and muster the masses of Royalism in those parts, with a separate commission as his Majesty's general-in-chief in the West. The Marquis had gone to his post, with the Earl of Bath, Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, Sir Ralph Hopton, and others, in his train. He had taken up his head-quarters at Wells; but, after some triumph there, he had been obliged, by the rising of Parliamentarians in unexpected force all round him under local leaders, to retire into Dorsetshire. He was here when a Parliamentary army that had been sent to counteract him, under the Earl of Bedford and Mr. Denzil Holles, made its appearance. No battle had followed; but the news of the taking of Portsmouth by Waller, and of the probable junction of Waller's forces with those of the Earl of Bedford, convinced the Marquis that he could no longer remain in those parts and that it would be best to rejoin the King. With some difficulty, accordingly, he, Lord Seymour, Lord Paulet, and most of his officers, returned through Somerset and crossed

[1] Clar. pp. 348—350. and 381—385. Whitlocke, pp. 194—201 (account of negotiations of peace, for which he was one of the commissioners); Rushworth, V. 147—152, and 265; Parl. Hist. III. 99—109.

the Bristol Channel to Glamorganshire on their way northwards to the King, leaving only Sir Ralph Hopton and a few determined men to try whether something might not be done in Cornwall. These last the Earl of Bedford treated only as fugitives who would soon be made an end of by the Devon Militia, and whom it was unnecessary for him to pursue into the western horn of the island. He, therefore, returned to the Earl of Essex (Sept. 1642). But he was much mistaken. In Hopton the King had a soldier who was worth more than the great Marquis. Extraordinary news began to come out of Cornwall. By wonderful talent in managing the natives of that peculiar county according to their own ways, and with the assistance of Sir Bevis Greenville, Sir Nicholas Slanning, Mr. John Arundel and Mr. John Trevannion—all Cornish gentlemen of influence and recently in Parliament—Hopton became master and more in Cornwall, drove all troublesome Parliamentarians out of it, and began, with a little army raised in the county, to make incursions into Devon, as far as Exeter (Nov. 1642). The defence of Devonshire for the Parliament devolved for the moment chiefly on Colonel Ruthen, or Ruthven, a Scotsman, governor of Plymouth, who did as well as he could against Hopton. But, to make matters surer, the Parliament caused Essex to give Denzil Holles, whom Bedford had left in Somersetshire, and who was governor of Bristol, a separate commission as commander-in-chief in the West (Dec. 1642). Hopton, however, continued victorious. On the 19th of January, 1642-3, he defeated Ruthen and a Parliamentary force near Liskeard, thus not only assuring his hold of Cornwall, but making such a demonstration for the King in the extreme West as to divert more and more of the attention of Parliament in that direction. The Earl of Stamford was sent thither with a very considerable army. Him also Hopton utterly routed, in a battle, fought May 16, 1643, at Stratton on the borders of Cornwall—a service of such merit that when, for it and others, the King some time afterwards (Sept. 1643) made Hopton a peer, the title chosen was "Baron Hopton of Stratton."

The immediate result of Hopton's Cornish successes was that the Marquis of Hertford came back from Oxford to resume his enterprise of rousing the collective Royalism of all the south-western counties. He brought Rupert's brother, Prince Maurice, with him, as his lieutenant-general, and, gathering strength largely as he passed through Somerset and Dorset, joined his forces with those of the victorious Hopton on the borders of Somerset and Devon. This was early in June. Taunton, Bridgewater, and other places in those parts, were immediately won for the King, and the Royalists looked forward to the taking of Bristol.[1]

V. *The Northern Counties.*—In these counties, where the population was much divided, and where at the outbreak of the war Sir Thomas Glenham at York and the two Hothams at Hull were the chief agents in the field on both sides, there was at first a natural disposition of the leading inhabitants to remain neutral, and to live and let live till the controversy should be worked out by proceedings elsewhere. There was even a sort of paction to that effect among the chief Yorkshire gentry. But this could not be permitted. On the one hand, the Earl of Newcastle, who had been sent into Northumberland by the King, before the war broke out, to take possession of the seaport of Newcastle and otherwise exert his great influence in that extreme of England, was not content with keeping Northumberland and Durham inactive and securing the great port, but wished to whirl the strength of those parts southwards through the intervening counties to the King's help. On the other hand, the Parliament were by no means content that the great county of Yorkshire should be stagnant—a county where, though York was the King's, they counted Leeds, Halifax, Bradford, and other towns, their own. A commission from Essex had, therefore, been sent down, in November 1642, empowering Lord Ferdinando Fairfax to act as Parliamentary general-in-chief in Yorkshire and the northern counties adjacent. Fairfax, and his military son, Sir Thomas, hastened to act upon this com-

[1] Clar. pp. 273, 287—296, 343, and 397—400; Parl. Hist. III. 39, 40; Rushworth, V. 271.

mission and raised a considerable army in South Yorkshire, where, already, the two Hothams, father and son, were acting for the Parliament from Hull. The command for the King in Yorkshire having been entrusted to the Earl of Cumberland, and that in Lancashire to the Earl of Derby, there were nominally three leading Earls for the King—Newcastle, Cumberland, and Derby—in the region which Parliament had assigned to the Fairfaxes. The Earl of Cumberland, however, being inactive and willing to waive his powers, and the Earl of Derby being more haughty in the cause than efficient, the real conduct of the war for the King in the whole of the North devolved on the Earl of Newcastle. Early in December he extended his sway beyond his own shires of Northumberland and Durham as far as the city of York—thus converting a large portion of the North of England, with York for its capital, into a clear Royalist area. Into the area so cleared there arrived, at this very juncture, a personage whose presence, without interfering with the Earl of Newcastle's generalship, added a dignity to his enterprise and a special interest to his province of the war.——Queen Henrietta-Maria, after having been abroad for a whole year, during the latter part of which she had sent much ammunition, &c., into England by way of Newcastle, had run the hazard of returning in person, bringing with her what additional war-stores a Dutch ship could carry. She landed safely on the Yorkshire coast on the 22nd of February, 1642-3, and was received with enthusiasm at York. Thenceforward, if not before, the Royalist army in the North went by the name of the "Queen's Army," *alias* the "Popish Army." Colonel Goring, who had also returned, became, by the Queen's interest, its general of horse, while the lieutenant-generalship, under the Earl of Newcastle, was entrusted to a Scotsman named King. Against this Queen's army the Fairfaxes, not much assisted by the jealous Hothams of Hull, did what they could. Substantially, however, they were restricted to a section of Yorkshire, while the Earl of Newcastle was so much master of the rest as to be able to think of passing his own bounds and overflowing into the North

Midlands and the Eastern Counties. He had planted a garrison at Newark in Nottinghamshire on the borders of Lincolnshire, and now, pressing still southwards, he harassed the Parliamentarians of the Midlands all round, and perturbed Lincolnshire itself. On the 23rd of March, Colonel Cavendish, a very young man, brother of the Earl of Devonshire, having been sent by the Earl into Lincolnshire, took the town of Grantham.———It is in this eddy of the general war—the eddy in and about Lincolnshire, caused by the meeting of the Royalist tide rushing from the North and the resisting Parliamentarian tides from the Midlands and the Eastern Counties—that Cromwell, now a Colonel, first flashes into military notice. Cromwell's work had mainly been *within* the "Eastern Counties' association" hitherto; and Lincolnshire, though an eastern county, was not yet formally included in the association. His eyes, however, had naturally turned across that county to the Fairfaxes, trying to maintain themselves in Yorkshire. Could the Eastern Counties and the adjacent North Midlands club forces so as to break through to the aid of the Fairfaxes, that would be *their* contribution to the war! The Eastern Counties, even by themselves, must prevent Lincolnshire from being overrun! Accordingly, all through May 1643 Cromwell was in Lincolnshire, and the first notable action of his Ironsides was the defeat near Grantham of a much larger body of Royalist troops that had come from Newark (May 13). Cromwell's eyes were still directed northwards, in the hope of a junction with the distressed Fairfaxes for a rescue of Yorkshire; and this hope was heightened by the news of a great victory gained by Lord Fairfax at Wakefield over the Earl of Newcastle's troops (May 21). This was a gleam of joy for the Parliamentarians, but their prospects in the North were still very precarious.[1]

[1] Clar. pp. 373, 346, 347; Rushworth, V. 64, 78, 126, 156; Parl. Hist. III. 40—43, 47—49, 74—77, 89, 90; and Carlyle's Cromwell, I. 103—122.—With reference to my summary of the war as a whole I may here say that, though I have cited some authorities, my *immediate* groundwork has been a chronology of the war drawn up by myself from my readings in many books. Hovering over this chronology, and studying its items in their relations of time and place, I have tried to systematize it into a narrative, and have altered the arrangement and

From this summary of the events of the war in the different parts of England as far as to June 1643 it will be seen that though there had been much agony and bloodshed, there had been little progress towards a conclusion. If the Parliament had won in some parts, it had lost in others; and, on the whole, regard being had to what had been done by Hopton and the Marquis of Hertford in the South-West, and by the Earl of Newcastle in the North, the King might be thought the gainer. Desertions to his side, and meditated desertions, implied such a belief. That Urry, or Hurry, major-general of horse under Sir William Balfour, had resigned his commission, and gone to Oxford to better his prospects under Lord Forth and Prince Rupert, was nothing. *He* was but a Scottish soldier of fortune, a Dugald Dalgetty. More important, if not more significant, were the desertion to the King of such men as Sir Hugh Chomley, M.P. for Scarborough, the known wavering of the two Hothams in the same county of York, and the discovered treachery of the poet Waller, M.P. for St. Ives. Waller's was a very flagrant case. He and some other men of influence in London had been lured into a plot for a stroke against Parliament and its chiefs. The plot was discovered at the end of May 1643. The plotters were arrested; two of the subordinates were hanged; Waller also, after a most abject admission of his guilt, was sentenced to death. The sentence was not executed; and, after a year's imprisonment and a fine of 10,000*l.*, Waller was permitted to carry his damaged character, and his poetical and gentlemanly tastes, abroad till easier times.[1]

Little wonder that the Parliamentarians, and especially the Londoners, heavily taxed in their purses for the current expenses of the war, and inconvenienced besides by the stoppage of their coal from Newcastle, were disgusted with

grouping two or three times before settling on what I found the clearest. As one has frequently to object to Clarendon's inaccuracy and partisanship, I may here say that, in his narration of the events of the war, his grasp of these events, and his skill as a literary artist, deserve the highest admiration. Reading Clarendon in most places is like walking on velvet. Faults and all, he is a splendid writer, and, even while doubting him, one has again and again to go to him in order to understand things.

[1] Clar. 347, and 389—394; Parl. Hist. III. 120—129, and 140—143.

the state of affairs. Secretly, if not openly, it was Essex that was blamed. Was he not too slow, too aristocratically reverent, too much impeded by fears of the issues of the very movement he had been appointed to lead? His single feat in seven months had been the siege of Reading. Was that enough? Might there not be a better generalissimo? Sir William Waller, for example? He was not much to look at beside Essex, being but a little man personally;[1] but he had succeeded yet in everything he had tried, and his principles both in Church and State would carry him farther than Essex was likely to go. For the moment, Waller was decidedly the favourite. People had begun, in consequence of his uniform and easy success hitherto, to call him "William the Conqueror." Then, again, failing Waller, was there not Hampden? Every one knew *his* principles, and what a man he was when his mind was made up. Might they not make Hampden general-in-chief? Alas! whatever hopes there might have been in that scheme, it could never be tried. Hampden's days were numbered. The alert young Rupert, acting on information he had received from the deserter Urry, was dashing east from Oxford among outlying parties of Essex's horse on the borders of Bucks. He had made one successful raid, and was returning from another, when he found himself pursued by a body of horse sent by Essex for the purpose. He faced about to meet them. It was the morning of the 18th of June, 1643; and the place was Chalgrove Field in Bucks, not far from the borders of Oxfordshire. Rupert beat his pursuers and escaped before Essex himself could come up. The Parliamentarian Colonel or Major Gunter was killed in the skirmish, and Hampden was carried off the field mortally wounded. Like Douglas in the old ballad,

> Never after in all his life-days
> He spoke mo words but one:
> "Fight ye, my merry men, whiles ye may,
> For *my* life-days be gone."[2]

[1] Wood's Ath. III. 814. [2] Rushworth, V. 274; Clar. 385, 395, and 401.

CHAPTER II.

MILTON NOT IN THE ARMY: HIS TURNHAM GREEN SONNET, AND INTEREST IN THE SIEGE OF READING: HIS MARRIAGE—THE POWELLS OF FOREST HILL.

If there was any man in England of whom one might have surely expected that he would be in arms among the Parliamentarians, that man was Milton. Four years before, when the news of the rupture between the King and the Scots had reached him at Naples, had he not abandoned the intended prolongation of his tour into Sicily and Greece, and returned homewards, expressly on the ground that it would be disgraceful for him to be enjoying himself abroad while his fellow-countrymen at home were fighting for liberty?[1] Was not this a pledge that, if that rising of the Scots did extend to England, he would be in the midst of it with heart and limb as well as with head and pen? And had not all that he had done since committed him farther to such a course? While over the whole of England men who had hitherto been saying little were fighting and dying for the Parliament, and even the merchants and apprentices of London were going about in uniform and ready to fight, how could this man of note, this writer of Anti-Episcopal Pamphlets, this out-of-doors friend and ally of all that was extreme and Root-and-Branch within the Parliament—how could *he* be absent from the ranks? He had no domestic ties to keep him back. He was a bachelor, well-off, and in the prime of life and health, and his household consisted but of himself, two nephews, and one woman-servant or

[1] See *ante*, Vol. I. p. 764.

housekeeper. For active service in some post in Essex's army, or surely at least among the London Trained Bands and Volunteers, here was the very man.

Was Milton in any such post? I am afraid not. But it is a matter about which evidence is desirable.

At some time or other during his life, and by some means or other, I am perfectly sure, Milton had acquired some practical knowledge of drill and of military forms and manœuvres. That he habitually or generally wore a sword, and that he considered himself an extremely good swordsman, and more than a match at that weapon for men of far heavier weight than himself, we know on his own testimony.[1] This only implies, however, that he had been taught fencing in his youth, probably at Cambridge. What I mean at present is something more. There are passages in *Paradise Lost* which prove to me that Milton knew the pike-manual, company and battalion drill, and something of officer's work at parade and review, and also of artillery practice.

Take the description of the collected host of rebel-Angels, after they have been roused from their first stupor in Hell, mustering on the sulphur-plain before their commander Satan (*P. L.*, I. 549—571):—

> Anon they move
> In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
> Of flutes and soft recorders—such as raised
> To highth of noblest temper heroes old
> Arming to battle, and instead of rage
> Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved
> With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
> Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage
> With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
> Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain
> From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they,
> Breathing united force, with fixèd thought
> Moved on in silence to soft pipes that charmed
> Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil. And now
> Advanced in view they stand, a horrid front
> Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
> Of warriors old, with *ordered* spear and shield,

[1] See *antè*, Vol. I. p. 276.

> Awaiting what command their mighty chief
> Had to impose. He through the armèd files
> Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
> The whole battalion views, their order due,
> Their visages and stature as of gods;
> Their number last he sums.

There is much here that a mere occasional onlooker at reviews might have compassed; but there are touches in the description (as, for example, the *ordering* of arms at the moment of halt, and without word of command) too exact and technical to have occurred to a mere civilian.——— Again, at the same review, when Satan, standing with his staff around him, wishes to address his army, here figured as a battalion, how is the incident described (*P. L.*, I. 615—618)?

> He now prepared
> To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
> From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
> With all his peers: *attention* held them mute.

To the present day this is the very process, or one of the processes, when a commander wishes to address his men. They wheel inwards, and stand at "attention."——— But, for a passage showing even more intricate knowledge of military methods, take the account of the procedure of Gabriel when, having reason to think that Satan has stealthily made his way into Paradise on some bad errand, and is somewhere within its precincts, he orders his company of guardian-Angels out on their rounds of night-watch, and otherwise sees to the protection of Adam and Eve from their wily foe (*P. L.*, IV. 777—799). Understand, first, that Paradise is described as a kind of oblong of garden-ground and woodland enclosed within walls, and that the station, or let us say armoury or guard-house, where Gabriel and his Angels have their post, is at the eastern gate of Paradise, at the middle of one of the narrow sides of the oblong. There, while daylight lasted, the Angels had been exercising themselves, like young soldiers, in heroic games, while Gabriel sat and looked on; but this was over, and it was

that time in the evening when the guard was due, *i.e.* about nine o'clock :—

> Now had Night measured with her shadowy cone
> Half-way uphill this vast sublunar vault,
> And from their ivory port the Cherubim,
> Forth-issuing at the accustomed hour, stood armed
> To their night-watches in warlike parade;
> When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake:
> "Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
> "With strictest watch; these other wheel the north:
> "Our circuit meets full west." As flame they part,
> Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.
> From these two strong and subtle Spirits he called
> That near him stood, and gave *them* thus in charge:
> "Ithuriel and Zephon, with winged speed
> "Search through this Garden; leave unsearched no nook;
> "But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge,
> "Now laid perhaps asleep, secure of harm.
> "This evening from the Sun's decline arrived
> "Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
> "Hitherward bent (who could have thought?), escaped
> "The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt;
> "Such where ye find seize fast and hither bring."
> So saying, on he led his radiant files,
> Dazzling the moon.

This too, with all its beauty, is exact. It is a captain breaking his company into subdivisions by the order "right-and-left-wheel" (the Roman equivalent for "right-wheel" being "wheel to the spear, or spear-hand," and for "left-wheel" "wheel to the shield, or shield-hand"—*declinare ad hastam, vel ad scutum,* as Livy has it); after which the two subdivisions "file-march" in the moonlight in contrary directions round the oblong space to be guarded, one under the captain and the other under the lieutenant: two scouts having meanwhile been detached to advance straight across the oblong and search the interior as they go.———And in the sequel we have the same exactness. The scouts are successful in their search. They find Satan, squat like a toad, in Eve's nuptial bower as she sleeps, insinuating dreams into her ear; and, having compelled him into his own shape, they lead him prisoner to the western end of

Paradise. They arrive (864, 865) when the two subdivisions of the watch, each after its half-round,

> Just met, and, *closing*, stood in squadron joined,
> Awaiting next command.

Here we see the two subdivisions of Angels, after their file-marches separately from the other end of Paradise, meeting and reforming company, precisely as soldiers would do, by the act known as *closing*. But more follows. Ere Gabriel can give them any command, he is aware of the approach of the two scout-Angels with their prisoner. Then there comes the proud talk and defiant demeanour of Satan, till, at length, after his last insulting speech, the band of Angels are moved by a sudden impulse to attack him. And how (978–984)?

> While thus he spake, the Angelic squadron brigh
> Turned fiery-red, sharpening in moonèd horns
> Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
> With *ported* spears, as thick as when a field
> Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
> Her bearded grove of ears which way
> The wind sways them.

The full relish of this passage is reserved for those who know what is meant by "ported spears," and not one of all Milton's commentators hitherto has been among them. "*With ported spears:* with their spears borne pointed towards him," is the explanation given by the earliest and one of the best of the commentators; and it has been repeated by all the rest, down to one of the latest and best, who puts it thus, "*ported*, borne, advanced."[1] Nothing of the kind; and the error is the more curious because the commentators have generally given the accompanying explanation that "to port the pike" was a military term. So it was; but that Milton was more knowing than his commentators in his use of the term argues that he must have seen pikes "ported" oftener than they. The "port" is *not* the advancing of the weapon,

[1] Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost, by P. H. (*i.e.* Patrick Hume), φιλοποιήτης, folio, London, 1695, p. 166; Keightley's Milton, 1859, vol. I. p. 377.

whether pike or bayonet, straight forward as if to push it into an enemy. *That* is the "charge;" and the "port" is the movement or position *preparatory* to the "charge." It is the grasping of the pike diagonally across the body, butt down towards the right, and point upwards in the air over the left shoulder, so as to be ready to bring it down strongly and suddenly, by a half-wheel of the body, to the push for receiving an enemy. This brings out the beauty of Milton's image, and makes the Angels better soldiers than the commentators would make them. For, were spears well ported, the slant spear-heads all parallel over the left shoulders of a whole company of men *might* be compared to ripe corn-stalks blown by the wind, off the perpendicular, all one way. What on earth the commentators made of the image when they fancied that "ported spears" meant spears thrust straight forward, as if to push or receive a push, passes comprehension.

While practical knowledge of the manual exercise and of drill generally is clearly implied by these and other passages in *Paradise Lost*, there are passages implying also some acquaintance with larger field-movements and with artillery practice. Take, for one example, that passage with which some critics have been so much scandalized on the grounds of taste, where Milton, in his narrative of the wars in Heaven, describes the Rebel host as renewing the fight on the second day, with that new machinery of gunpowder and cannons which they have invented and perfected by labour overnight, and of which the loyal Angels are not yet aware (*P. L.*, VI. 549—594). It is early morning in Heaven, and intelligence is brought to the loyal Angels that the enemy is slowly on the move towards them.

> Instant without disturb they took alarm,
> And onward move embattled; when behold
> Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
> Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube
> Training his devilish enginry, impaled
> On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
> To hide the fraud.

This is very graphic for a masked battery on the move with an army. Then, when the two armies are at a little distance, Satan suddenly appears at the head of his, and there follows that speech which has most of all shocked the critics, commencing with the word of command,

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold.

While this order is being executed, Satan continues in a strain of horrible irony, mixed with puns about the way in which the enemy are likely to receive this new "overture" of his, and about his own readiness to "discharge" *his* part freely, and the readiness of his men to "touch" what he "propounds." The result of this strange procedure, at which Michael's loyal host had all the while been gazing, wondering what it meant, is thus described by one of them :—

He scarce
Had ended, when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retired :
Which to our eyes discovered, new and strange,
A triple-mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars most they seemed,
Or hollowed bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches lopt, in wood or mountain felled),
Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gaped on us wide,
Portending hollow truce. At each behind
A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire ; while we, suspense,
Collected stood, within our thoughts amused :
Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
But soon obscured with smoke, all Heaven appeared,
From those deep-throated engines belched, whose roar
Embowelled with outrageous noise the air
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Their devilish glut, chained thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes ; which, on the victor host
Levelled, with such impetuous fury smote
That whom they hit none on their feet might stand,
Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
By thousands.

It may, of course, be argued that much of the acquaintance with military affairs shown in these and the preceding passages is only such as might have been acquired by any observant man who, without undergoing drill himself, had opportunities of seeing soldiers at their manœuvres, and had been sufficiently inquisitive about military matters to read a few military books. Milton may have had in his library the Dutch collection by Scriverius of the "*Veteres de Re Militari Scriptores*," published in 1607; and he is likely enough to have included some of these writers in his Greek and Latin studies, as well as to have read the translations of some of them, and other military books, in English. We know for certain that, among the Latin and Greek books he made his nephews and his other pupils read, were Ælianus Tacticus on the Art of War among the Greeks, the Strategics or Stratagematics of Frontinus, and the Stratagems of Polyænus.[1] But *some* of the terms and allusions in the passages quoted from *Paradise Lost* are too minute and technical to have come easily to a reader of military books, if unacquainted with drill practically; and is it likely that a person unacquainted with drill practically would have laid such stress on military instruction for youth, or that a person who laid such stress on military instruction for youth would have remained unacquainted with drill practically? This reasoning becomes stronger when we look at Milton's own *Tract on Education*, published not much more than a year after the time with which we are now concerned.[2] Without anticipating what we shall have to say about that Tract in general, we may here state that Milton's ideal of a high-class School or Academy, as there propounded, is that it should, at the utmost, consist of 120 or 130 boys or youths, all lodged in one spacious house under one head-master, with about 20 attendants—just a sufficient number of youths, he explains, to form conveniently one foot-company or two horse-troops; and he goes on to show how, in addition to a thorough and complete course of instruction, through books,

[1] Phillips's Memoir of Milton.

[2] It was published in June 1644.

in classical literature and in all kinds of useful science, such an academy ought to provide a perfect system both of gymnastics for the pupils singly, and of military drill for them collectively. Here is his fancy, under the last head, of what might be done daily for the pupils in such an establishment. "About two hours before supper," he says, "they are, by a sudden alarum or watchword, to be "called out to their military motions, under sky or covert "according to the season, as was the Roman wont—first on "foot; then, as their age permits, on horseback, to all the "art of cavalry; that, having in sport, but with much "exactness, and daily muster, served out the rudiments of "their soldiership in all the skill of embattling, marching, "encamping, fortifying, besieging and battering, with all the "helps of ancient and modern stratagems, tactics, and war- "like maxims, they may, as it were out of a long war, come "forth renowned and perfect commanders in the service of "their country." And what would be the result? The words in which he describes it are very notable. "They "would not then," he adds, "if they were trusted with fair "and hopeful armies, suffer them, for want of just and wise "discipline, to shed away from about them like sick feathers, "though they be never so oft supplied; they would not "suffer their empty and unrecruitable colonels of twenty "men in a company to quaff out, or convey into secret "hoards, the wages of a delusive list, and a miserable rem- "nant yet in the meanwhile to be overmastered with a score "or two of drunkards, the only soldiery about them, or else "to comply with all rapines and violences. No, certainly; "if they knew aught of that knowledge that belongs to "good men or good governors, they would not suffer these "things." The bitter allusion here evidently is to the inefficiency of those who held the command in Essex's army, and to other army abuses, as they had become apparent before the Tract was published in 1644; but something of the same feeling may well have been in Milton's mind, as it was in the minds of others, before Midsummer 1643. But, allowing that the notion propounded of such a perfect

military drill for youth at school is to be taken as mere sanguine theory of what might be, can we suppose that a man would have so written, or had such a theory, that had never marched or been drilled himself? In short, the inference would be very strong that Milton knew something of soldiering practically, even if we were to forget his all but positive statement, in the last of his Smectymnuan pamphlets, that at the time of his writing that pamphlet (*i.e.* in the spring of 1642, or a few months before the breaking out of the Civil War,) he was in the habit of spending a part of each day in military exercise somewhere not far from his house in Aldersgate Street.[1]

The conclusion then being that Milton did know at least a little something of soldiering, by drill and study, *before* the beginning of the Civil War, the question arises, Did he serve in any capacity, after the war began, in any portion of the Parliamentary army? There is a curious statement on this point in Phillips's Memoir of him. "I am much mistaken," says Phillips, "if there were not about this time a design in "agitation of making him Adjutant-General in Sir William "Waller's army." Phillips seems to have had rather a hazy recollection of the date of this scheme; but, if there ever was such a scheme, it must have been before the spring of 1645 —after which Sir William Waller had *no* army, and no command in any one else's army.[2] Nay, if there was such a scheme for bringing in Milton in any army-post under Sir William Waller, no time was more likely than that very month of June 1643 to which we have just brought down the narrative of the war. Waller was then at his highest reputation, called "William the Conqueror," and looked upon as the proper man to supersede Essex. He had, in fact, just received a commission from Parliament to take the chief command of a separate army to be sent at once into the

[1] See *ante*, p. 402.

[2] Phillips distinctly adds, "But the new-modelling of the army, soon following, proved an obstruction to that design; and Sir William, his commission being laid down, began, as the common saying is, to turn *cat in pan*." The famous "new-modelling of the army," to be spoken of hereafter, was in February 1644-5; and Sir William Waller, with Essex and others, resigned his commission after the passing of the "Self-Denying Ordinance" in the next month or the next.

south-west to cope with the Marquis of Hertford and the victorious Hopton.[1] He alone, it was thought, could retrieve affairs in that region, and his commission was couched in such terms that Essex afterwards complained of it as derogatory to *his* dignity, and inconsistent with *his* supremacy.[2] Either then, when Waller set out with this new army (June 1643), or afterwards when he was in the field with it, it *may* have occurred to the advanced spirits that it would be well to have on his staff a few staunch men of as thoroughgoing Presbyterianism as himself, and not of the mere martinet or old-ruffian type. But, whatever amount of probability this casts on Phillips's vague reminiscence, the exact form of it is hardly credible. The duties of the Adjutant to a single regiment require highly-trained proficiency; and the Adjutant-General of a whole army ought to be about the most experienced man in it. To have thought of taking Milton out of his house in Aldersgate Street and making him Adjutant-General to Sir William Waller's army would, therefore, have implied either that Milton's friends knew of qualifications of his in the way of prior training of which all record has now perished, or that they had a most marvellous faith in what a man might be fit for after a few months of drill under Skippon, aided by readings in Ælianus, Polyænus, and Frontinus. On the whole, Phillips's recollection seems credible only to this extent, that some time or other in 1643 or 1644 there may have been a talk among some about the desirableness of bringing Milton into the army, and that Sir William Waller's branch of the army may have been named as the likeliest to suit him. Phillips puts his recollection rather positively; and, though he may have confused particulars, he is not likely to have been altogether wrong about such a fact in his uncle's life.

For ourselves, we should have sought for Milton in the Parliamentary Army-Lists in some much lower post, to begin with at least, than that of Adjutant-General to any chief commander. Nay, we *have* sought for him in these Army-Lists. We even thought we had found him:—The

[1] Clar. pp. 399—401. [2] In Oct. 1643: see Parl. Hist. III. 177.

reader remembers the Six Regiments of the Trained Bands of the City of London, and especially the so-called Second or White Regiment, the Colonel of which was Alderman Isaac Pennington, one of the M.P.'s for the City, and (since Oct. 1642) Lord Mayor in the Parliamentary interest. We have already (*antè*, p. 446) given an account of the state of that regiment, nearly 1,200 strong, and of the way in which it was officered towards the close of 1642, and probably before the famous march of the Trained Bands to Turnham Green. But we reserved one or two particulars. In the contemporary printed fly-sheet from which we quoted the names of the chief officers—ISAAC PENNINGTON, the Colonel ("the usurper-mayor," I find him styled in the ill-natured Royalist MS. of 1643 to which I have referred as making game of the Trained Bands); GEORGE LANGHAM, the Lieutenant-Colonel; and ROBERT DAVIS, the Major ("a slopmaker for seamen near Billingsgate," the MS. spitefully informs us)—in addition to these names we have the names of the five captains and of all the other officers down to the ensigns. The names of the five Captains may here be given. They were—*Thomas Chamberlaine* ("a merchant, living near London Wall"), *Thomas Playcr* ("a hosier, living in New Fish Street Hill"), *Edmund Harvey*, *Christopher Whichcot* ("a merchant"), and *Faith Gooday*, styled "the Colonel's Captain." The names of the Lieutenants and Ensigns the reader need not be troubled with, save that he may be interested in knowing that one of the Lieutenants was a "Timothy Crusoe." But the Quartermaster of a regiment takes rank now, and seems even more to have taken rank then, as just superior to ordinary lieutenants. Who held this post in the Second or White City Regiment? "JOHN MELTON *is Quartermaster to Colonell Pennington*" are the words in the fly-sheet which is my authority. This seemed to settle the matter. Milton, as we shall find, in his later life, did know Pennington intimately, and Pennington held him in the highest esteem and veneration. Then the post of Quartermaster-Lieutenant in one of the city regiments is, in respect of rank, just about the post into which we

should have expected Milton to step in the natural course of things; unless, indeed, they had made a Captain of him at once. True, the duties of a Quartermaster—seeing after beer and bread-and-cheese for the men when they are out on march, choosing ground and quarters for them when they are to camp, and taking care of all sorts of camp-accommodations—are not the duties that we should fancy most in Milton's way. But, in real service, they are most important duties, and a man who had been a good Quartermaster for a little time would find himself appreciated and be in training for higher posts. If this Quartermaster in Colonel Pennington's regiment, therefore, *had* been our poet Milton, I should not have been surprised. I fear, however he was a different person. That his name was "John Milton" I have not the least doubt; the spelling "Melton" is nothing, and happens more than once in the poet's family. But there were several John Miltons in London, besides the poet, about the year 1642; and the Quartermaster in Pennington's City-Regiment in that year is most likely, I think, to have been a "John Milton" of whom we hear as then an active parishioner of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, whom annals of that parish actually speak of as then or shortly afterwards "probably a Captain of the City Trained Bands," and whose signatures are found in the registers of that parish as late as 1650 and 1660, when he styles himself "*Major* John Milton." These signatures have been facsimiled; they are those of a well-educated man; and, what is most singular, they rather resemble the writing of the poet. It is possible that this namesake of the poet may also have been a relative.[1]

Even if we should have had to conclude that the "Quartermaster John Milton" of Colonel Pennington's Regiment of

[1] See facsimiles of this John Milton's signatures in Mr. Leigh Sotheby's "*Ramblings in Elucidation of the Autograph of Milton*," plate at p. 124; with a brief appended account of the person (p. 134)—derived partly from published Chronicles of St. Dunstan's Parish by its Rector, the Rev. T. B. Murray, who died in 1860; partly from Mr. Sotheby's inspection of the parish registers. A person not well acquainted with the poet's autograph might easily mistake a signature of the St. Dunstan's parishioner, met with in certain circumstances, for that of the poet.

City Trained Bands was undoubtedly the poet, we should have had to report that the appointment was but nominal and momentary, and that he did not serve. For, accustomed to military drill and marching as Milton must certainly have been somewhere and at some time of his life before the present—nay, recently a daily frequenter of the London Artillery Ground, as we believe him to have been, for the purposes of instruction under Skippon and his sergeants that might qualify him to be of some active use in the very emergency that had now arrived—yet the absolute certainty is that at no time from the commencement of the war was he out with the Parliamentary army. I am sorry that such was the fact, and cannot account for it. Milton was bound, I think, if any man in England was bound, to *be* in the Parliamentary army. Cromwell had become a captain of horse at the age of forty-three; there was no mind or heart in England more in unison with Cromwell's, despite structural differences of faculty and endowment, than Milton's—none that kept more thoroughly in unison with Cromwell's to the last; what then if Milton too, at the age of thirty-four, had become a soldier? I believe there is some unascertained reason why he did not do so, and that the reason is not merely that he still preferred the Muses to Mars as that god had now appeared. Had he not, at the bidding of duty, forsworn the highest Muses for a time, thought their society shame while his country was struggling, and postponed his poetic plans to become a prose pamphleteer? Was pamphleteering such congenial work, or work of such mighty efficacy, as to be preferred by a man of mettle to great camping out of doors, and moonlight marching along country roads, and strange siegings of strong places, and the sensation of the first battle-flash from the enemy's cannon on the hill, and the whole plain thenceforward astir, and, as the line advanced, the rising thunder of some conquering psalm? If I know Milton, such was not *his* thought. Why he was not in the army of the Parliament remains, therefore, somewhat of a mystery. As he was always a rather haughty man, of fastidious habits, and knowing what was due to him, quartermastering or the

like in a city-regiment, under "merchants," "hosiers," and "slopsellers for seamen," may not have been the kind of soldiering to his taste, and he may have waited for some offer or solicitation, like that which his nephew hints at in his story of the Adjutancy-General under Sir William Waller, but which never came. It is less difficult to see the "final cause" of his continued civilianship, if "final causes" are still in fashion. The Parliamentarianism or Puritanism of England had secured her supreme man of action in Cromwell, and Providence reserved from field-service and rough work the other of the twins, that the age might have also its poet and idealist.

The proof positive that Milton was not in the Parliamentary army is furnished by his own hand:—The reader remembers the famous march of the Londoners to Turnham Green on the 12th and 13th of November, when the King, advancing unexpectedly from Colnbrook, had taken possession of Brentford, and seemed bent, with Rupert, on an immediate assault on London. After the Battle of Edgehill and skirmishes here and there in the provinces, this threatened assault of London was the first real incident of the war. It was the first, at any rate, that brought a full sense of the war to the hearths of the Londoners. Well, of that great marching multitude which London sent out on the western road by Kensington and Hammersmith, as far as Turnham Green, to fight the King if necessary, and drive him back out of Brentford, Milton was not one. *He* was not one of the "brave boys" to whom Skippon addressed his pithy speeches on the march; *he* was not one of those who, after the King had retired and the danger was over, enjoyed the Sunday's picnic of triumph on Turnham Green. The other "John Milton," the parishioner of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, was probably there; but the Milton of Aldersgate Street was not. He remained in his house in Aldersgate Street, to take the chances of the assault should Essex and Skippon not be able to arrest the King's approach. And what was he doing there? Among other things he wrote a Sonnet. It is as follows:—

When the Assault was intended to the City.

Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in arms,
Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
If deed of honour did thee ever please,
Guard them, and him within protect from harms.
He can requite thee; for he knows the charms
That call fame on such gentle acts as these,
And he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.
Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower:
The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus when temple and tower
Went to the ground; and the repeated air
Of sad Electra's poet had the power
To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare.

The copy of this Sonnet in the volume of Milton MSS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, is not in Milton's own hand, but is a fair copy in another hand, made for the press in 1645, when it was first printed. The heading of the Sonnet there, in the same hand, is "*On his Door when the City expected an Assault;*" but this heading has a line drawn through it, and the title given above is substituted in Milton's own hand. Did Milton actually nail up, or paste up, such a thing as this outside his door in Aldersgate Street, on the 12th or 13th of November, 1642, and himself remain within-doors to take the benefit? We fancy there must have been a mood of jest, or semi-jest, in the whole affair—the Sonnet composed in mere whim, or in answer to the banter of some neighbours who had challenged him to it. Jest or no jest, if Rupert and his Cavaliers had come into London, and made their way to Aldersgate Street, and up the entry there where Milton's garden-house stood, the Sonnet, we fear, would not have been very protective. How was an ordinary Cavalier Captain to know that "the great Emathian Conqueror" was Alexander the Great, and that "sad Electra's poet" was Euripides? Or, if he did, was he likely to be moved by the reasoning that, because Alexander, at the

sack of Thebes, had ordered the house and family of the long-dead poet Pindar to be spared, and because the casual repetition of some lines from Euripides at a banquet, when the Lacedæmonians proposed to destroy Athens, saved the city from that doom, therefore he was not to break open this door in Aldersgate Street to see what could be got? And, if the door had been broken open, for the sake of a look at the self-proclaimed poet, what if any copies of Milton's Anti-Episcopal pamphlets had been left lying about inadvertently? "O ho!" the Cavalier Captain might then have said: "Pindar and Euripides are all very well, by G—! I've been at college myself; and, when I meet a gentleman and scholar, I hope I know how to treat him; but neither Pindar nor Euripides ever wrote pamphlets against the Church of England, by G—! It won't do, Mr. Milton!"

The war having rolled away from London, Milton sat on untroubled in his house in Aldersgate Street, through the winter of 1642-3 and the spring of 1643. The teaching of his nephews, his own readings and studies, and the observation of the events of the war as they passed round him at a distance, are his only known occupations. Interested as he was, on public grounds, in every event of the war, there was one in which he must have had a private and peculiar interest. This was the twelve days' siege of Reading by Lord Essex (April 15—27, 1643).

After Milton had taken up his residence in London, his father and his brother Christopher had continued to make Horton their head-quarters. Christopher's law-studies having been concluded, he was called to the Bar of the Inner Temple on the 26th of January, 1639-40;[1] and, on the 11th of August, 1640, I find this entry among the Baptisms in the Registers of Horton Parish, "Sarah, ye daughter of Christopher and Thomasin Milton."[2] As late as this last date, accordingly, there was still a small Milton household at Horton, consisting of the widowed scrivener, his son Christopher and that son's wife, and now a little daughter

[1] Note from the Inner Temple books. [2] My notes from the Register.

born to this young couple in place of the first-born they had lost the year before, and called after her dead grandmother that lay under the flags in the old church near.

For some reason or other, however, Christopher and his father did not remain much longer at Horton. There is no trace of the Milton household in that quiet Buckinghamshire parish beyond the year 1640. Before the end of that year, or at all events in the next year, they removed from the place on which their residence has conferred so many associations. What may have determined their choice of another place—whether mere accident, or property-connexions already established, or prospects of professional or quasi-professional employment for Christopher, now that he was a lawyer—cannot be ascertained; but the place actually chosen was Reading. In the Registers of the parish of St. Laurence, Reading, there is the record of the baptism, Aug. 27, 1641, of "Anne, daughter of — Milton, Esq." This "— Milton, Esq.," was, in all probability, our Christopher Milton, and the "Anne" a child born to him at Reading twelve months after the above-named "Sarah," who had been born at Horton.[1] At all events the Horton household *had* about that time removed to Reading. It is in the adjacent county of Berks, about twenty miles farther from London than Horton is, and nearer Oxford.

When, therefore, Reading was besieged by the Parliamentarians in April 1643, Milton's father, and his brother, with the young wife and one or two children, were among the inhabitants shut up in it and exposed to the risks. Christopher Milton, who had not adopted his brother's political principles, but had cast in his lot, as a young lawyer, with the Royalists, was nominally the Reading householder, and his father was ostensibly boarding with him, though doubtless supplying most of the money. The siege, therefore, must have been a matter of a fortnight's anxiety to Milton in

[1] I owe the discovery of this baptism entry to the kindness of my friend, Mr. Theodore Waterhouse, M.A., London, who, being frequently in Reading, searched, at my request, for traces of Christopher Milton's residence there. He was indefatigable, and searched, I believe, all the parish registers, before coming on this entry.

Aldersgate Street, and he must have been glad when it was over, and no harm done to his kindred. By the Articles on which Colonel Fielding surrendered the place to Essex, it was provided that the garrison should have free passage to the King at Oxford; that all strangers accidentally shut up in the town, except deserters, should have liberty to go away without interruption; and that the inhabitants of the town "should not be prejudiced in their estates or persons, either "by plundering or imprisonment, and that they who could "leave the town might have free leave and passage safely to "go to what place they would, with their goods, within the "space of six weeks after the surrender." [1]

Christopher Milton, though his affairs must have been dissettled considerably by the siege and surrender (the terms of which do not seem to have been very punctually kept), does not seem to have left the place immediately, but to have remained in it for some brief time at least, to take his farther chances as a confessed Royalist. It was obviously undesirable, however, that old Mr. Milton, who was probably more of his elder son's way of thinking in politics, should run the hazards and undergo the discomfort of living longer on the frontier between Essex's army and the King's, where there might be more disturbances and more sieges. *He*, accordingly, did take the benefit of the Article enabling him to shift his quarters. "His [Milton's] father," says Phillips, "who, till the taking of Reading by the Earl of "Essex his forces, had lived with his other son at his house "there, was, upon that son's dissettlement, necessitated to "betake himself to this his eldest son."

If Milton's father left Reading within the six weeks allowed by the Articles, he ought to have been with his son in Aldersgate Street, at latest, in the first or second week of June. In such a case as his, however, there can have been no reason why the new Parliamentarian authorities at Reading should be strict as to the "six weeks" limit of leave. In fact, at any rate, old Mr. Milton did not arrive at the house in Aldersgate Street till rather late in the

[1] Clarendon, 385.

summer of 1643. Extraordinary things had occurred in the house before his arrival. There had been a *wife* in it, with a bevy of her sisters and bridesmaids; and, after a flutter of silks and muslins through every room in it, they had all vanished again, leaving John a married man certainly, but in a state of bewilderment as to the *amount* of his claim to that character. But this is a matter for a separate story.

"About Whitsuntide it was, or a little after," says Phillips in his Memoir of Milton, "that he took a journey into the "country, nobody about him certainly knowing the reason, "or that it was any more than a journey of recreation. After "a month's stay, home he returns a married man that went "out a bachelor: his wife being Mary, the eldest daughter "of Mr. Richard Powell, then a Justice of Peace, of Forest-"hill, near Shotover in Oxfordshire." This is very succinct, and we must try to fill in the details. Marriage in any man's life is about the most important event in it, for better or worse; and Milton's marriage in 1643 had consequences unusually important. Meanwhile as to the circumstances of the marriage itself:—

The reader will be so good as to go back with me to a spot of the English South-Midlands to which there was occasion to introduce him in the very beginning of this Biography, though we have not had much to do with it since, viz. the tract of country lying in the Hundred of Bullington in Oxfordshire, immediately to the east of Oxford city. It was in that tract of rich and pleasantly-wooded country, close to Oxford, that we sought for the traces of Milton's paternal ancestry. Walking, as we were directed, from Oxford, over Shotover Hill and the ground of the old Forest of Shotover, we found ourselves amid a group of villages straggling along the cross roads for a space of five or six miles, and none of them more than that distance from the University city. Wheatley, Halton, Forest Hill, Stanton St. John's, Elsfield, and Beckley were the principal villages of the group. Searching among these villages for traces of Miltons living there, we came upon them plentifully enough. We found Miltons

in Beckley, Miltons in Elsfield; above all, Miltons in Stanton St. John's. These Miltons of Stanton St. John's —related, doubtless, to the other Miltons round about them—turned out to be the poet's immediate progenitors. A Henry Milton, husbandman of Stanton St. John's, whose homely Roman Catholic will we found, dated 1558, and whose widow, Agnes Milton, survived him two years, turned out to be the poet's great-grandfather; and one of the sons of this pair, a "Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, yeoman," heard of in documents as the most substantial man of his name in all Oxfordshire, and as a resolute adherent to the Roman Catholic faith, was the poet's grandfather, and was alive certainly as late as 1601—by which time his son, John Milton, the poet's father, whom he is said to have cast off for becoming Protestant, had set up as a London citizen and scrivener in Bread Street, and a married man.[1]

Notwithstanding the rupture with his father, the staunch Roman Catholic yeoman of Stanton St. John's, it is not likely that the London scrivener's connexions with his native Oxfordshire had been totally severed. Though nothing may have come to him of his father's property, and though his ties with Oxfordshire were so far loosened that, when he sent his son to the University, it was to Cambridge and not to Oxford, he is likely enough to have kept up some correspondence with his Oxfordshire kindred. He may have visited his old home occasionally, and so have been led into business transactions with families in that neighbourhood. With one such family, at all events, he did have business transactions. This was a family of the name of Powell, living at Forest Hill, less than a mile from Stanton St. John's, and about four miles from Oxford. What we know of this family is as follows:—The head of it was "Richard Powell of Forest Hill, Esq., and Justice of Peace for the county

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 4—19. Since those pages were written the paternal pedigree back to Henry Milton of 1558 has been distinctly made out, by the production of absolute proof, then wanting, that the "Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's" was the father of the scrivener. The proof was found by Mr. Hyde Clarke in the books of the Scriveners' Company (*Athenæum* of March 19, 1859).

of Oxford," who had married Ann Moulton, daughter of "Robert Moulton of Honyborne in the county of Worcester, gentleman." The mother of this Ann Moulton was an Archdale—one of a numerous family of Archdales, originally from Stafford, who had acquired property at Wheatley and elsewhere in Oxfordshire.[1] It seems to have been in consequence of this relationship to the Archdales through his wife, Ann Moulton, that Richard Powell, whose native county was not Oxford, was brought into that county.[2] At their marriage, the date of which is not ascertained, but must have been before 1621, his wife brought him a portion of 3,000*l.*; and from 1621 onwards he is heard of as established in Oxfordshire and, on his own account or through his wife, a person of some note there. He had some freehold property, in land, cottages, and tithes, at Wheatley; but his chief estate was Forest Hill, the manor and appurtenances of which he had purchased from Edmund Brome, Esq., by a deed dated Oct. 2, 1621, on lease for a term of twenty years. The lease was subsequently extended for an additional term of thirty-one years, or till the year 1672, by another deed executed between him and Brome, July 21, 1623, one of the conditions of which was the payment of a yearly nominal chief-rent.[3] Thus resident possessor, though not actual proprietor, of the mansion-house and estate of Forest Hill, he

[1] Archdale Pedigree in Harl. MS. 1476 (Visitation of London in 1634), f. 368. See also Hunter's Milton Gleanings, p. 33. "The Archdales in all probability were possessed of the old mansion not far from the centre of Wheatley village, about 1½ miles from Forest Hill: on the eastern part of it there is the date 1605, and the initials TAAA." So I am informed by the Rev. C. F. Wyatt, M.A., Vicar of Forest Hill.

[2] There was, however, an Oxfordshire family of Powells, long in possession of the manor of Sandford, some four miles distant from Forest Hill; and it has been supposed, though not proved, that there was some link of kin between the Forest Hill Powells and these older Powells of Sandford. A "Mary Powel," born July 27, 1584, and believed to have been a sister of Richard Powell, afterwards of Forest Hill, was married, Feb. 24, 1605-6, to William (Edward?) Jones of Sandford. The Rev. Mr. Wyatt, who gives me this information, tells me that she lived till Aug. 1673, and that he possesses a small volume containing many MS. notes believed to be in her hand. The Oxford antiquary Dr. Bliss, at the sale of whose library in 1858 the volume was purchased by Mr. Wyatt, had written in it, "This book I suspect to have *belonged* to, and to be filled with notes by, Mary Jones, late Powell, the aunt of Milton's first wife."

[3] There are, I am informed, many entries, in the Forest Hill Baptismal Register, of children of this Edmund Brome, Powell's predecessor in the estate. He was dead in 1628; in which year his will was proved by Richard Powell as his sole executor.

came to be known among his country neighbours as Richard Powell of Forest Hill, Esquire. It was the more necessary to distinguish him as Squire Powell because there was another Powell in the parish, named Thomas Powell, who may possibly have been a relative, but rather appears to have been a parishioner of much humbler circumstances than his namesake of the mansion-house and estate.[1] Documents exist from which it may be calculated that the Forest Hill estate and mansion-house were worth over 270*l.* a year; and, as the Wheatley property was valued at 40*l.* a year, Mr. Powell's position among his neighbours will be indicated by saying that he was a gentleman worth at least 310*l.* a year—equivalent, say, to 1,000*l.* a year at the present day. There is reason to believe, however, that this would be an underestimate of his wealth when his fortunes were at the highest. For he seems to have had other properties and resources, to have lived in some style, and to have been of a rather speculative turn in business.

Mr. Powell and his wife, Ann Moulton, had been about six years in possession of Forest Hill, and several of their children had been born, when there was that business transaction between Milton's father and the Powell family to which we have referred. It is all the more interesting because the poet himself is expressly implicated in it. The date of the transaction is June 11, 1627; at which time the poet was a youth of eighteen years, and in the third year of

[1] The Forest Hill Parish Registers record the baptism of Frances, a daughter of this Thomas Powell, on the 21st of May, 1620; the baptism of twin daughters of his, Ann Powell and Marian Powell, Sept. 26, 1621, and the burial of the second of these twins two days afterwards; the baptism of a son of the same Thomas Powell, named William, June 30, 1624; then, after an interval of fifteen years, the burial of "Thomas Powell" himself, March 27, 1641. A later entry stands thus: "The mother of Thomas Powell was buried June 2, 1642"; and it is possible that a still later entry—". . . Powell widdow was buryed Ffeb. 12, 1651"—may refer to the widow of the same Thomas. These entries prove the existence of a family of Powells in Forest Hill distinct from the Powells of the mansion-house, but contemporary with them. In most of the entries in the Registers relating to the Squire's family he is carefully styled "Mr. Powell," or "Mr. Richard Powell," or "Richard Powell, gent.," or "Mr. Richard Powell, Esq."; whereas the other Powell invariably appears as plain "Thomas." This rather discountenances the idea that they were relatives. At all events, they cannot have been brothers: else "the mother of Thomas Powell" would have been also the Squire's mother, and would have been distinguished as such in her burial entry.—For the extracts from the Registers I am indebted to the Rev. C. F. Wyatt, M.A., Vicar of Forest Hill.

his course at the University of Cambridge. On that day, it appears, Richard Powell of Forest Hill in the county of Oxford, gent., and William Hearne, citizen and goldsmith of London, did, "by their writing or recognizance of the nature of a 'statute-staple"—which deed was executed before Sir Nicholas Hyde, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster—"acknowledge themselves to owe unto John "Milton, then of the University of Cambridge, gentleman, son "of John Milton, citizen and scrivener of London, the sum of "500*l.* of lawful money of England;" there being executed, however, at the same time, another deed or writing, whereby the scrivener, acting on behalf of his son, "defeazanced" the said obligation (*i.e.* consented that it should be null) on the payment, to his son or his executors, administrators, and assigns, of a sum of 312*l.* on the 12th of December then next ensuing. The meaning of the transaction, so far as I can interpret the old law-terms, is substantially this:—Mr. Powell owed to the Miltons, on some account or other, (whether for money borrowed or otherwise does not appear, nor whether the debt was directly to the son or only to him by transfer from the father[1]), a sum equal, in immediate payment, to 312*l.* or thereabouts. In acknowledgment of this debt, Mr. Powell gave a recognizance for 500*l.*, in the peculiar legal form known as "statute-staple"[2]—taking the customary precaution, however, of seeing another deed executed, by which, if he paid the real debt of 312*l.* within six months, the recognizance for the 500*l.* should be void. Such payment, we have to repeat, was not made, or was made only in part; and, consequently, from the 12th of December, 1627, Mr. Powell of Forest Hill had been a debtor, or, as the law called it, "cognisor," to Milton for a considerable sum. The peculiar advantage to a creditor who was a "cognisee," or creditor by the form of recognizance, was that his claim took

[1] Can any of the property of the old Roman Catholic yeoman, Richard Milton of Stanton St. John's, have come, by will or otherwise, to his grandson John in his own right? If so, and the property were near Forest Hill, there may have been a sale of it to Mr. Powell, and hence the recognizance.

[2] So called because it had originally been a form, not of common law, but of the law of specially mercantile transactions, as administered by an ancient court called the Court of Staple.

precedence of other claims upon the lands and goods of his debtor, and that, by a prescribed process, he might obtain delivery of these lands and goods into his possession till his debt were satisfied. It is a fact, therefore, in the life of Milton, kept in reserve by us till now, that, from the beginning of his fourth year at Cambridge, when he had just entered on the twentieth year of his age, he had had a legal claim, to the extent of some hundreds of pounds, on the lands and goods of Richard Powell, Esq., of Forest Hill and Wheatley in Oxfordshire.[1]

Why, in the course of the sixteen years that had elapsed since 1627, the claim had not been discharged, nor measures taken by Milton or his father to secure its discharge, is a question to which, with the information we have, there can be no definite answer. In all probability the state of Mr. Powell's affairs during those sixteen years had not been such as to make payment of the debt convenient. There are on record, at all events, various instances in which Mr. Powell appears, during those sixteen years, as a borrower of other moneys. On the 10th of January, 1631, he borrowed from one Edward Ashworth a sum of 400*l.*, giving him as security a lease for ninety-nine years of part of his Wheatley property. Again, on the 30th of June, 1640, we find that, being then already in debt, for 300*l.* of money borrowed, to his friend Sir Robert Pye, Knt. (afterwards member for Woodstock in the Long Parliament, and eminent as a Parliamentarian), and Sir Robert having again assisted him at a pinch by redeeming with 1,000*l.* a lease which had been forfeited to another creditor, named George Furseman, Mr. Powell acknowledged this double debt, with 100*l.* of con-

[1] The authorities for the statements in this paragraph, and for some of those in the paragraph preceding, are a long series of legal documents about the Powell estate (to which farther reference will have to be made in the sequel), printed in part by Todd in his account of the Life of Milton (Milton's Poetical Works by Todd: ed. 1852: Vol. I. pp. 44—60), but for the first time completely by Mr. W. Douglas Hamilton in his "Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton," published, in 1859, by the Camden Society. The Powell Family Papers form an Appendix of sixty pages (pp. 75—134) to that volume. For verification of the particulars in the text hitherto see, especially, Documents III., XV., XVI., and XXVII. of that Appendix; also Todd *ut supra*, pp. 52—54. The originals of the Papers, so quoted in part by Todd, and fully by Hamilton, are among the "Composition Papers of Royalists," preserved in the State Paper Office.

sideration for the advance, by mortgaging to Sir Robert his mansion and manor of Forest Hill for a sum of 1,400*l.*, the mortgage to be void if 1,510*l.* were paid to Sir Robert on July 1, 1641. Not only was no such payment made, but, on the 18th of December, 1641, we find Mr. Powell again a borrower of 300*l.*—this time from Sir Edward Powell, Bart. (probably a relative); to whom he assigned in consequence a twenty-one years' lease of certain lands in Wheatley.[1]

As a set-off against these awkward-looking transactions, take two glimpses of the Powells in their more public respectability as a county family. (1) One naturally looks for them in the Visitation of Oxfordshire in 1634 by John Philipot, Somerset Herald, and William Tyler, Blue Mantle, pursuivant of arms. Had they been there, we should have had their arms and pedigree along with the arms and pedigrees of all the other important Oxfordshire families. We might in that case have known more of their connexions and circumstances than we do. Their absence from that Heralds' Visitation, however, though a little unfortunate for us, does not militate against their social rank. For, in the Visitation Books, there is this note, distinctly explaining it: "Memorandum: that Richd. Powell of Forrest Hill in com. "Oxford, Justice of ye peace in com. supradict., being upon "business in that quality when he should have appeared at "Oxford, sent ye King of Arms' fees, desiring respit to "perfect those matters that concern his arms and descent "at the Heralds' office in Michaelmas term next; which "was granted at Thame, 21 Aug. 1634."[2] (2) Confirming the impression thus received of Mr. Powell's rank among the Oxfordshire squires, and also verifying our hint that he was of a speculative turn, are records of a bargain of his in 1636 and 1637 respecting the coppices, or young plantations, of Shotover Forest and Stow Wood. The reader may here remember the tradition, through Aubrey and Wood, that Richard Milton, the poet's grandfather, and his ances-

[1] For authentication of the particulars in this paragraph, see Hamilton's Milton's Papers: chiefly Documents XVIII., XX., and XVII., in Appendix.

[2] Harl. MS. 1557 (Visitation of Oxfordshire, 1634), f. 111.

tors before him, had been under-rangers or keepers of this royal forest.[1] If so, they had probably been more efficient in their duty than their successors were. For the coppices, it appears, had since their time "been much spoiled and "decayed, and many of the stems and stowells dead and "worn out, so that in truth they did not bear the name of "coppices, but were generally very thin and mean shere-"wood, and had of late years received much detriment by "reason of ill fences and the daily trespasses of the keepers, "and by the fall of trees and other abuses." Such had been the damage, indeed, that it was thought it would take eight or ten years at least to bring the coppices round again into a paying condition, and meanwhile there would be a great charge in repairing fences and the like. Dr. Bancroft, then Bishop of Oxford, had had his attention called to the subject through the fact that, having been building at his own expense a fine episcopal residence at Cuddesdon, close to the Forest, he had received permission to take a fixed quantity of timber from it. Accordingly, the Bishop, and Dr. Duppa, then Dean of Christchurch, with one or two other Oxford Doctors of Divinity, having taken counsel together, and with Mr. Powell of Forest Hill (who, indeed, may have been the prime mover in the affair), representations were made to his Majesty, and indentures were drawn out to this effect: The Bishop and his successors in office were to have a lease of the said coppices for sixty years, paying no rent for the first ten years, but an annual rent to the Crown of 100*l.* thereafter; and Mr. Powell was to have a sublease for fifty-nine years under the Bishop, paying no rent for the first ten years, but paying thereafter not only the main rent of 100*l.* to the King, but also 100*l.* a year to the Bishop. The bargain was settled in two indentures, one dated July 8, 1636, and the other March 30, 1637.[2] Part of Mr. Powell's

[1] Vol. I. pp. 6—9.

[2] Mr. Powell had had earlier business transactions with Bishop Bancroft. "From a document in the Diocesan Registry at Oxford it would appear that Richard Powell of Forest Hill in the county of Oxford, Esquire, and Thomas Iles, Professor of Divinity, and Prebendary of Christchurch (Principal of Hart Hall), were witnesses in the chancel of Cuddesdon to the confirmation of John (Bancroft), Bishop of Oxford, as to the holding of Cuddesdon *in commendam*, vacant by the death of Edmund Underhill, Feb. 27, 1632."—Note to me from the Rev. C. F. Wyatt, of Forest Hill.

occupations, therefore, from 1636 onwards must have been looking after all the coppices or growing wood of Shotover Forest, so that in due course he might make something of his investment. The large trees or timber trees were not included in the bargain.[1]

Before the outbreak of the Civil War, therefore, we can see the Powell family, distinctly enough, as an Oxfordshire family of good standing, keeping up appearances with the neighbour-gentry, and probably more than solvent if all their property had been put against their debts, but still rather deeply in debt, and their property heavily mortgaged. There were then twelve or thirteen of the family in all—Mr. Powell himself and his wife Ann (*née* Moulton), and ten or eleven children. Here, from the Parish Registers of Forest Hill, are the names of all the children in their order, and the dates of their baptisms:—

(1.) "Richardus Powell, filius Richardi Powell, gen., baptizatus fuit X° die Junii ao pdicto" [sc. 1621].
(2.) "Jacobus, filius Richardi Powell, gen., et Annæ, uxoris ejus, baptizatus fuit quinto die Octobris, 1623."
(3.) "Marie Powell, the daughter of Richard Powell, baptized the the [*sic*] XXIVth day of Januarie, 1625."
(4.) "Zara, the daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, was baptized the XXVth of September, 1627."
(5.) "Mrs. Ann [originally written Mary by mistake, and corrected thus quaintly, in order, probably, to save the initial M.] Powell, the daughter of Mr. Richard Powell of Forrest Hill, gent., was christned June the 18th, 1626" [clearly 1626 in the Register; but is it a mistake for 1628?].
(6.) "Mr. John Powell, the sonne of Mr. Richard Powell, of Forrest Hill, gent., was baptized November 8th, 1629."
(7.) "Mr. William Powell, ye sonne of Mr. Richard Powell, gent., was baptized March ye 1, 1630."
(8.) "Mr. Archdale Powell, the sonne of Mr. Richard Powell, was baptized Aprill the 25th, 1633."
(9.) "Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, Esqr., was baptized ye 15th June, 1635."
(10.) "George Powell, ye son of Mr. Richard Powell, Esqr., was baptized January the 16th, 1636."
(11.) "Elizabeth Powell, ye daughter of Mr. Powell, Esqr., was baptized the 22 day of Aprill, 1639."[2]

[1] Hunter's Milton Gleanings, pp. 29–31.

[2] These extracts from the Parish Registers of Forest Hill have been most

Of the six sons in this list, the eldest, Richard, who was twenty-one years of age when the Civil War began, and the second, James, who was then nearly nineteen, had been for some time matriculated in Oxford University as students of Christchurch.[1] As it was but an hour's walk between Oxford and Forest Hill, the two young men, even after they become Oxonians, were probably as much at home as in college, so that the Forest Hill mansion-house had to accommodate a large family, of all ages from babyhood upwards. The house no longer exists; but any one interested in Milton may visit the site where it stood, just off the high road, on the left hand if you have started from Oxford, near the pretty church and vicarage of Forest Hill, lying quietly on their steepish slope, and with the village nestling higher and lower behind. Moreover, there are records which enable us to fancy what kind of a house it was, to count its rooms, name them as they were named by the family while they lived in it, and even judge of their furnishing. There was "the hall;" there were "the great parlour," "the little parlour," "the matted chamber," "the chamber over the hall," "the chamber over the little parlour," "the two little chambers over the kitchen," "the little chamber over the pantry," "the study or boys' chamber," "Mrs. Powell's chamber," "Mrs. Powell's closet," "the

courteously furnished me, with other information, all in most exact form, by the present Vicar of Forest Hill, the Rev. C. F. Wyatt, M.A.—It will be noted that there are two Elizabeths in the list (Nos. 9 and 11). There are instances of two children of the same name, both surviving, in one family; but it is likely that the first of these Elizabeths died in infancy, and was buried somewhere else than at Forest Hill, and that the second inherited her name.—As late as 1649, we certainly know (Hamilton's Milton Papers, p. 80), *nine* of the Powell children were alive: possibly, therefore, *ten*, or all in the list except the first Elizabeth, were alive at the date with which we are now concerned, *i.e.* in 1643. We also know independently that Richard, who appears first in the list, was the eldest son and heir. The list, I have little doubt, gives the complete family.

[1] In a note at p. 127 of the Life of Anthony Wood, published in 1848, as the first volume of an intended reissue of Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* by the Ecclesiastical History Society, the editor, Dr. Bliss, gives the matriculation entries of the two young Powells from the University Register, as follows:—"1636. Mar. 10. Ædes Christi. Thomas Powell, Oxon, fil. Ius. Rich'i Powell de Fforest Hill in com. p'd. arm., an. nat. 14"; "1640. Maii 18. Jacob. Powell, Oxon., fil. Rich'i Powell de Fforest Hill in com. Oxon. arm., an. nat. 14." The *Thomas* in the first entry is clearly a mistake for *Richard;* and in both cases the age at matriculation is understated. In March 1636-7 Richard Powell, the eldest son, was in his sixteenth year; and in May 1640 James, the second son, was in his seventeenth.

room next the closet," "the room over the washhouse," and "Mr. Powell's study,"—in all fourteen sitting-rooms and bed-rooms for the family and guests; in addition to "the kitchen," "the servants' chamber," "the pastry," "the pantry," "the bakehouse," "the brewhouse," "the dairy-house," "the cellar," "the stilling-house" (where they made essences and strong waters), "the cheese-press house," and "the wool house." The stables, yards, barns, and gardens are to be imagined round about, all sufficiently stocked. We hear particularly of "two coaches," "one wain and four carts," and an unusual quantity of "timber" and "firewood" in different states: this last, doubtless, a consequence of Mr. Powell's dealings with the forest. The best room in the house, it is worth noting, or at least the best furnished, was Mrs. Powell's own room; after which, in order of importance, came "the room over the washhouse," "the great parlour," and "the matted chamber;" while poor Mr. Powell's study, I find, ranked but eleventh in point of style and furnishing, and was used moreover as a stow-room for linen. There is other reason for thinking that Mrs. Powell was the ruling spirit of the family, and remembered that she was a Moulton or a Moulton-Archdale, and had brought her husband 3,000*l.*, which it would have been difficult for him to reproduce on demand.[1]

"Heigho! those horrid civil broils!" poor Mr. Powell may have thought, ruminating in his study beside the household linen, or walking amid his stores of cut wood, or among the coppices he leased, moody about his debts. For he had to take a side, and which side he should take was hardly in his option. From November 1642 Oxford was the King's head-quarters. He held his court in person in Christchurch;

[1] The authority for the particulars in this paragraph is an inventory of the household goods, &c., at Forest Hill made June 16, 1646, in circumstances to be described hereafter. See copy in Hamilton's Milton Papers: Document XXVI. Appendix (pp. 92—94). The total valuation of the goods in that inventory was 310*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.*—equivalent to about 1,000*l.* now. But the circumstances were such that the goods were then appraised at far under their true value—probably at less than half. A very large proportion of the total value —more than a half in fact—was set down to the wood and timber.

the city was full of his adherents, and wild with Royalist enthusiasm; the Colleges were all unsettled, and their plate going to the crucible for his Majesty's use; studies were all but suspended, and the younger Fellows and Undergraduates were vociferous at their daily drill. The Royalist excitement extended over the country round, and Forest Hill was in the very heart of the whirl. One fancies the three or four miles of high road between Oxford and Forest Hill unusually astir with signs of Royalism: young King's officers at gallop, and companies out marching, hurrahing, and singing loyal songs. Even had not Mr. Powell been a King's tenant, what could he be but a Royalist? Very probably, in the overcrowded state of Oxford, he had King's men billeted upon him; and, more certainly, he must have contributed, like his neighbours, voluntarily or not, to the King's cause in money or other supplies. "Heigho! this horrid Civil War!" must have been the poor man's private exclamation. Mrs. Powell and the young people, on the other hand, may have been more heartily Royalist. Very probably, the two eldest sons, Richard and James, turned out from their rooms in Christchurch with the rest when the King took up his abode in that College, had taken to soldiering in one of the University companies. For the young ladies, too, it was a changed world. For them it was not a mere clerical Oxford that was at hand, solemn with gowns and hoods, but an Oxford of scarlet sashes, military music and military balls, enlivening the whole country, and flashing its particles all day long past Forest Hill gate in the persons of couriers and cavaliers.

It was about Whitsuntide 1643, according to Phillips, that Milton left his house in Aldersgate Street, London, for a journey into the country, nobody about him certainly knowing the reason. Now, in the year 1643, Whit-Sunday (the seventh Sunday after Easter) fell on the 21st of May; and Milton's Whitsun holiday extended, it is said, over a month. Of all places in the world Forest Hill was the last where anybody that knew him would have expected to hear of his spending it. For one thing, communication between London and the King's

quarters at Oxford was not then so easy: passes were required on both sides, and persons coming and going ran risks.[1] But, even with a pass, for Milton to venture into the neighbourhood of Oxford—MILTON, the Anti-Episcopal pamphleteer, and altogether one of the most marked of extreme Parliamentarians out of Parliament: why, it was venturing into the camp of the Philistines! And yet, it appears, this is what Milton did. Making his way through all the Royalist bustle of Oxford, he presented himself, we are to suppose, some day late in May, at the gate of the Forest Hill mansion, was received into that nest of Royalists, and not only received but invited to stay, and accommodated, as a guest for a whole month, with one of the spare rooms—whether with "the matted chamber," as the best, or, if that was preoccupied by some King's officer, with "the chamber over the little parlour," as the next best: during which month (and this is the crowning marvel) matters were so managed that, when he went away, he took the eldest daughter of the house with him as his wife! It was a mystery to his nephews, the two boys Phillips, whom he had left in London; and it is a mystery to all of us yet. When he left Aldersgate Street, did he know that he was going to Forest Hill, and only keep the thing secret to avoid gossip? Or did he purpose only to go to Reading, to see his father and brother after the siege of that place—the capitulation of Reading to the Parliamentarians having taken place but three weeks before; and was his going on to Oxford an afterthought, suggested by talk with his father? In either case, what was his object in going? Was it to look after that debt of 500*l.* which had been owing to him for sixteen years by Mr. Powell, and the chances of the payment of which were getting less with the new derangement of Mr. Powell's affairs? Did he come seeking his 500*l.*, and did Mrs. Powell heave a daughter at him? Or, once he was in the

[1] Jan. 16, 1642-3, there was an order of the Commons that no carrier or waggoner should go to Oxford or elsewhere without special licence, and that servants of Royalists in arms coming to London should be treated as spies (Rushworth, V. 117). Again, in July 1643, there was a royal proclamation, from Oxford, forbidding all commerce with London.

house, did it all come about naturally—a sweet country girl, bashful in his presence amid her brothers and sisters; morning walks amid woods and fields when blooming May was passing into leafy June; evenings mild and still, in which to saunter about near the house, till the air browned over the land, and two persons casually together could listen, as it darkened, for the songs of the nightingales? And so did it happen that he who had once or twice before in his life confessed, rather seriously, to love's wound—once in his twentieth year, when a fair form passed him in a London crowd and was seen no more,[1] and again, in his thirty-first year, when the society of some stately black-eyed Italian near Bologna taught him the power of the southern type of beauty and made him prefer it for the time to the blonde complexions of his own north[2]—did it so happen that he, arrived now at an age when marriage with somebody or other must have been more and more in his thoughts, yielded to the opportunity that circumstances had brought about, and, resigning all the vague dreams of more splendid somebodies that there might be in the world, ended the quest at once by putting his arm round the simple waist that was attainable? Father and mother being willing, for whatever reasons, a whisper to Mary Powell, in the garden or amid the timber-stacks, may have settled everything. Or, after all, had he been already for some time engaged to her, and had he come to redeem his engagement? This is not an unnatural hypothesis. It has even been suggested by Todd that a marriage between Milton and Mary Powell may have been arranged between the two families while she was a child, and that Mr. Powell's recognizance in 1627 of a debt of 500*l.* to the young Cambridge student may have appertained somehow to the contract. The suggestion seems totally absurd; but one may fairly suppose that, even if there were not already relations between the two families before the recognizance, some acquaintanceship between them may have followed from it. In that case we need not suppose this visit of Milton at Whitsuntide 1643 to have been

[1] See Vol. I. pp. 158—161. [2] Vol. I. pp. 772-5.

his first visit to Forest Hill. He may have been there before—at the time of his incorporation into Oxford University, for example, in 1635. And so Mary Powell in her childhood may not have been quite a stranger to him; and it is just possible that, when, in the course of the Smectymnuan controversy, he was twitted by Bishop Hall and his son with looking after "a rich widow," and he took the trouble, in retorting, to explain that, when he did marry, he would "choose a virgin of mean fortunes, honestly bred, before the wealthiest widow,"[1] some recollection of Mary Powell may have been in his mind. On the whole, however, the evidence is decidedly against the notion of any long pre-engagement. Phillips's account of the marriage conveys the distinct impression that it was a hurried and unexpected affair. Wood also, writing from Aubrey's information, but who was himself near enough to Forest Hill to have learnt something about the Powells directly, conveys the same impression. "He in a month's time," says Wood, "courted, married, and brought home to his house in London a wife from Forest Hill, lying between Halton and Oxford, named Mary, the daughter of Mr. Powell of that place, gent."[2] The probability, therefore, is that Milton knew very little about his wife before he married her, and that the step was hastily taken. He was in his thirty-fifth year; the bride's age was seventeen years and four or five months: in other words, the bridegroom was just twice as old as the bride. We have no portrait of her, nor any account of her appearance; but, on the usual rule of the elective affinities of opposites, Milton being fair, we will vote her to have been dark-haired.[3]

When Milton returned, with his girl-wife, to his house in Aldersgate Street, they did not come alone. "Some few of

[1] See *antè*, p. 408.

[2] Wood's Fasti, I. 482.

[3] There is no record of the marriage of Milton and Mary Powell in the Forest Hill Registers. Indeed, in these Registers, as I am informed by the Vicar, the Rev. C. F. Wyatt, there is no marriage entry at all for the year 1643 and only one for the year 1642—the persons in this last being William Willinge and Mary Clarke, and the entry having been partially erased in 1643. The likelihood seems to be that Milton's marriage did not take place at Forest Hill. Was it at Oxford? The register may yet turn up.

her nearest relations," says Phillips, "accompanied the bride to her new habitation." Had Mrs. Powell taken the opportunity of running up to London herself, to see her daughter settled in her new house; or was it only a few of the young Forest Hill people—the younger sisters and bridesmaids? They seem, at all events, to have pretty well filled the house, and to have taught Milton what it was to be a married man with a bouquet of young sisters-in-law. "The feasting," says Phillips, "held for some days in celebration of the nuptials, and for entertainment of the bride's friends." Some days may imply a week. After that, according to Phillips, "they took their leave, and, returning to Forest Hill, left their sister behind." And so, in June 1643, Milton's married life began, and the two were left together to find how they suited each other.

Not well, it seems! On Milton's part, as we shall see soon enough, there was a dawning perception, after the first blindness of the honeymoon, that his young wife was stupid; but, on her part, there was more. There was fright, there was distaste, there was a sense of solitude. To the poor young thing there had come what comes not unfrequently to very young brides, taken suddenly from all the accustomed cheerfulness of a numerous and hospitable home, and committed to the sole society of a comparative stranger. There had come a terror of her new situation, a feeling of home-sickness, a longing to be back with Mamma. From the moment, indeed, of the departure of her brothers and sisters back to Forest Hill, her heart had gone with them. Possibly Milton's ways were not so considerate as they ought to have been. Aubrey's account of the matter is that the young wife, having been "brought up and lived where there was a great "deal of company and merriment, dancing, &c.," "when she "came to live with her husband, found it very solitary: no "company came to her; oftentimes heard his nephews beaten "and cry:" so that the life "was irksome to her." Aubrey was not always accurate in his gossip, and that item of the nephews being beaten and crying looks very like the kind of item his own fancy would invent. Phillips, at all events,

who was one of the nephews, has no such item in *his* account. Substantially, however, it agrees with Aubrey's. "After having been used to a great house, and much company and joviality," the life with Milton in Aldersgate Street was too "philosophical" for her: *i.e.* Milton had relapsed into his books, studies, and contemplations, and the teaching of his nephews, and the poor girl was left too much to her own thoughts and the one delight of correspondence with home. The consequence soon showed itself. "By that time she had for a "month or thereabout led a philosophical life," says Phillips, "her friends, possibly incited by her own desire, made earnest "suit, by letter, to have her company the remaining part of "the summer." Milton may have been surprised at the request, and was doubtless chagrined. To go back to her father's house immediately after the honeymoon! What would people think? With whatever grace, however, he did give his consent; and some time in July 1643, if Phillips's date is correct, the young wife went back on a visit to Forest Hill. The distinct understanding was that she should return at Michaelmas (Sept. 29) or thereabouts.[1]

Phillips informs us that it was precisely at the time of this absence of Milton's wife on a visit to her relatives that Milton's father came from Reading to reside with him. Nay, it was at the same time, according to the same authority (and there could not be a better for the fact), that there first came to reside with Milton a few pupils in addition to his two nephews. They were not pupils advertised for in the ordinary way, Phillips carefully explains, but the sons of intimate

[1] The accounts of Milton's marriage by Wood (*circa* 1680) and Toland (1698), being based on Aubrey's and Phillips's, contain nothing really additional; but they may be quoted here. "She, who was very young, and had been bred up in a family of plenty and freedom, being not well pleased with her husband's retired manner of life, did shortly after leave him." So writes Wood briefly; while Toland expatiates a little thus: "Whether it was that this young woman, accustomed to a large and jovial family, could not live in a philosophical retirement, or that she was not perfectly satisfied with the person of her husband, or, lastly, that, because her relations were all addicted to the royal interest, his democratic principles were disagreeable to her humour (nor is it impossible that the father repented of this match upon the prospect of some success on the King's side, who then had his headquarters at Oxford), or whatever were the reason, 'tis certain that, after he had enjoyed her company at London about a month, she was invited by her friends to spend the rest of the summer in the country; to which he consented on condition of her return by Michaelmas."

friends, received by way of favour. It may have been an excuse for the absence of the wife that she had but gone out of the way till arrangements were made in the house for these newcomers. At all events, in her absence, the house was sufficiently busy. "The studies," says Phillips, "went "on with so much the more vigour as there were more hands "and heads employed; the old gentleman living wholly "retired to his rest and devotion, without the least trouble "imaginable." With which picture of the house in Aldersgate Street in or about July 1643, let us leave Milton in it for the present, waiting for the return of his wife at Michaelmas.

CHAPTER III.

MEETING OF THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

ABOUT the time when Milton's wife left him on a visit to her friends, London was astir with a new event of great consequence in the course of the national revolution. This was the meeting of the famous WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

The necessity of an ecclesiastical Synod or Convocation, to co-operate with the Parliament, had been long felt. Among the articles of the Grand Remonstrance of Dec. 1641 had been one desiring a convention of "a General Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious divines of this island, assisted by some from foreign parts," to consider of all things relating to the Church and report thereon to Parliament.[1] It is clear, from the wording of this article, that it was contemplated that the Synod should contain representatives from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Indeed, by that time, the establishment of a uniformity of Doctrine, Discipline, and Worship between the Churches of England and Scotland was the fixed idea of those who chiefly desired a Synod. There had been, as we know, express communications on the subject between the leading English Puritan ministers and the chiefs of the Scottish Kirk. It may be remembered how strongly Henderson had taken the matter to heart, and how, in connexion with it, he had made a "notable motion" in the Scottish General Assembly of Aug. 1641 (see *antè*, p. 290). Might it not be well, he had then urged, that the Scottish Church should employ itself in "drawing up a Confession of Faith, a Catechism, a "Directory for all the parts of the public worship, and a

[1] See *antè*, p. 327.

"Platform of Government, wherein possibly England and we "might agree"? Henderson's notion was that, if such an authoritative exposition of the whole theory and practice of the Kirk of Scotland could be drawn up for the study of the English, and especially if care were taken in it not to be ultra-Scottish in mere minutiæ, the effect would be to facilitate the religious union of the two nations. The Scottish Assembly, at any rate, had warmly entertained the notion, and had deputed the difficult and delicate work to Henderson himself. Henderson, however, as we had subsequently to report (*antè*, p. 419), had, on more mature thoughts, abandoned the project. He had done so for reasons creditable to his considerateness and good sense. It had occurred to him that the English might like to think out the details of their Church-Reformation for themselves, that it might do more harm than good to thrust an elaborated Scottish system upon them as a perfection already consummate, and that it might even be becoming in the Scots to hold themselves prepared, in the interests of the conformity they desired, to gravitate towards what might be the English conclusions on non-essential points. At all events, he had come to see that the work was too great for the responsibility of any one man. Possibly, too, he knew by that time (April 1642) that a general synod of English divines would very soon be called.

Actually, in April 1642, just when Henderson gave up the business as too great for one man's strength, the English House of Commons were making arrangements for a synod of divines. On the 19th of that month, it was ordered by the House, in pursuance of previous resolutions on the subject, "that the names of such divines as shall be thought fit to be consulted with concerning the matter of the Church be brought in to-morrow morning," the understood rule being that the knights and burgesses of each English county should name to the House *two* divines, and those of each Welsh county *one* divine, for approval. Accordingly, on the 20th, the names were given in; on that day, the divines proposed for nine of the English counties were approved of in pairs;

and on following days the rest of the English counties (London and the two Universities coming in for separate representation) were gone over, pretty much in their alphabetical order, the Welsh counties and the Channel Islands coming last, till, on April 25, the tale of the divines "thought fit to be consulted with" was complete. It included 102 divines, generally from the counties for which they were severally named; but by no means always so, for in not a few cases the knights and burgesses of distant counties nominated divines living in London or near it. In almost all cases the divines named by the knights and burgesses for their several counties were approved of by the House unanimously; but a vote was taken on the eligibility of one of the divines named for Yorkshire, and he was carried by a bare majority of 103 to 99, and exceptions having been taken on the 25th to the two appointed for Cumberland on the 20th, their appointment was cancelled and others were substituted. On the same day on which the list of divines was completed, a committee of twenty-seven members of the House, including Hampden, Selden, and Lord Falkland, was appointed "to "consider of the readiest way to put in execution the resolu- "tions of this House in consulting with such divines as they "have named." The result was that on the 9th of May there was brought in a "Bill for calling an Assembly of godly and "learned Divines to be consulted with by the Parliament for "the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church, "and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the "Church of England from false aspersions and interpretations." On that day the Bill was read twice in the Commons and committed; and on the 19th it was read a third time and passed. The Lords, having then taken the Bill into consideration, proposed (May 26, 1642) the addition of *fourteen* divines of their own choice to those named by the Commons; and, the Commons having agreed to this amendment, the Bill passed both Houses, June 1, and waited only the King's assent. It was intended that the Assembly should meet the next month.[1]

[1] Commons and Lords Journals of dates mentioned.

The King had other things to do at that moment than assent to a Bill for an Assembly of Divines. He was at York, gathering his forces for the Civil War; and by the time when it was expected the Assembly should have been at work the Civil War had begun. Nevertheless, the Parliament persevered in their design. Twice again, while the war was in its first stage, Bills were introduced to the same effect as that which had been stopped. Bill the Second for calling an Assembly of Divines was in October, and Bill the Third in December, 1642. In these Bills the two Houses kept to the 116 Divines agreed upon under the first Bill, with (as far as I have been able to trace the matter through their Journals) only one deletion, two substitutions, and three proposed additions.[1]——Still, by the stress of the war, the Assembly was postponed. At last, hopeless of a Bill that should pass in the regular way by the King's consent, the Houses resorted, in this as in other things, to their peremptory plan of ORDINANCE by their own authority. On the 13th of May, 1643, an Ordinance for calling an Assembly was introduced in the Commons; which Ordinance, after due going and coming between the two Houses, came to maturity June 12, when it was entered at full length in the Lords Journals. "Whereas, amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God "upon this nation,"—so runs the preamble of the Ordinance,— "none is, or can be, more dear to us than the purity of our "religion; and forasmuch as many things yet remain in the "discipline, liturgy, and government of the Church which "necessarily require a more perfect reformation: and whereas "it has been declared and resolved, by the Lords and Com- "mons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church "Government by Archbishops, Bishops, their Chancellors, "Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters, Archdeacons, "and other ecclesiastical officers depending on the hierarchy, "is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, "and a great impediment to reformation and growth of "religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government,

1 Commons and Lords Journals at various dates from Oct. 1642 to Jan. 1642-3; especially C. J. Oct. 15 and 19, 1642, and Jan. 6, 1642-3.

of this kingdom, and that therefore they are resolved the "same shall be taken away, and that such a government "shall be settled in the Church as may be agreeable to God's "Holy Word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace "of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the "Church of Scotland, and other reformed Churches abroad ". . . . Be it therefore ordained, &c." What is ordained is that 149 persons, enumerated by name in the Ordinance (10 of them being members of the Lords House, 20 members of the Commons House, and the other 119 mainly the divines that had already been fixed upon, most of them a year before),[1] shall meet on the 1st of July next in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster; and that these persons, and such others as shall be added to them by Parliament from time to time, shall have power to continue their sittings as long as Parliament may see fit, and "to confer and "treat among themselves of *such matters and things*, con-"cerning the liturgy, discipline, and government of the "Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the "doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and miscon-"structions, *as shall be proposed by either or both Houses of "Parliament, and no other.*" The words in italics are important. The Assembly was not to be an independent National Council ranging at its will and settling things by its own authority. It was to be a body advising Parliament on matters referred to it and on these alone, and its conclusions were to have no validity until they should be reported to Parliament and confirmed there. Forty members of the Assembly were to constitute a quorum, and the proceedings were not to be divulged without consent of Parliament. Four shillings a day were to be allowed to each clerical member

[1] The following divines, who had been among the 102 originally thought fit by the Commons in April 1642, or among the 14 added to that list by the Lords in May 1642, were *not* among the 119 named in the Ordinance of June 1643:—Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester; Thomas Dillingham, of Dean, B.D.; Mr. Levett, of Ripon; Samuel Crook, of Wranton, B.D.; Dr. Jennison, of Durham; Dr. Richard Lloyd (Denbigh); Dr. Soames, of Staines; Dr. Marsh, of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, London; and Dr. John Earle, of Bishopstone, Wilts (author of the *Microcosmography*, and afterwards Bishop). It is the more necessary to note this because some of these persons figure in lists of the actual Assembly of Divines.

for his expenses, with immunity for non-residence in his parish or any neglect of his ordinary duties that might be entailed by his presence at Westminster. William Twisse, D.D., of Newbury, was to be Prolocutor, or Chairman, of the Assembly; and he was to have two "Assessors," to supply his place in case of necessary absence. There were to be two "Scribes," who should be divines, but not members of the Assembly, to take minutes of the proceedings. Every member of the Assembly, on his first entrance, was to make solemn protestation that he would not maintain anything but what he believed to be the truth; no resolution on any question was to be come to on the same day on which it was first propounded; whatever any speaker maintained to be necessary he was to prove out of the Scriptures; all decisions of the major part of the Assembly were to be reported to Parliament as the decisions of the Assembly; but the dissents of individual members were to be duly registered, if they required it, and also reported to Parliament. The Lords wanted to regulate also that no long speeches should be permitted in the Assembly, so that matters might not be carried by "impertinent flourishes"; but the Commons, for reasons that are not far to seek, did not agree to this regulation.[1]

Notwithstanding a Royal Proclamation from Oxford, dated June 22, forbidding the Assembly and threatening consequences, the first meeting duly took place on the day appointed—Saturday, July 1, 1643; and from that date till the 22nd of February 1648-9, or for more than five years and a half, the WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY is to be borne in mind as a power or institution in the English realm, existing side by side with the Long Parliament, and in constant conference and co-operation with it. The number of its sittings during these five years and a half was 1,163 in all; which is at the rate of about four sittings every week for the whole time. The earliest years of the Assembly were the most important. All in all, it was an Assembly which left remarkable and

Ordinance itself at large in Lords Journals, June 12, 1643: abridged by Neal, Hist. of Puritans, III. 48—50. Also subsequent Regulations for Assembly in Lords Journals, June 29: modified July 6.

permanent effects in the British Islands, and the history of which ought to be more interesting, in some homely respects, to Britons now, than the history of the Council of Basel, the Council of Trent, or any other of the great ecclesiastical Councils, more ancient and œcumenical, about which we hear so much.

The following is the most complete and accurate list of the Members of the Assembly I have been able to draw up, reserving only some Scotsmen who are to be added, in a group by themselves, afterwards:—

I.—OFFICIALS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

WILLIAM TWISSE, D.D. (Oxon.), Rector of Newbury, Berks, was the *Prolocutor* or *Speaker*, appointed by Parliament. He was of German descent; *ætat.* about 69; and was of note as a polemical theologian, especially against Arminianism. He died July 1646, and was succeeded in the Prolocutorship by Mr. Herle (whose name see below).—When the Prolocutor was unable to take the chair it was taken by either Dr. BURGES or Mr. WHITE (see these names below); which two members were known accordingly as "Assessors" to the Prolocutor. They were appointed by the Assembly itself; but Parliament had already nominated the two "Scribes," or Clerks of the Assembly—viz. Mr. HENRY ROBOROUGH (afterwards minister of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap), and Mr. ADONIRAM BYFIELD, M.A. (Cantab.). The Scribes were not properly members of Assembly, and did not vote. After a little while (*i.e.* Dec. 18, 1643), a Mr. JOHN WALLIS was appointed as their "amanuensis," or assistant. He was a young man in holy orders, fresh from Cambridge and not much known; but he lived to be famous as Dr. John Wallis, the Divine, Decipherer, and Mathematician, Professor of Geometry at Oxford, and one of the founders of the Royal Society. He was probably the last survivor of all who had taken part in the Westminster Assembly; for he died in 1703, *ætat.* 88.

II.—DIVINES NOMINALLY MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER.

In the following list the names of the divines originally appointed by Parliament to constitute the clerical portion of the Assembly are arranged alphabetically, without typographical distinction of those who actually served and were the real constituting body from those who never appeared in the Assembly, or withdrew from it soon, and so cannot be accounted real members. These may have been about twenty in all, and the most important of them are noted as their names occur.——There were, however, some nineteen divines *added* by Parliament at various times after the Assembly had begun its work. The names of such of these as came in the places of original members who had died or withdrawn themselves are given, not alphabetically, but in the same paragraphs with the names of the original members whom they respectively succeeded. In cases, however, where a new member was not thus merely *substituted* for an original member, but was, or appears to have been, *superadded* on his own account, the name is printed in its alpha-

betical order, but a little *inwards* in the page.[1] The dates of the substitutions or superadditions, so far as they can be gathered from the Lords and Commons Journals, are duly inserted:

ARROWSMITH, JOHN, M.A. (Cantab.): Vicar of Lynn, Norfolk, *ætat.* 41. He had been a Fellow of Catherine Hall when Milton was at Cambridge. He was "a man with a glass eye," having lost one of his eyes by an arrow-shot.

ASHE, SIMEON (Cantab.): minister of St. Bride's, London. He was appointed to the Assembly, June 14, 1643, instead of Josias Shute, B.D., named in the Ordinance, but dead. Ashe had had a living in Staffordshire, but had been dispossessed for Puritanism, and had resumed duty as a military Chaplain in attendance on the Earl of Manchester.

BATHURST, THOMAS (or THEOPHILUS): Vicar of Overton with Fyfield, Wilts (?).

BAYLY, THOMAS, B.D. (Oxon.): Rector of Manningford Bruce, Co. Wilts, *ætat. circ.* 58; *ob.* 1663.

BOWLES, OLIVER, B.D. (Cantab.): Rector of Sutton, Bedfordshire; *ob.* 1644.—In his place there was appointed to the Assembly (March 19, 1644-5) THOMAS FORD, M.A. (Oxon.), preacher at Exeter, *ætat.* 40. He had been tutor in Magdalen Hall, Oxford, but had lost his tutorship and all chance of preferment in the Church in consequence of a Puritanical sermon preached in 1631.

BRIDGE, WILLIAM, M.A. (Cantab.): minister at Yarmouth, Norfolk; *ætat.* 43. He had been a Fellow of Emanuel College, and a preacher in Norwich; but, having been silenced for nonconformity by Bishop Wren, had gone to Holland (1637), and become pastor to an English congregation in Rotterdam. He had returned in 1641.

BROWNRIGGE, RALPH, D.D., *Bishop of Exeter* (Cantab.). Appointed originally as one of the representatives of Cambridge University in the Assembly, but never took his place.

BULKELEY (or BUCKLEY), RICHARD, B.D. He represented Anglesey.

BURGESS, ANTHONY, M.A. (Cantab.): Rector of Sutton-Coldfield, Warwickshire, and Lecturer at Lawrence Jewry in London. He had been a Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge.

BURGES, CORNELIUS, D.D. (Oxon.): Vicar of Watford, Herts; *ætat. circ.* 50. He had been Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles I.; but for some years had been one of the loudest of the Puritan ministers. He had argued the question of cathedral establishments, on the Puritan side, against Hacket on the other, before the House of Commons (see *antè*, p. 228). He was one of the Assessors to Prolocutor Twisse, and was a man of consequence in the Assembly, and, indeed, till the Restoration; after which he lost his considerable wealth and fell into extreme distress. He died July 1665, and was buried in Watford church.

BURROUGHS, JEREMIAH, M.A. (Cantab.): *ætat. circ.* 43. His nonconforming opinions had driven him abroad, and he had been minister (along with Bridge) to an English congregation at Rotterdam. Returning in 1641, he had accepted no parochial charge, but had been occupying himself as a preacher in London—more particularly at Stepney on Sunday mornings; where he drew such large audiences and was so popular that Hugh Peters had named him "the Morning Star of Stepney." He died Nov. 1646.—To supply his place in the Assembly there was appointed (March 13, 1646-7) SAMUEL BOULTON (Cantab.), minister of St. Martin's, Ludgate. He was appointed, about the same time, to the Mastership of Christ's College, Cambridge, vacant by the death of Dr. Bainbrigge; and he lived till 1654. This Boulton must have been well known to Milton, as they had been at Christ's College together, and had taken their degrees of B.A. and M.A. at the same time (see Vol. I. pp. 184 and 225).

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[1] I suspect, however, that even the few divines I have had thus to distinguish as *superadded* were also substitutes for original members who had died or withdrawn, and that it is only because I have not been able to find out for what divines they were respectively substituted that I have to print their names apart and *inwards*, instead of ranging them in the same paragraphs with those whose places they took.

CALAMY, EDMUND, B.D. (Cantab.): minister of Aldermanbury, London; *ætat.* 43. He was first designated for the Assembly as one of the four representatives of the London clergy. He had been a parish-minister in Suffolk many years before, but had been ejected for nonconformity by Bishop Wren. Since his appointment to Aldermanbury in 1639 he had been one of the most popular preachers in London, and an eminent leader of the Presbyterian party. He was one of the "Smectymnuans." He lived till after the Restoration, and died in Oct. 1666, after having surveyed, with grief, the ruins of the Great Fire of London.

CAPEL, RICHARD, M.A. (Oxon.): *ætat.* 57. He had been a parish-minister in Gloucestershire, but had resigned the charge in 1633 on account of his Puritanism, and had since then been practising physic at Pitchcombe in the same county. He died 1656.

CARYL, JOSEPH, M.A. (Oxon.): preacher at Lincoln's Inn; *ætat.* 41. First chosen for the Assembly as one of the four representatives of the London clergy. He was afterwards minister of St. Magnus, London Bridge; was distinguished as a Puritan preacher and author; wrote a vast commentary on the Book of Job; and died Feb. 1672-3.

CASE, THOMAS, M.A. (Oxon.): minister of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, London; *ætat.* 45: *ob.* 1682, *ætat.* 84.

CARTER, THOMAS.

CARTER, WILLIAM (Cantab.): preacher in London; *ætat.* 36. He died 1658.

CARTER, WILLIAM: Vicar of Dinton, Bucks.—Either he or Thomas Carter was succeeded in the Assembly by a Mr. JOHNSON (March 2, 1645-6).

CHAMBERS, HUMPHREY, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of Claverton, Somersetshire; *ætat.* 44; had been silenced and imprisoned for Puritanism. He became D.D., and died 1662.

CHEYNEL, FRANCIS, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of Petworth, Sussex; *ætat.* 35: was afterwards D.D., President of St. John's College, Oxford, and Margaret Professor of Divinity: *ob.* 1665.

CLARKE, PETER (Cantab.): Vicar of Carnaby, Yorkshire.

CLAYTON, RICHARD: Rector of Shawell, Leicestershire. Was he the Richard Clayton (Cantab.), who was Master of University College, Oxford, and D.D. (Oxon.), after the Restoration, and who died 1676?

COKE, FRANCIS: of Yoxall, Staffordshire.

COLEMAN, THOMAS, M.A. (Oxon.): Vicar of Blyton, in Lincolnshire, and then Rector of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London; *ætat.* 45; a great Hebraist, so that he was called "Rabbi Coleman:" *ob.* March 1646-7.

CONANT, JOHN, B.D.: Rector of Limington in Somersetshire (not Lymington in Hants). He is to be distinguished from his nephew, of the same name, afterwards Archdeacon of Norwich, &c.

CORBET, EDWARD, M.A. (Oxon.): minister of Chatham, Kent: *ob.* 1657.

CROSSE, ROBERT, B.D., Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford; *ætat.* 38: afterwards Vicar of Chew, Somersetshire, and died 1683.

DE LA MARCHE, M. JEAN, } ministers of the French Protestant Church
DE LA PLACE, M. SAMUEL, } in London: they were designated for the Assembly to represent Jersey and Guernsey.

DOWNING, CALIBUTE, D.D. (Oxon.): Vicar of Hackney, Middlesex; *ætat.* 37. He died very soon after the Assembly had begun its sittings.—His successor as member of the Assembly (appointed Nov. 2, 1643) was the celebrated JOHN DURIE, of whom we have already had occasion to give some account (*ante*, pp. 367-9). Since 1641, when we last saw him, he had been residing chiefly at the Hague, but probably with excursions hither and thither on the Continent, and certainly with his eyes fixed on England, where the ecclesiastical confusion that was raging seemed to offer new chances for what he called his "negotiation." The union of the Calvinists and Lutherans of Europe was still Durie's one idea or passion, by which he measured everything, and in the interests of which he would go anywhere and put himself in the midst of any turmoil; and, just as formerly he had been in communication on the subject with Laud, Hall, and other English prelates, so more recently he had been corresponding with the chiefs of the different varieties of the ascendant Puritanism. His appointment to the Westminster Assembly by the English Parliament was rather, I should suppose, in recognition of his peculiar European notoriety, acquired by the incessant prosecution of his own idea for nearly fifteen years, than in expectation of much direct practical counsel from him in the immediate problems of the English Church. He

did, nevertheless, appear in the Assembly, and take some considerable part in the proceedings. As I find it distinctly on record, however, that he was minister of the English Merchants' Kirk in Rotterdam in 1645, it seems necessary to imagine that, after he had taken his place in the Westminster Assembly, he went and came between England and the Continent as suited him, though more and more tending to residence in England. One hears of him, at all events, as in England, off and on, till about the time of the Restoration.

DUNNING, WILLIAM: Rector of Goodalston, Notts.

ELLIS, EDWARD, B.D.: of Guilsfield, Montgomeryshire.

FEATLEY, DANIEL, D.D. (Oxon.): Provost of Chelsea College, and Rector of Lambeth, and of Acton, Middlesex, but residing in Lambeth; *ætat.* 61. His family name was "Fairclough;" but this had been corrupted into "Featley"—which spelling he had adopted. He had been known in the Church, as a writer and otherwise, for more than thirty years. In 1626 he had been appointed by Archbishop Abbot to the Rectory of Allhallows in Bread Street, Milton's native parish, in succession to Stock. He had held this living for only a little time, removing from it to Acton. He was a veteran Calvinist, and had been popular on that account; but, as he adhered to Episcopacy, and yet persisted in attending the Assembly, they suspected his motives, and found an opportunity to eject him, Sept. 1643. He died 1645.—His successor in the Assembly (appointed May 7, 1645) was RICHARD BYFIELD, M.A. (Oxon.), Rector of Long Ditton, Surrey, and brother of Adoniram Byfield, one of the Scribes of the Assembly. He died Dec. 1664.

FOXCROFT, JOHN (B.A. Cantab., M.A. Oxon.): Rector of Gotham, in Notts.

GAMMON, HANNIBAL, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of St. Mawgan in Cornwall; *ætat.* 61. He seems not to have served, probably on account of his distance from London, and so not to have inflicted on the Assembly the ludicrousness of his name.

GATAKER, THOMAS, B.D. (Cantab.): Rector of Rotherhithe; *ætat.* 69. This veteran Puritan, known to us since Milton's childhood (Vol. I. p. 40 and p. 52), was one of the most respected and influential of the members of the Assembly—his reputation for learning being hardly less than for piety and sound doctrine. He refused various offers of preferment, and remained pastor of Rotherhithe till his death in 1654, *ætat.* 80. His writings are numerous.

GIBBON, JOHN (Cantab.): of Waltham.

GIBSON, SAMUEL: of Burleigh, Rutlandshire.

GIPPES, GEORGE: Rector of Aylestone, Leicestershire.

GOAD (or GOOD), WILLIAM, B.D.: Rector of Denton, Norfolk (superadded by Lords, the Commons agreeing, Feb. 1, 1643-4).

GOODWIN, THOMAS, D.D. (Cantab.): minister to a congregation in St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, Thames Street, London; *ætat.* 43. He had been of note among the English Puritans since his Cambridge days; had left the University on grounds of conscience in 1634; had gone to Holland in 1639 and become minister of an English congregation at Arnheim; and had but recently returned. He afterwards became President of Magdalen, Cambridge; but resigned at the Restoration and resumed preaching. He died Feb. 1679-80, *ætat.* 80, and is still remembered as one of the Fathers of English Independency.

GOUGE, WILLIAM, D.D. (Cantab.): *ætat.* 68; minister of Blackfriars, London, since 1608. He had long been highly venerated among the Puritans, there being "scarce a lord or lady or citizen of quality in or about the city that were piously inclined but they sought his acquaintance." He died Dec. 12, 1653; *ætat.* 79. See a memoir of him, with portrait, appended to Clarke's *General Martyrologie* (1677).

GOWER, STANLEY: Rector of Brampton-Bryan, Herefordshire.

GREENE, JOHN: Rector of Pencombe, Herefordshire.

GREENHILL, WILLIAM, M.A. (Cantab.): *ætat.* 52; evening-lecturer at Stepney, where Jeremiah Burroughs was morning-lecturer; and hence called by Hugh Peters "the Evening Star of Stepney," Burroughs being the "Morning Star." He died in or about 1677.

HACKET, JOHN, D.D. (Cantab.): Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Chaplain to the King, &c.; *ætat.* 52. He had defended cathedral establishments before the Parliament (see *antè*, p. 228), and was altogether on the anti-Parliamentarian side. Consequently he never sat in the Assembly, and was under a cloud during the Commonwealth; but, after the Restoration, he became Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry. He died Oct. 1670.

HALL, HENRY, B.D. (Cantab.): minister at Norwich.

HAMMOND, HENRY, D.D. (Oxon.): Rector of Penshurst, Kent; *ætat.* 38. He never sat in the Assembly; was a decided Royalist through the Civil War, and, going to Oxford, became Chaplain to the King, and University Orator. He was in great esteem among the Royalists, and a voluminous writer. He died on the eve of the Restoration.

HARDWICKE, HUMPHREY: Rector of Hadham, Herts (appointed May 1644).

HARRIS, JOHN, D.D. (Oxon.): Rector of Meon Stoke, Hants, and Warden of Wykeham College, Winchester; *ætat.* 55. He died Aug. 1658.—As he did not take his place in the Assembly, his appointment was cancelled by the Commons Oct. 11, 1643; and there was appointed in his stead (confirmed by the Lords Oct. 16, 1643), DANIEL CAWDREY, (Cantab.), Rector of Great Billing, Northamptonshire. He died 1664.

HARRIS, ROBERT, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of Hanwell, Oxfordshire; *ætat.* 65. He did not immediately take his place in the Assembly, and, after he did take it, was more of a listener than a speaker. He was afterwards D.D. and President of Trinity College, Oxford, and died Dec. 1658, *ætat.* 80.

HERLE, CHARLES, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of Winwick in Lancashire; *ætat.* 45. He was an active member of Assembly, and, on Twisse's death in 1646, succeeded as Prolocutor. He died at Winwick 1659.

HERRICK, RICHARD, M.A. (Oxon.): Warden of the Collegiate Church, Manchester; *ætat.* 43. He died 1667.

HICKES, JASPER, M.A. (Oxon.): Vicar of Landrake in Cornwall; *ætat.* 38: *ob.* 1677.

HILDERSHAM, SAMUEL, B.D. (Cantab.): minister of Felton, Shropshire (?)

HILL, THOMAS, B.D. (Cantab.): Rector of Titchmarsh in Northamptonshire, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was intimately acquainted with Lord Brooke, whom he frequently visited at Warwick Castle; and he had married a governess in that family. He became afterwards Master of Emanuel College, and then of Trinity College, Cambridge, and D.D. He died Dec. 18, 1653. There is a brief memoir of him in Clarke's *General Martyrologie* (1677).

HODGES, THOMAS, B.D. (Cantab.): Rector of Kensington. Was Dean of Hereford after the Restoration, and died 1672.

HOLDSWORTH, RICHARD, D.D. (Cantab.): Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. He never sat in the Assembly; was Royalist throughout; suffered much for his Royalism; and died 1649.

HOYLE, JOSHUA, D.D. (Oxon.): Vicar of Stepney, where he was not so popular as his coadjutors, the two lecturers Burroughs and Greenhill. He had been Divinity Professor in Trinity College, Dublin, but had been driven from Ireland by the Rebellion. He was afterwards Master of University College, Oxford, and died 1654.

HUTTON, HENRY, M.A.: minister in Westmoreland (?).

JACKSON, JOHN, M.A.: preacher at Gray's Inn.

LANCE, WILLIAM: Rector of Harrow: discontinued his attendance very soon.

LANGLEY, JOHN: Rector of West Tytherley, Hampshire.

LEY, JOHN, M.A. (Oxon.): Vicar of Great Budworth, Cheshire; *ætat.* 60: *ob.* 1662, *ætat.* 79.

LIGHTFOOT, JOHN, D.D. (Cantab.): *ætat.* 41. This eminent theologian, deemed the most learned Orientalist or Rabbinical scholar of his age, had been educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, with Chappell for his tutor, and had completed his studies there just when Milton was beginning his. He was Rector of Ashley in Staffordshire when the Assembly was called; but soon afterwards was promoted to the living of Much-Munden in Herts. In 1649 he became Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge. He retained both preferments till his death in 1675, *ætat.* 73.

LOVE, RICHARD, D.D. (Cantab.): of Bennet, or Corpus Christi, College, Cambridge.

LOVE, CHRISTOPHER, M.A. (Oxon.): minister of St Anne's, Aldersgate, London; one of the superadded divines. He was of Welsh birth; and, though not more than 25 years of age, was already widely known for his Presbyterian zeal. A sad fate was awaiting him.

LYFORD, WILLIAM, M.A. (Oxon.): Vicar of Sherborne, Dorsetshire; *ætat.* 45. He never sat in the Assembly, and lived till 1653, when he died "of a painful and sharp disease, by the witchcraft, as 'tis said, of certain Quakers."

MARSHALL, STEPHEN, B.D. (Cantab.): Vicar (?) of Finchingfield in Essex; known as one of the best Puritans of his day, and as one of the "Smectymnuans;" and by many thought to be the best preacher in England. He lived, greatly

respected, till Nov. 1655, when he was buried in Westminster Abbey; whence, however, after the Restoration, his body was removed by royal warrant.

MEW, WILLIAM, B.D.: of Eastington, Gloucestershire.

MICKLETHWAIT, THOMAS: Rector of Cherry Burton, Yorkshire.

MORE, Mr.: a superadded member, so designated, of whom nothing is known to me at present.

MORLEY, GEORGE, D.D. (Oxon.): Rector of Mildenhall, Wilts; *ætat.* 46. He was one of the Falkland group of Latitudinarian thinkers (Vol. I. p. 498), and a firm Royalist, and friend of Episcopacy. He therefore never went near the Assembly, and his appointment was cancelled Oct. 11, 1643. He kept with the King, and afterwards lived in exile. After the Restoration he was made Bishop of Winchester. He died in 1684; *ætat.* 87.—Instead of Morley, a WILLIAM RATHBONE of Highgate was appointed member of Assembly, Oct. 23, 1643; and he, dying soon after, was succeeded (Oct. 18, 1644) by a PHILIP DELMÉ (or DELMAY), minister of the French congregation in Canterbury.

MORTON, WILLIAM: of Newcastle.—He seems to have died before taking his seat in the Assembly; for in August 1643 there was appointed in his room FRANCIS WOODCOCK, M.A. (Oxon.), lecturer of St. Lawrence Jewry, London; *ætat.* 29. He was afterwards minister of St. Olave's, Southwark, and died 1651.

NEWCOMEN, MATTHEW, M.A. (Cantab.): Vicar of Dedham in Essex, an eminent Puritan, and one of the "Smectymnuans." He lost his living after the Restoration, went abroad, and became pastor of the English Church at Leyden, where he died.

NEWSCORE, WILLIAM: a superadded member (?)

NICOLSON, WILLIAM, M.A. (Oxon.): Archdeacon of Brecknock; *ætat.* 52. He never sat in the Assembly, but remained a firm Royalist and Episcopalian, occupying himself, through the Commonwealth time, as a schoolmaster in Wales. After the Restoration he was made Bishop of Gloucester.—Nicolson's appointment to the Assembly having been cancelled by the Commons, Oct. 23, 1643, there was appointed in his stead a certain THOMAS CLENDON.

NYE, HENRY: minister of Clapham.—He died ere the Assembly had well begun; and JOHN MAYNARD, M.A. (Oxon.), Vicar of Mayfield in Sussex, was appointed in his place (Sept. 15, 1643). This Maynard lived till after the Restoration.

NYE, PHILIP, M.A. (Oxon.): brother of the above; minister of Kimbolton in Hunts; *ætat.* 47. He was a very pronounced Puritan, had been in exile in Holland, and minister there, along with Goodwin, to the English in Arnheim, whence he had but recently returned. He had married a daughter of Stephen Marshall. He was a very active member of Assembly and politician through the time of the Civil War and Commonwealth. After the Restoration he was minister to a private congregation in London, where he died 1672, *ætat.* 76.

PAINTER, HENRY, B.D.: of Exeter. He died before Nov. 2, 1644, and JOHN WARD of Ipswich was appointed in his stead.

PALMER, HERBERT, B.D. (Cantab.): Vicar of Ashwell, Herts, since 1632; *ætat.* 42. He was a very active member, and was appointed at length one of the Assessors to the Prolocutor. His duties in the Assembly preventing him from visiting his own parish except occasionally, he accepted an invitation to be preacher in Duke's Place, London, and afterwards the charge of a new church just built in Westminster, where he had many of the members of the two Houses as his regular hearers. In April 1644 he was made Master of Queen's College, Cambridge; which office he retained till his death in 1647, *ætat.* 46. He was a man of small stature, very puny appearance, and delicate health. His private means were considerable—his father having been a Kentish Knight or Baronet; and one of his accomplishments was skill in French, in which tongue he could speak or preach as well as in English. Before his appointment to the Vicarage of Ashwell, he had been for some years in Canterbury, holding a special lectureship in one of the churches of that city, and once or twice preaching also in French to the French congregation there. On one of these occasions an "ancient French gentlewoman," when she saw him first going into the pulpit, was so startled with his small size that she exclaimed "*Hola! que nous dira cet enfant ici?*"—An interesting fact respecting Palmer, recently discovered by the Rev. A. B. Grosart, is that *he* was the real author of the "Christian Paradoxes," so long attributed to Lord Bacon, and printed in the editions of Bacon's works, and on which so many speculations as to Bacon's religious opinions have been based. See Mr. Grosart's *Lord Bacon not the Author of "The Christian Paradoxes"* (1864), where there is much

information about Palmer. See also a memoir of him, with portrait, in Clarke's *Lives* appended to his *General Martyrologie* (1677).

PASHLEY, CHRISTOPHER, D.D. : of Hawarden, Flintshire.

PEALE, EDWARD : of Compton.—He seems to have died before Dec. 31, 1645 ; on which day the Commons appointed as his successor (confirmed by the Lords Jan. 3, 1645-6) WILLIAM STRONG (Cantab.), Rector of More-Crichel, Dorsetshire, then driven to London by the stress of the Civil War. He was afterwards minister of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and preacher in Westminster Abbey. He died suddenly, July 1654, and was buried in the Abbey.

PERNE, ANDREW (Cantab.) : Rector of Wilby, Northamptonshire ; *ætat.* 49. He died 1654, *ætat.* 60.

PHILLIPS, JOHN : Rector of Wrentham, Suffolk.

PICKERING, BENJAMIN : Rector of East Hoathly, Sussex.

PRICE, WILLIAM : minister of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

PROPHET, NICOLAS : of Marlborough, Wilts.

PYNE, JOHN : Rector of Beer-Ferris, Devon.

REYNOLDS, EDWARD, M.A. (Oxon.) : Rector of Braunston, Northamptonshire ; *ætat.* 44. He was in great repute as a Greek scholar and as a preacher, though with a hoarse voice ; was a zealous Presbyterian and active member of the Assembly ; and, on the Parliamentary Visitation of Oxford, when the Royalist Heads of Colleges were turned out, he became Dean of Christchurch, Vice-Chancellor of the University, and D.D. He persevered in his Puritanism through the rest of the Commonwealth period ; but it was rather a surprise when, after the Restoration, he conformed to the new order of things and let himself be made Bishop of Norwich (Jan. 1, 1660-1). People attributed the change to the influence of a politic wife. He died in 1676, *ætat.* 77.

REYNOR, WILLIAM, B.D. (Cantab.) : Vicar of Egham, Surrey.

SALWAY, ARTHUR, M.A. (Oxon.) : Rector of Severn Stoke, Worcestershire.

SAUNDERSON, ROBERT, D.D. (Oxon.) : Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford. He never took his place in the Assembly, but remained with the King, who held him in high regard and employed him much. He was subsequently ejected from his Professorship by Parliament, but was reinstated at the Restoration, and shortly afterwards promoted to the Bishopric of Lincoln. He died Jan. 1662-3, *ætat.* 75, and, even had he not figured in "Walton's Lives," would have been long remembered as one of the ornaments of the Church of England. His Compendium of Logic had been published in 1615, when he was but a young man.

SCUDDER, HENRY (Cantab.) : Rector of Collingbourn Ducis, Wilts.

SEAMAN, LAZARUS, B.D. (Cantab.) : minister of Allhallows, Bread Street, London—the parish in which Milton had been born, and in the church of which he had been baptized (see Vol. I. p. 27, and pp. 40–41). He was one of the four divines who were chosen to represent London in the Assembly. He had a great reputation as an Orientalist, and "always carried about with him a small Plantin Hebrew Bible without points." He was very active in the Assembly ; and was made Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, on the Parliamentary Visitation of the University, 1644. After the Restoration he was ejected from his Mastership. He died 1667, leaving a valuable library.

SEDGWICK, OBADIAH, B.D. (Oxon.) : Vicar of Coggeshall, Essex ; *ætat.* 43. He was afterwards preacher at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and died Jan. 1657-8, *ætat.* 57.

SIMPSON, SIDRACH (Cantab.) : preacher in London. He had been an exile in Holland during the Laudian rule ; co-pastor there with Bridge to the English in Rotterdam ; and had there imbibed the opinions that made him one of the small party of "Independents" in the Assembly. He continued to preach in London to an Independent congregation till 1650, when he was made Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He died 1658.

SMITH, PETER, D.D. (Cantab.) : Vicar of Barkway, Herts.

SPURSTOW, WILLIAM, M.A. (Cantab.) : Rector of Hampden, Bucks (Hampden's parish). He was one of the "Smectymnuans ;" was afterwards for a time Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge ; then minister of Hackney—from which parish he was ejected after the Restoration. He died 1666.

STAUNTON, EDMUND, D.D. (Oxon.) : Vicar of Kingston-upon-Thames, Surrey ; *ætat.* 42. On the Parliamentary Visitation of Oxford in 1648 he was made President of Corpus Christi College ; but, being ejected at the Restoration, retired into Herts, where he continued to preach till his death in 1671, *ætat.* 70.

STERRY, PETER, B.D. (Cantab.). He had been a Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; but was now a preacher in London. He was a special friend of the younger Sir Harry Vane, and will be more heard of.

STYLES, MATTHIAS, D.D.: of St. George's, Eastcheap, London. He was chosen as one of the representatives of Oxford University in the Assembly.

TAYLOR, FRANCIS, M.A.: Vicar (?) of Yalding, Kent. He was considered a learned Orientalist; and, after serving in the Assembly, he became preacher in Canterbury, where he died after the Restoration.

TEMPLE, THOMAS, D.D. (Oxon.): minister of Battersea, Surrey.

THOROUGHGOOD, THOMAS (Cantab.): of Massingham, Norfolk.

TISDALE, CHRISTOPHER: of Uphurst-Bourne (?), Hants.

TOZER, HENRY, B.D. (Oxon.): Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford University; *ætat.* 41. He afterwards went to Rotterdam, where he became minister to the company of English merchants, and died 1650, *ætat.* 48.

TUCKNEY, ANTHONY, D.D. (Cantab.): Vicar of Boston in Lincolnshire; *ætat.* 44. He was made Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1644; was afterwards Master of St. John's and Regius Professor of Divinity in the same University; but had to give up these offices at the Restoration. He died in London, Feb. 1669-70; *ætat.* 71.

USHER, JAMES, D.D.: Archbishop of Armagh; originally chosen for the Assembly as one of the representatives of Oxford University. He did not go near the Assembly, but remained with the King at Oxford. His appointment was consequently cancelled Oct. 11, 1643, and in his stead there was appointed JOHN BOND, of Exeter.

VALENTINE, THOMAS, B.D.: Rector of Chalfont St. Giles, Bucks.

VINES, RICHARD, M.A. (Cantab.): of Calcott; *ætat.* 43. He had been schoolmaster of Hinckley in Leicestershire, and had had the satirist Cleveland among his pupils (Vol. I. p. 156). He was a most active member of the Assembly; very powerful in debate, and "therefore called their Luther," says Fuller; also "an excellent preacher," and much respected on all accounts. He was made Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, in the Visitation of 1644, and was also minister successively of several London parishes—the last being St. Lawrence Jewry. He died Feb. 1655-6. Only a week before his death, when he was preaching in London, and was so weak in body that the power of his voice had failed, a rude fellow in the congregation (the story is Fuller's) called out "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you." Vines replied, "Lift up your ears, for I can speak no louder."

WALKER, GEORGE, B.D. (Cantab.): Rector of St. John the Evangelist, Watling Street, London. He was of considerable note as an Orientalist and logician; and his "Doctrine of the Holy Weekly Sabbath," published in 1641, was in repute as an exposition of strict Sabbatarianism. He had been imprisoned, and had otherwise suffered for his Puritanism, during Laud's rule. He was first designated for the Assembly as one of the four representatives chosen for the London clergy.

WARD, SAMUEL, D.D. (Cantab.): Master of Sidney-Sussex College (see Vol. I. p. 95). He and Bishop Brownrigge were intended as representatives of Cambridge University in the Assembly; but he declined to attend; was ejected from his Mastership, and died soon after.—In his place in the Assembly was appointed (Sept. 14, 1643) JOHN STRICKLAND, of New Sarum.

WELBY, JAMES: of Selattyn, Shropshire.

WESTFIELD, THOMAS, D.D. (Cantab.): Bishop of Bristol; *ætat.* 70. Though a Bishop, he did make his appearance in the Assembly; and the Parliament had such an esteem for him on account of this compliance that they gave him a pass to Bristol, and allowed him to retain the profits of his Bishopric. He died June 25, 1644, *ætat.* 71.

WHITAKER, JEREMIAH, M.A. (Cantab.): Rector of Stretton, Rutlandshire; *ætat.* 44. He was a man of learning, of high note among the Presbyterians (who punned upon their two *acres*, Gat*aker* and Whit*aker*), and very active in the Assembly. He was made Rector of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey; was incessant in preaching there and elsewhere, and died in 1654. Clarke includes him in his memoirs of Puritan divines appended to his *Martyrologie* (1677).

WHIDDON, FRANCIS, M.A.: Rector of Moreton-Hampstead, Devon.

WHITE, JOHN, M.A. (Oxon.): Rector of Dorchester; *ætat.* 68. He was a man of such great influence in Dorchester, and among all the Puritan clergy around, that he came to be known as "Patriarch White." He was one of the Assessors

to the Prolocutor—the other being Dr. Cornelius Burges, whose sister he had married. In 1644, when Dr. Featley was ejected from the Rectory of Lambeth, it was given to Mr. White, together with a grant of Dr. Featley's library until his own library at Dorchester should be recovered from the King's troops. He died at Dorchester, July 1648, *ætat.* 73.

WILKINSON, HENRY, Sen. B.D. (Oxon.): Rector of Waddesdon, Bucks; *ætat.* 77. This venerable person, chosen on account of his being "an old Puritan," died March 1647-8, *ætat.* 81.

WILKINSON, HENRY, Jun. B.D. (Oxon.): one of the sons of the above; *ætat.* 34. He had been a noted tutor and divinity reader in Magdalen Hall; but, having offended the University authorities by a Puritan sermon in 1640, he had been suspended. Parliament afterwards removed the suspension and ordered the sermon to be printed. He became minister of St. Faith's, and then of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, in London; and was afterwards made Fellow of Magdalen, Canon of Christchurch, Margaret Professor of Divinity, and D.D. Ejected at the Restoration, he lived on as a preacher at Clapham till 1675. He was "an excellent preacher," though his voice was "shrill and whining." He was called "*Long Harry*," to distinguish him from another person of the same name, called *Dean Harry*, who lived till 1690. This *Dean Harry* was also a zealous Puritan and Parliamentarian; but he was not a member of Assembly. There were, in fact, three Henry Wilkinsons alive in 1643, all Oxford men and all Parliamentarians. Neal has confounded *Long Harry* with *Dean Harry*.

WILSON, THOMAS, M.A. (Cantab.): Rector of Otham, Kent; *ætat.* 42. He had formerly been minister of Maidstone, and had been suspended for Puritanism. He lived till 1651.

WINCOP, JOHN, D.D.: of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London.

WINCOP, THOMAS, D.D.: of Elsworth, Cambridgeshire.

YOUNG, THOMAS, M.A. (St. Andrews, Scotland): Vicar of Stowmarket, Suffolk; *ætat.* 56. This is Milton's old preceptor, already so well known to us (Vol. I. pp. 52–57, and 172, 173). To his former merits among the Puritans of England he had recently added that of being one of the "Smectymnuans"—indeed, as we have seen, the chief of that group of five. He was rewarded, in 1644, on the Parliamentary Visitation of Cambridge, with the Mastership of Jesus College in that University; on which occasion his St. Andrews degree of M.A. was changed into a Cambridge one. While attending the Assembly he did duty as a preacher in Duke's Place, Aldgate, succeeding Mr. Herbert Palmer in that charge, when Palmer was transferred to the new church in Westminster.

III.—LAY MEMBERS OF THE ASSEMBLY.

A novelty in the Assembly, significant of the new spirit in ecclesiastical matters that had come to prevail in England, was the presence in it of a certain number of Lay Assessors, appointed by Parliament, with the same rights of deliberation and voting that belonged to the divines. Indeed, in the Ordinance calling the Assembly the names of the lay members are placed first. They were 30 in all—ten from the House of Lords, and 20 from the House of Commons. The following is a list of them, with asterisks prefixed to the names of those that seem to have really taken an effective part in the proceedings:—

PEERS.

The Earls of BEDFORD, HOLLAND, *MANCHESTER, NORTHUMBERLAND, PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY, and SALISBURY; Viscounts CONWAY and *SAYE and SELE; and Lords HOWARD OF ESCRICK and *WHARTON. On the defection of Bedford, Holland, and Conway from the Parliamentary side after the meeting of the Assembly, the Earls of BOLINGBROKE and DENBIGH and Lord GREY OF WARK were substituted for them; and the Earl of ESSEX was superadded on his own account, Jan. 1643-4.

COMMONERS.

BARRINGTON, SIR THOS., Bart. On his death, SIR WILLIAM MASHAM, Bart., was substituted (Dec. 6, 1644).
CLOTWORTHY, SIR JOHN, Knt.
EVELYN, SIR JOHN, Knt.
*GLYNN, JOHN.
MAYNARD, JOHN.
PIERREPOINT, WILLIAM.
PRIDEAUX, EDMUND.
PYM, JOHN. On his death *SIR ROBERT HARLEY was substituted (Dec. 15, 1643).
*ROUS, FRANCIS.
*RUDYARD, SIR BENJAMIN, Knt.
*ST. JOHN, OLIVER.
*SALWAY, HUMPHREY.
*SELDEN, JOHN.
VANE, SIR HENRY, Sen., Knt.
*VANE, SIR HENRY, Jun., Knt.
WHEELER, WILLIAM.
WHITE, JOHN. On his death WILLIAM STRODE was substituted.
*WHITLOCKE, BULSTRODE.
WYLDE, JOHN.
YOUNG, WALTER.

Two Commoners *superadded*, to keep the proportion even between the two Houses, at the time when the Peers superadded Essex (Jan. 3, 1643–4), were SIR ARTHUR HASELRIG, Bart., and ROBERT REYNOLDS.[1]

Such was the famous WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY, called together by the Parliament of England to consider the entire state of the country in matters of Religion. The business entrusted to it was vast and complex. It was to revise and re-define the national creed, after its long lapse into so-called Arminianism and semi-Popish error, and to advise also as to

[1] The preparation of this List of the Members of the Westminster Assembly has been a task of considerable labour; and, with all my pains, I cannot certify that it is perfectly correct.—The basis is the list of the members originally appointed by the Ordinance as given in the Lords Journals under date June 12, 1643. But the names are very carelessly printed there, and are accompanied with very scanty indications respecting the persons to whom they belong. Later entries both in the Lords Journals and in those of the Commons supply the names of members added from time to time. In Neal's *History of the Puritans* there is a list of the original and superadded members of the Assembly (edit. 1795, Vol. III. pp. 50–54); but in that list there are many errors. Prefixed to *Notes of the Proceedings of the Westminster Assembly by George Gillespie* (edited from the MSS. by David Meek: Edin. 1846) there are various lists which I have found useful. But, all in all, I have had to check these lists, and rectify the names both of persons and parishes, by independent research, and especially by reference, in every possible case, to Anthony Wood's *Athenæ et Fasti Oxonienses*.—For the biographical particulars appended to most of the names my authorities have been various. Neal's notices of eminent Nonconformists, scattered through his *History of the Puritans*, have, of course, been consulted. But, in many cases, these notices are simply scraps from Wood; and I have gone, in those cases, to Wood himself. In that great storehouse there is information not only about most of the Oxford men, but also (though indirectly) about some of the Cambridge men. Alas! that Mr. Cooper did not live long enough to add a volume or two more to the two published volumes of his *Athenæ Cantabrigienses!* Had that great work been carried a little farther, what an enriching there would have been, on the Cambridge side, of our materials for English History! As it is, I have ranged for particulars about the Cambridge men in various other quarters—including Fuller's *Worthies*, his *Church History*, &c. Baillie's Letters have furnished me with some items; also Lightfoot's *Notes of the Westminster Assembly* (Works: Vol. XIII.). Hetherington's *History of the Westminster Assembly* (Edin. 1843) is very slight.—The official Minutes of the Assembly by the Scribes, with other relative MSS., are preserved in Williams's Library, London, and have recently been copied with a view to their publication by a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. They will doubtless add much to our present information.

the new system of Church government and the new forms of worship that should come in place of rejected Episcopacy and the condemned Liturgy. For it was still, be it remembered, the universal notion among English politicians that there must be a National Church, and that no man, woman, or child within the land should be permitted to be out of the pale of that Church. It was still the notion that it was possible to frame a certain number of propositions respecting God, Heaven, Angels, Hell, Devils, the Creation of the Universe, the Soul of Man, Sin and its remedy, a life beyond Death, and all the other most tremendous subjects of human contemplation, that should be absolutely true, or at least so just and sure a compendium of truth that the nation must be tied up to it, and it would be wrong to allow any man, woman, or child, subject to the law of England, to be astray from it in any item. This was the notion, and those 149 persons were appointed to frame the all-important propositions, or find them out by a due revision of the old Articles, and to report to Parliament on that subject, as well as on the subjects of Church organization and Forms of Worship.

The appointment, among the original 149 or 150 members of Assembly,[1] of such persons as Archbishop Usher, Bishops Brownrigge and Westfield, Featley, Hacket, Hammond, Holdsworth, Morley, Nicolson, Saunderson, and Samuel Ward—all of them defenders of an Episcopacy of some kind—seems hardly reconcilable with the very terms of the Ordinance calling the Assembly. That Ordinance implied that Episcopacy was condemned and done with, and it convoked the Assembly for the express purpose of considering, among other things, what should be put in its stead. It may have been thought, however, that it would impart a more liberal and eclectic character to the Assembly to send a sprinkling of

[1] Some vigilant reader may have taken the trouble of counting my list of the original members of Assembly, and observed that they are *not* 149, but 150. This is accounted for by my having included PETER STERRY among the divines. He had been one of the fourteen divines proposed by the Lords in May 1642; and, though he is not named in the Ordinance of June 1643, he certainly was in the Assembly almost, if not altogether, from the first (Baillie, II. 110). The Ordinance may have intended a total of 150 (120 divines and 30 laymen); and the omission of Sterry's name in the copy in the Lords Journals may be accidental.

known Anglicans into it; or it may have been thought right to give some of the most respected of these an opportunity of retrieving themselves by acquiescing in what they could not prevent.[1] As it chanced, however, the refusal of most of these to appear in the Assembly at all, and the all but immediate dropping-off of the one or two who did appear at first, saved the Assembly much trouble. It became thus a compact body, fit for its work, and in the main of one mind and way of thinking on some of the problems submitted to it.

In respect of theological doctrine, for example, the Assembly, as it was then left, was practically unanimous. They were, almost to a man, Calvinists, or Anti-Arminians, pledged by their antecedents to such a revision of the Articles as should make the national creed more distinctly Calvinistic than before. Moreover, they were agreed as to their method for determining doctrine. It was to be the rigid application of the Protestant principle that the Bible is the sole rule of Faith. The careful interpretation of Scripture—*i.e.* the collecting, on any occasion of discussion, of all the texts in the Old and New Testaments bearing on the point discussed, and the examination of these texts singly and in their connexion, and in the original tongues when necessary, so as to ascertain their exact sense—this was the understood rule with them all. Learning was, indeed, in demand, and the chief scholars, especially the chief Hebraists and Rabbinists, of the Assembly were much looked up to: there might be references also to the Fathers and to Councils; no kind of historical lore but would be welcome: only all must subserve the one purpose of interpreting Scripture; and Fathers, Councils, and what not, could be cited not as authorities, but only as witnesses. This understanding as to the determination of doctrine by the

[1] It ought to be remembered too that all these persons had been nominated for the Assembly more than a year before it actually met, and while the war had not yet begun. It was with difficulty even then that the Commons accepted Dr. Hammond among the fourteen nominees of the Lords. They did so only in consequence of the "large testimony of him" given by divers of the Lords, who desired the Commons not to 'put that disgrace upon him' of refusing him after he had been nominated (Commons Journals, June 1, 1642).

Bible alone, accompanied as it was by a nearly unanimous pre-conviction that it was the Calvinistic body of doctrines alone that could be reasoned out of the Bible, was to keep the Assembly, I repeat, pretty much together from the first in matters of creed and theology. For perplexing questions as to the extent and limits of the inspiration of the Bible had not yet publicly arisen to invalidate the accepted method. There were the germs of such questions in the theological mind of England, as elsewhere in Europe; and they were perhaps not unrepresented in the thoughts of some in the Assembly. The conditions were, however, such as to crush such thoughts down into secrecy. Only in one form perhaps was there known to be represented by some few in the Assembly a principle of Biblical interpretation that might possibly lead to differences of theology and to deviations from Calvinism. This was the principle of the "Inner Light," or an intuition of Divine Truth, by the gift of the Spirit, in each individual heart. This principle, not being in conflict with the cardinal maxim of Protestantism respecting the Bible, could hardly be directly opposed; but dangers from it were foreseen. For, once let this "Inner Light" be the best interpreter of Scripture, and the standard of sound doctrine would no longer be the distinct objective standard of what the Bible says, but would tend rather to shift itself into each man's constitutional fervours and excitements playing over the Bible in the vague, or over what in it pleased him best!

It was, however, only or mainly on the question of Church Government that the Assembly knew itself from the first to be divided into parties. Or, rather, it was on this question that the Assembly, more distinctly than it could have foreseen at first, did divide itself into parties. But that is a story for our next Volume, and for which the remainder of this Volume must be regarded meanwhile as an absolutely necessary preparation.

BOOK IV.

English Presbyterianism and English Independency: their History to 1643.

BOOK IV.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANISM AND ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY: THEIR HISTORY TO 1643.

AT the time of the meeting of the Westminster Assembly there was a tradition in the Puritan mind of England of two varieties of opinion as to the form of Church-government or discipline that should be substituted for Episcopacy.

ENGLISH PRESBYTERIANISM.

In the first place, there was a tradition of the system of views known as PRESBYTERIANISM:—From the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, if not earlier, there had been Nonconformists who held that some form of the consistorial model which Calvin had set up in Geneva, and which Knox enlarged for Scotland, was the best for England too. Thus Fuller, who dates the use of the term "Puritans," as a nickname for the English Nonconformists generally, from the year 1564, and who goes on to say that within a few years after that date the chief of those to whom that term was first applied were either dead or very aged, adds, "Behold "another generation of active and zealous Nonconformists "succeeded them: of these Coleman, Button, Halingham, "and Benson (whose Christian names I cannot recover) "were the chief; inveighing against the established Church-"discipline, accounting everything from Rome that was not "from Geneva, endeavouring in all things to conform the "government of the English Church to the Presbyterian "Reformation." Actually, in 1572, Fuller proceeds to tell

us, a Presbytery, the first in England, was set up at Wandsworth in Surrey; *i.e.* in that year a certain number of ministers of the Church of England organized themselves privately, without reference to Bishops or other authorities, into a kind of Presbyterial consistory, or classical court, for the management of the Church-business of their neighbourhood. The heads of this Presbyterian movement, which gradually extended itself to London, were Mr. Field, lecturer at Wandsworth, Mr. Smith of Mitcham, Mr. Crane of Roehampton, Messrs. Wilcox, Standen, Jackson, Bonham, Saintloe, Travers, Charke, Barber, Gardiner, Crook, and Egerton; with whom were associated a good many laymen. A summary of their views on the subject of Church-government was drawn out in Latin, under the title *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra ex Dei Verbo descripta*, and, though it had to be printed at Geneva, became so well known that, according to Fuller, "*secundum* "*usum Wandsworth* was as much honoured by some as "*secundum usum Sarum* by others."

The English Presbyterianism thus asserting itself and spreading found its ablest and most energetic leader in the famous Thomas Cartwright (1535—1603). No less by practical ingenuity than by the pen, he laboured for Presbytery; and under his direction Presbyterianism attained such dimensions that, between 1580 and 1590, there were no fewer than 500 beneficed clergymen of the Church of England, most of them Cambridge men, all pledged to general agreement in a revised form of the Wandsworth Directory of Discipline, all in private intercommunication among themselves, and all meeting occasionally, or at appointed times, in local conferences, or even in provincial and general synods. In addition to London, the parts of the country thus most leavened with Presbyterianism were the shires of Warwick, Northampton, Rutland, Leicester, Cambridge, and Essex. Of course, such an anomaly, of a Presbyterian organization of ministers existing within the body of the Prelatic system established by law, and to the detriment or disintegration of that system, could not be tolerated; and, when Whitgift had procured sufficient information to enable him to seize and prosecute the chiefs,

it was, in fact, stamped out. But the recollection of Cartwright and of Presbyterian principles remained in the English mind through the reigns of James and Charles, and characterised the main mass of the more effective and respectable Puritanism of those reigns. In other words, most of those Puritans, whether ministers or of the laity, who still continued members of the Church, only protesting against some of its rules and ceremonies, conjoined with this nonconformity in points of worship a dissatisfaction with the Prelatic constitution of the Church, and a willingness to see the order of Bishops removed, and the government of the Church remodelled on the Presbyterian system of parochial courts, classical or district meetings, provincial synods, and national assemblies. During the supremacy of Laud, indeed, when any such wholesale revolution seemed hopeless, it is possible that English Puritanism within the Church had abandoned in some degree its dreamings over the Presbyterian theory, and had sunk, through exhaustion, into mere sighings after a relaxation of the established Episcopacy. But the success of the Presbyterian Revolt of the Scots in 1638, and their continued triumph in the two following years, had worked wonders. All the remains of native Presbyterian tradition in England had been kindled afresh, and new masses of English Puritan feeling, till then acquiescent in Episcopacy, had been whirled into a passion for Presbytery and nothing else. When the Long Parliament, at its first meeting (Nov. 1640), addressed itself to the question of a Reform of the English Church, the force that beat against its doors most strongly from the outside world of English opinion consisted, as we have seen, no longer of mere sighings after a limitation of Episcopacy, but of a formed determination of myriads to have done with Episcopacy root and branch, and to see a Church-government substituted somewhat after the Scottish pattern. What were the dimensions of this revived and newly-created English Presbyterianism at that date, both among the clergy and among the laity, we have already tried to estimate (*antè*, pp. 199, 200).

Two years more of discussion in and out of Parliament

had vastly enlarged those dimensions. The passion for Presbytery among the English laity had pervaded all the counties; and scores and hundreds of parish-ministers who had kept as long as they could within the limits of mere Low-Church Anglicanism, and had stood out, in their private reasonings, for the lawfulness and expediency of an order of officers in the Church superior to that of simple Presbyters, if less lordly than the Bishops, had been swept out of their scruples, and had joined themselves, even heartily, to the Presbyterian current. Thus, when the Westminster Assembly met (July 1643), to consider, among other things, what form of Church-government the Parliament should be advised to establish in England in lieu of the Episcopacy which it had been resolved to abolish, the injunction almost universally laid upon them by already-formed opinion among the Parliamentarians of England, whether laity or clergy out of the Assembly, seemed to be that they should recommend conformity with Scottish Presbytery. All the citizenship, all the respectability of London, for example, was resolutely Presbyterian, and of the 120 parish-ministers of the city, surrounding the Assembly, only three, so far as could be ascertained, were not of strict Presbyterian principles.[1]

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—I. BROWNISM AND THE FIRST BROWNISTS (1580—1592).

Nevertheless, amid all this apparent prevalence of Presbyterianism, there was a stubborn tradition in England of another set of Anti-Prelatic views, long stigmatized by the nickname of BROWNISM, but known latterly as INDEPENDENCY or CONGREGATIONALISM.

Independents and Presbyterians are quite agreed in maintaining that the terms 'Bishop,' or Overseer, and 'Presbyter,' or Elder, were synonymous in the pure or primitive Church, and applied indifferently to the same persons, and that Prelacy

[1] Fuller's Church History (edit. 1842), II. 480-81, 505, and III. 105—121; Neal's Puritans (edit. 1793), I. 265-6, 295-6, 391-2, and 422-3; Hallam's Const. Hist. (10th edit.), I. 207; Baillie, II. 192.

and all its developments were subsequent corruptions. The peculiar tenet of Independency, distinguishing it from Presbyterianism, consists in something else. It consists in the belief that the only organization recognised in the primitive Church was that of the voluntary association of believers into local congregations, each choosing its own office-bearers and managing its own affairs, independently of neighbouring congregations, though willing occasionally to hold friendly conferences with such neighbouring congregations, and to profit by the collective advice. Gradually, it is asserted, this right or habit of occasional friendly conference between neighbouring congregations had been mismanaged and abused, until the true independency of each voluntary society of Christians was forgotten, and authority came to be vested in Synods or Councils of the office-bearers of the churches of a district or province. This usurpation of power by Synods or Councils, it is said, was as much a corruption of the primitive Church-discipline as was Prelacy itself, or the usurpation of power by eminent individual Presbyters, assuming the name of 'Bishops' in a new sense. Nay, the one usurpation had prepared the way for the other; and, especially after the establishment of Christianity in the Roman Empire by the civil power, the two usurpations had gone on together, until the Church became a vast political machinery of Councils, smaller or larger, regulated by a hierarchy of Bishops, Archbishops, and Patriarchs, all pointing to the Popedom. The error of the Presbyterians, it is maintained, lies in their not perceiving this natural and historical connexion of the two usurpations, and so retaining the Synodical tyranny while they would throw off the Prelatic. Not having recovered the true original idea of an *ecclesia* as consisting simply of a society of individual Christians meeting together periodically and united by a voluntary compact, while the great invisible Church of a nation or of the world consists of the whole multitude of such mutually-independent societies harmoniously moved by the unseen Spirit present in all, Presbyterians, it is said, substitute the more mechanical image of a visible collective Church for each community or nation, try to

perfect that image by devices borrowed from civil polity, and find the perfection they seek in a system of National Assemblies, Provincial Synods, and district Courts of Presbyters, superintending and controlling individual congregations. Independency, on the other hand, would purify the aggregate Church to the utmost, by throwing off the Synodical tyranny as well as the Prelatic, and restoring the complete power of discipline to each particular church or society of Christians formed in any one place.

So, I believe, though with varieties of expression, English Independents argue now. But, while they thus seek the original warrant for their views in the New Testament and in the practice of the primitive Church, and while they maintain also that the essence of these views was rightly revived in old English Wycliffism, and perhaps in some of the speculations which accompanied Luther's Reformation on the Continent, they admit that the theory of Independency had to be worked out afresh by a new process of the English mind in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they are content, I believe, that the crude immediate beginning of that process should be sought in the opinions propagated, between 1580 and 1590, by the erratic Robert Brown, a Rutlandshire man, bred at Cambridge, who had become a preacher at Norwich. Here and there in England by his tongue during those ten years, and sometimes by pamphlets in exile, Brown, who could boast that he had been "committed to thirty-two prisons, in some of which he could not see his hand at noon-day," and who escaped the gallows only through some family connexion he had with the all-powerful Lord Burleigh, had preached doctrines far more violently schismatic than those of Cartwright and the majority of the Puritans. His attacks on Bishops and Episcopacy were boundlessly fierce; and the duty of separation *in toto* from the Church of England, the right of any number of persons to form themselves into a distinct congregation, the mutual independence of congregations so formed, and the liberty of any member of a congregation to preach or exhort in it, were among his leading tenets. At length, tiring of the tempest he had

raised around him, he accepted a living in Northamptonshire; and, though he is not known to have ever formally recanted any of his opinions, he lived on in his parsonage till as late as 1630, when Fuller knew him as a passionate and rather disreputable old man of eighty, employing a curate to do his work, quarrelling with everybody, and refusing to pay his rates. Meanwhile the opinions which he had propagated fifty years before had passed through a singular history in the minds and lives of men of steadier and more persevering character. For, though Brown himself had vanished from public view since 1590, the Brownists, or Separatists, as they were called, had persisted in their course, through execration and persecution, as a sect of outlaws beyond the pale of ordinary Puritanism, and with whom moderate Puritans disowned connexion or sympathy. One hears of considerable numbers of them in the shires of Norfolk and Essex, and throughout Wales; and there was a central association of them in London, holding conventicles in the fields, or shifting from meeting-house to meeting-house in the suburbs, so as to elude Whitgift's ecclesiastical police. At length, in 1592, the police broke in upon one of the meetings of the London Brownists at Islington; fifty-six of these were thrown into divers jails; and, some of the Separatist leaders having been otherwise arrested, there ensued a vengeance far more ruthless than the Government dared against Puritans in general. Six of the leaders were brought to the scaffold, including Henry Barrowe, a Gray's Inn lawyer (of such note among those early Brownists by his writings that they were also called Barrowists), John Greenwood, a preacher, and the poor young Welshman, John Penry, whose brave and simple words on his own hard case, addressed before his death to Lord Burleigh, thrill one's nerves yet. All these were of Cambridge training, though Penry had also been at Oxford. Others died in prison; and of the remainder many were banished.———Among the observers of these severities was Francis Bacon, then rising into eminence as a politician and lawyer. His feeling on the subject was thus expressed

at the time: "As for those which we call Brownists, being, "when they were at the most, a very small number of very "silly and base people here and there in corners dispersed, "they are now (thanks be to God) by the good remedies "that have been used suppressed and worn out, so as there "is scarce any news of them." Bacon, doubtless, here expressed the feeling of all that was respectable in English society. For not only was it the theory of Brownism intrinsically that the Church of England was a false Church, an institution of Antichrist, from which all Christians were bound to separate themselves; but the scurrilities against the Bishops that had been vented anonymously by some particular nest of Brownists, or their allies, in the famous series of *Martin Marprelate Tracts* (1589) had disgusted and enraged many who would have tolerated moderate Nonconformity.[1]

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—II. THE ENGLISH SEPARATISTS IN HOLLAND (1592—1620).

Bacon was mistaken in supposing that Brownism was extinguished. Hospitable Holland received and sheltered what England cast out. Amsterdam was their first refuge. Hither, between 1593 and 1608, there migrated gradually a little colony of English Brownists, distinct from the resident Church of England men and the Scottish Presbyterians who were pretty numerous in the city. They were pious, mutually critical, and full of a ferment of they knew not what. History has preserved the names of only the chiefs, the elected pastors and teachers of these Brownist outcasts in Amsterdam; but they are names not to be forgotten.

[1] Fuller's Church History, III. 62—66; Neal's Puritans, I. 328—333, and 468—486; Hanbury's Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, Vol. I. (1839) pp. 18—83; Fletcher's History of Independency (1847), II. 97—206; Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches and Meeting-houses in London (1808), I. 13—20; Bacon's *Observations on a Libel* (1592), in Bacon's Letters and Life by Spedding, Vol. I. p. 165.

Francis Johnson, who had been pastor of the suppressed London congregation, and the friend of Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry, was the first pastor of the Amsterdam congregation of Brownists, and was assisted by Henry Ainsworth, as doctor or teacher. Johnson was of Cambridge education, and had been in orders in the Church of England. Of Ainsworth's antecedents nothing is known; which is the more to be regretted as he was, by universal consent, the most profoundly learned of all the Brownists, and a man of fine character and zeal. He turns up in Amsterdam in 1593, "living upon ninepence a week and some boiled roots," but recommending himself to the booksellers and printers by his knowledge of Hebrew. Later arrivals in Amsterdam than he and Johnson were—John Smyth, who had been a clergyman in Lincolnshire before joining the Brownists; Henry Jacob, of Oxford training, who had been a clergyman in Kent; Richard Clifton, formerly rector of Babworth in Nottinghamshire, and then a Separatist preacher at Scrooby in the same county; and John Robinson, educated at Cambridge, and first a clergyman in Norwich, and then Clifton's colleague at Scrooby. Thus in 1608 there were six Separatist or Brownist ministers altogether in Amsterdam.

The six proved too many for one town. There were splits and controversies among them on this point or that, Smyth in particular tending to Arminianism and Anabaptism. Hence at length a dispersion. Ainsworth persevered in Amsterdam, preaching, publishing, and highly respected, till his death in 1622; Clifton also remained in Amsterdam, where he died in 1616; Johnson, after remaining for some time in Amsterdam in opposition to Ainsworth, removed to Emden, where there is little farther trace of him or his congregation; Jacob went to Middleburg; and Smyth and Robinson went to Leyden, though Smyth retained some hold on Amsterdam. These two last may be followed a little farther. They represented between them the split that had already begun to declare itself among the English Brownists in Holland.———The essence of the question seems to have been whether that original tenet of Brownism

should be retained in its full vehemence which denounced the Church of England as an utterly false and abominable Church, all whose ordinances were null and void. It was mainly this tenet that made the difference between the moderate Puritans or Presbyterians and the Brownists; and the latter were called Separatists on account of it. Now, Smyth, adhering to the tenet, had pushed it to a logical consequence not ventured on by the Separatists before him. If the ordination of the Church of England were rejected, so that her ministers had to be reordained when they became pastors and teachers of Separatist congregations, why was the baptism of the Church of England accounted valid, why were not members of that Church rebaptized when they became Separatists? Through the prosecution of this query, aided by other investigations, Smyth had developed his Separatism into the form known as Anabaptism, not only requiring the rebaptism of members of the Church of England, but rejecting the baptism of infants altogether, and insisting on immersion as the proper Scriptural form of the rite. "The Separation," he wrote, "must either go "back to England, or go forward to true Baptism: all that "shall in time to come separate from England must separate "from the baptism of England; and, if they will not separate "from the baptism of England, there is no reason why they "should separate from England as from a false Church." It was even said that Smyth, to make sure there should be no flaw in his own baptism, had performed the rite on himself; and he accordingly figures in satires of the time as "Smyth, the Se-Baptist." Certain it is that the obscure congregation he formed in Leyden, or shifted between Amsterdam and Leyden, was one of extreme Separatists, who were also Baptists, and with peculiarities besides in their doctrines and worship. Of this congregation he was pastor till his death in 1610, when he was succeeded by a Thomas Helwisse, one of their oldest members, a plain man, of pragmatic notions, and quite self-taught.———Meanwhile, side by side with Smyth, and in constant controversy with him on Baptism and other points of difference, John Robinson had formed

in Leyden a much more flourishing congregation on broader principles. Robinson's place in the history of Independency is, indeed, especially important. Though he seems to have been a rigid Brownist, or Barrowist, when he went into exile, a natural breadth and liberality of mind, and farther study and experience, had led him to a more moderate view of the duty and rights of Separation. While holding that the errors and defects of the Church of England and of the other Reformed Churches were so serious as to justify and require the formation of separate congregations, he would not join the extreme Separatists in denying that these were true Churches; on the contrary, he defended and practised Christian intercourse with them as far as might be. "For "myself," he wrote, "thus I believe with my heart before "God, and profess with my tongue before the world: That I "have one and the same faith, hope, spirit, baptism, and "Lord, which I had in the Church of England, and none "other; that I esteem so many in that Church, of what "state and order soever, as are truly partakers of that faith "(as I account many thousands to be) for my Christian "brethren, and myself a fellow-member with them of that "mystical Body of Christ scattered far and wide throughout "the world." Hence he would attend Church of England places of worship, if no other were at hand, with the fullest friendliness and affection, and he would admit members of that Church to communion in prayer and hearing the Word, though not in express "Church-actions." Henry Jacob had taken a similar view of the question of Separation; but Robinson's advocacy was so much more public that it was identified with him, and he was spoken of as the author of a theory which might be called *Semi-Separatism*. Then, on various points, he helped to give dignity and precision to the system of the Separatist Church-discipline, till then called Brownism. That name he abjured, and advised all his adherents to abjure, as a mere term of obloquy, tending to conceal the claim of their system to an authority in Scripture and in the history of the primitive Church. He argued that claim afresh. "He maintained that every

"church or society of Christians had complete power within "itself to choose its own officers, to administer all Gospel-"ordinances, and to exercise all acts of authority and dis-"cipline over its members; consequently that it was inde-"pendent upon all classes, synods, convocations, and councils. "He allowed, indeed, the expediency of these grave as-"semblies for reconciling differences among churches, and "giving their friendly advice, but not for the exercise of "any authority without the free consent of the churches "themselves." In a still more intricate question, which had arisen among the Anglo-Dutch Independents, Robinson had assisted to a decision. Within each congregation or society of Christians, where should the power lie, or how should it be distributed? After the members had elected their officers, was the power to be in these officers, as the congregational eldership or presbytery, or was the voice of the whole body of the members still, in the last resort, to determine all matters affecting the congregation, including the deposition of officers? A strife having occurred on this vital question in the Amsterdam congregation, Robinson from Leyden had suggested a practical compromise, but still on the principle that the power in each congregation belonged ultimately to the whole body of the members. In this view he had Ainsworth with him, and also Jacob; and it passed as an accepted article into the creed of Independency. In short, so active was Robinson in writing and scheming as well as in preaching, so powerful were his qualities of head and heart, and so strongly did he impress himself in all ways upon the new Church-discipline forming itself among the English exiles in the Dutch towns, that he is regarded to this day as the real founder of modern Independency, or Congregationalism proper. He died at Leyden, March 1, 1624-5, at the age of fifty years, greatly regretted not only by his own people, but also by all the Dutch of the city.[1]

[1] Hanbury's Memorials of Independents, I. 83—389, and 457—463; Fletcher's History of Independency, II. 207—291, and III. 1—26; Wilson's Dissenting Churches of London, I. 18—36; Ivimey's History of the English Baptists, Vol. I. (1811) pp. 113—122; Neal's Puritans, II. 43—49.

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—III. SEPARATIST CONGREGATIONS IN LONDON, ETC. (1610—1632).

While Holland was thus sheltering the Separatists, extending to them the same hospitality that she gave to the Presbyterian exiles from Scotland and England who also lived in her towns, and nursing their principles into theory and system, and affording them room even for schisms and differences among themselves, England was not quite rid of them. Through the reign of James their pamphlets and treatises were imported from Holland, and kept up the excitement about what was still called Brownism. Their divisions and controversies among themselves were heard of with satisfaction by orthodox Church-of-England men, and even by moderate Puritans, as proving to the world the ruinous tendency of their main principle of Separation; and Smyth's lapse into Anabaptism and other heresies was dilated on half with glee and half with horror. Among the chief denouncers of the Brownists was Bishop Hall, not yet Bishop, but only rector of a parish in Essex. His *Common Apologie of the Church of England against the Brownists*, published in 1610, was but one of several writings of his on this subject. In one of these, addressing Smyth and Robinson as "ringleaders of the late Separation," he bids them compare the England they had left with the new country they had chosen. "Lo! "there a common harbour of all opinions, of all heresies: here "you drew in the free and clear air of the Gospel, without "that odious composition of Judaism, Arianism, Anabaptism; "there you live in the stench of these and more." Nor was this mere fighting with windmills. Although the more prominent Separatists had been driven abroad, wrecks of their following had remained in England, meeting secretly in conventicles as they had done in Elizabeth's time, and giving trouble to Archbishop Bancroft, the diocesans, and the civil authorities. At length, the strict Bancroft having been

succeeded in the Primacy by the comparatively mild Abbot (1611), two bands of the exiled Separatists ventured to return from Holland and form congregations in London. First, in or about 1611, there came over the broken remains of Smyth's Leyden or Amsterdam sect of extreme Separatists, or Baptists, led by their new pastor, Thomas Helwisse, and by an assistant of his, named John Murton. Thus was formed, in some obscure retreat in London, the exact place not ascertained, if indeed there was any fixed place, what is now regarded as the first society of General Baptists in England, *i.e.* of those Baptists who profess a theology rather Arminian than Calvinistic. About five years later, or in 1616, Mr. Henry Jacob returned from Middleburg with some of his friends, and, after much consultation, established in London another Congregationalist church, on the milder principles of Separatism agreed upon between him and Robinson. This, accordingly, is generally spoken of as the first Independent church in London, though Helwisse's Baptist church, in respect of its discipline, was also on the Independent principle. Jacob continued to be pastor of the church which he had founded till 1624, when he emigrated to America at the age of over sixty, leaving as his successor a John Lathorp, a Cambridge man, who had renounced orders in the Church of England. The difficulties of Lathorp and his little congregation increased after Charles had come to the throne, and especially after Laud had become Bishop of London (1628). For a year or two they contrived, by shifting their places of meeting, to avoid detection; but at length, April 29, 1632, they were pounced upon by Laud's officers in a house in Blackfriars, and forty-two of them, including Lathorp, were thrown into prison. Laud's influence in Church and State being supreme, and even moderate Puritanism or Presbyterianism being under ban, it seemed *à fortiori* as if Independency or Separatism would be stamped out in England, and there would be no refuge for it but in Holland.[1]

[1] Hanbury's Memorials, I. 185 *et seq.*; Wilson's Dissenting Churches in London, I. 30, and 39, 40; Ivimey's Baptists, I. 122, and II. 503—506.

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—IV. THE NEW ENGLAND EMIGRATION, AND CHURCH OF NEW ENGLAND (1620—1640).

Not so! Populous Holland, with its towns and canals, was still at hand; but there was now another and wider refuge for Separatists, and for persecuted opinions of all sorts, in the world beyond the Atlantic.

"Why do you not take yourselves off to Virginia?" had been the taunt to the more troublesome English Puritans almost from the beginning of the reign of James, when much of the coastline of the present United States was still vaguely known by the name of Virginia, originally given to it by Raleigh. Some Puritans had actually been among the first settlers in this Virginia in 1608, and more would have gone if they had not been stopped by Bancroft. Not till about 1617, by which time what had been called "North Virginia" had begun to acquire the special name of NEW ENGLAND, does the notion of a colonization of those parts by Puritans in the mass appear to have dawned fully on any mind. It dawned first among the English Independents in exile in Holland, and chiefly among those of Robinson's congregation in Leyden. Although they had prospered in Holland, or at least managed to live there, they felt it "grievous to live from under the protection of the State of England;" they could not bear the thought of "losing their language and their name of English;" they disliked the laxness of the Dutch in the matter of the Sabbath, and feared for the morals of their children in consequence; and they concluded that, "if God would be pleased to discover some place unto them, though in America," they might by going thither "more glorify God, do more good to "their country, better provide for their posterity, and live to be "more refreshed by their labours, than ever they could do in "Holland, where they were." Accordingly, after a year or two of preparation, and negotiation with the English Government, there was founded the famous first colony of New England, known as *The Settlement of New Plymouth* (1620). The original settlers of this colony, the first Pilgrim Fathers of America,

were an express detachment of Independents from Holland, with others from England, organized by Robinson. They were sent across the Atlantic, as we have seen (Vol. I. 397, 380), with his blessing, and with his parting instructions for the preservation of their Independency. He would have gone with them himself, but for fear that the English Government would in that case have drawn back and prevented the emigration at the last moment. It was his intention, however, to follow when he could, and cast in his lot with the infant colony. That intention never took effect, and Robinson died in Holland while the colony was still struggling in its beginnings. But the men who superintended those beginnings were Robinson's emissaries, and imbued with his spirit; and, when the news of his death reached the colony in the fifth year of its existence, just as prosperity was beginning to reward the hardships and toil of the four preceding years, those who had so recently parted from him gathered together in their rude dwellings to speak of him, and there was sorrow that the one man of all the world to whom the rising society owed its origin, and whom it had longed most to welcome into the midst of it, had died without beholding the work of his hands.[1] His chief substitute in the colony, and long its leading teacher, was William Brewster, a man somewhat older than Robinson, originally one of the English Separatists in Nottinghamshire, and afterwards a venerated elder in Robinson's church in Leyden, where he carried on also the business of a printer. He had studied at Cambridge University, and had been in employment about the English court in his youth.

From the landing of Robinson's first little company of 102 emigrants from Holland and England on the American coast (Nov. 1620) to the meeting of the Long Parliament (Nov. 1640) was a period of exactly twenty years. During those twenty years, and especially after Laud's ascendancy in Church and State had made the condition of the Puritans in England

[1] Hanbury's Memorials of Independents, I. 389—403 (where there is a list of the forty-one first adult male colonists); Palfrey's History of New England, Vol. I. (1859) pp. 145—172, and pp. 224-5; Fletcher's Hist. of Independency, III. 78, 79.

more and more precarious, the emigration had gone on apace. Laud, indeed, did all he could to frustrate it, and to keep the Puritans at home to be dealt with, just as he tried, through the Dutch Government, to reach and control the English Separatists in Holland. Still, year after year, companies of English Puritans contrived to ship themselves off for the New World, intermingled with detachments of the residuary exiles in Holland, who had learnt to think of America as a more desirable refuge. In a satirical ballad of the year 1639 the advantages of New England are thus set forth by an English Puritan supposed to be addressing his neighbours:—

My brethren all, attend ye,
And list to my relation;
This is the day, mark what I say,
Tends to your renovation.
Stay not among the wicked,
Lest that here with them you perish;
But let us to New England go,
And the Pagan people cherish.
Then for Truth's sake come along, come along;
Leave this place of superstition:
Wer't not for we that Brethren be,
You would sink into perdition.

There you may teach our hymns too
Without the law's controlment;
We need not fear the Bishops there,
Nor spiritual courts' enrolment.
The surplice shall not fright us,
Nay, nor superstition's blindness;
Nor scandals rise when we disguise,
And our sisters kiss in kindness.
Then for Truth's sake come along, &c.

For company I fear not:
There goes my cousin Hannah;
And Reuben so persuades to go
My cousin Joyce, Susanna,
With Abigail and Faithful;
And Ruth no doubt will come after;
And Sarah kind won't stay behind,
My own cousin Constance' daughter.
Then for Truth's sake come along, &c.[1]

[1] Quoted in Hanbury's Memorials (II. 41) from "The Rump; or, an Exact Collection of the choicest Poems and Songs relating to the late times: By the most eminent Wits, from *anno* 1639 to *anno* 1661;" published 1662.

This is a ribald representation of what was a most serious and momentous fact. In the twenty years under notice, it is calculated, about 300 ships, carrying 4,000 families, at a cost of 200,000*l.*, had gone over from English and Dutch ports, so that in 1640 the total immigrant population of New England consisted of 21,000 or 22,000 persons. By that time this sturdy little population had spread itself, in rough towns and villages, mostly with names taken from the dear English towns at home, along its selected portion of the American coast, seized or partly bought from the native Indians. It had also, in some consistency with the charters under which it had come out, but partly also on the spur of will and convenience, organised itself territorially into four distinct bodies-politic called Colonies, with one or two outlying settlements, not recognised yet as Colonies, but called only Plantations. It may be well to present to the eye a kind of word-map of the infant New England that had thus formed itself, with a digest of historical particulars to the year 1640:—

THE FOUR COLONIES.

I. NEW PLYMOUTH, founded 1620.—This colony, schemed by Robinson of Leyden, and founded by his emissaries and their associates from England, remained of small dimensions. Probably not more than 3,000 souls out of the total of 22,000 in New England belonged to it, aggregated chiefly in the original town of PLYMOUTH, but with other incipient townships in the neighbourhood, such as *Duxbury* and *Marshfield*. The constitution of the colony was democratic, *i.e.* the ultimate power was in the whole body of the admitted freemen of the colony, meeting periodically and determining matters by a majority of votes; the right to admit new-comers to the franchise, however, resting with those already in possession of it. The executive was in the hands of a *Governor*, with *Assistants*, elected annually by the freemen. The following is the list of the *Governors* of the colony from its commencement till 1640:—John Carver, one of Robinson's deacons at Leyden (1620—21); William Bradford, also one of Robinson's flock, and originally from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire (1621—32); Edward Winslow (1633); Thomas Prince (1634); William Bradford again (1635); Edward Winslow again (1636); William Bradford again (1637); Thomas Prince again (1638); William Bradford again (1639—43). The governorship, it will be noted, often came back to the same hands, and Bradford's tenures of it were long, as well as frequent.

II. MASSACHUSETTS, or MASSACHUSETTS BAY, founded 1629.—The original founders of this colony, immediately north of that of New Plymouth (both colonies lying within what is now the State of Massachusetts), were a mixed body of emigrants from England, but chiefly Puritans of the moderate or Presbyterian type, as distinct from the Separatists. Mr. John White, minister of Dorchester, known among the Puritans as "Patriarch White," had taken much interest in the foundation. The colony, reinforced by fresh arrivals, had by the year 1640 much outstripped that of New Plymouth in size, and may have included as many as 1,4000 souls out of the total of 22,000 constituting New England. The original settlement of the colony had been *Salem;* but, as the colonists increased and ranged out in quest of sites, some score of other townships had been formed, including *Boston*, *Cambridge*, *Lynn*, *Concord*, *Ipswich*, *Watertown*, *Charlestown*, *Hingham*, *Dorchester*, and *Roxbury*. Of all the towns of the colony BOSTON had become distinctly the capital, or seat of government. That government was on very much the same popular or democratic model as had been adopted in New Plymouth; with this important difference, that in Massachusetts Church-membership was a condition of the franchise. The executive was in the hands of *Governors*, *Deputy-Governors*, and *Assistants*, elected annually; and the following is the series of the earliest *Governors*:—John Winthrop the elder, a Suffolk man of old family, educated at Cambridge, and trained for the law (1629—33); Thomas Dudley (1634); John Haynes (1635); Henry Vane the younger (1636); John Winthrop again (1637—39); Thomas Dudley again (1640). Winthrop was the great man in the formation of Massachusetts, though Vane's brief visit to the colony and his year's governorship are worthy of recollection.

III. CONNECTICUT RIVER.—This colony, considerably to the south and west of Massachusetts and New Plymouth, was the result of a movement out of these colonies, in search of richer lands, which had begun about 1635. There had been much fighting with the Indians in establishing the new colony; and it had attained no great dimensions in 1640, numbering then perhaps less than 2,000 souls. *Saybrook*, at the mouth of the Connecticut, and *Wethersfield*, *Hartford*, and *Windsor*, higher up the river, were among the first towns. The government was substantially as in Plymouth and Massachusetts, but without the Massachusetts rule requiring Church-membership as a qualification for the franchise. The executive consisted of *Governors*, *Deputy-Governors*, and *Magistrates*, elected annually. The first *Governor*, elected in 1639, was John Haynes, who had been Governor of Massachusetts in 1635; the second, elected in 1640, was Edward Hopkins.

IV. NEW HAVEN.—This name was first given to a single town or settlement founded, in 1638, at what had till then been called Quinnipiack, on a fine harbour in Long-Island Sound, thirty miles west of Connecticut River, and verging on what were then the Dutch possessions in America. The founders were a small society

of persons, mostly traders from London, and of some means, who had not found things quite to their mind in Massachusetts, and wanted to try a polity on the strictest Scripture principles. Others and others of similar views following pretty fast to the same part of the coast (now included in the State of Connecticut), *Milford*, *Guilford*, *Greenwich*, and *Southhold* in Long Island, were founded, in addition to *New Haven*. These townships, numbering perhaps less than 2,000 souls in all in 1640, were for the present distinct, each as a little autonomy of freemen duly qualified by Church-membership; and it was not till 1643 that they came definitely together under the general name of NEW HAVEN, with Theophilus Eaton for the first *Governor*. Practically, however, the colony existed in 1640.

OUTLYING PLANTATIONS.

Not strictly within the bounds of any of the four colonies, but distinctly within the bounds of New England, there were at least two patches or stragglings of English population:—(1) *Providence* and *Rhode Island*: These were clusters of families, of peculiarly Separatist opinions, who, finding themselves uncomfortable, and in fact under a ban, in Massachusetts and New Plymouth, had migrated into the country of the Narraganset Indians, then lying like a wedge between New Plymouth and Connecticut, and now forming the State of Rhode Island. *Providence* was the name of a tiny settlement so formed on the mainland at the head of Narraganset Bay in 1636; and the similar settlements of *Portsmouth* and *Newport* on the adjacent island of Rhodes, then called Aquetnet, date from 1638 and 1639. These settlements were of a strictly democratic type, but without the connexion of the franchise with Church-membership. (2) To the vague north and north-east of Massachusetts, in the country now forming the States of New Hampshire and Maine, were similar stragglers. *Dover*, dating from as early as 1631, received subsequent increase; and *Exeter* was founded by a few families from Boston in 1639. Massachusetts claimed the lands where these plantations stood, but they were virtually independent.

Such was infant NEW ENGLAND, separated by the Dutch settlements of New Netherlands from the older and more southern division of England's American possessions known as VIRGINIA. Now not the least distinction of this NEW

[1] My chief authority for the facts I have condensed in this account of New England as far as 1640 is Mr. Palfrey's History of New England: Vol. I. throughout, with tables at the end; and Vol. II. pp. 1—34. Palfrey gives a map; and there is a map, suiting a rather later date, in Cotton Mather's "*Magnalia Christi Americana*: or, Ecclesiastical History of New England from 1620 to 1698" (folio, 1702).

ENGLAND from VIRGINIA, from the mother-country which had given birth to both, and from all other lands then known in the world, lay in the peculiar Church-organization which it had universally adopted. That organization was not Prelatic, was not Presbyterian, but was according to the system of Independency or Congregationalism, as it had been imaged forth by the early Separatists of England, and afterwards matured by the English Separatists in Holland, and especially by Robinson of Leyden. As this fact was to be of great consequence, not only in the history of English America, but also in the history of England herself, it deserves farther elucidation.

New Plymouth, the first of the English colonies, had been a foundation expressly in the interests of Independency, and mainly of the Robinsonian Independency. The venerable William Brewster, Robinson's substitute as the spiritual leader of the colony, lived on in Plymouth to 1643, as "Ruling Elder" of the church there, performing for some time by himself all the duties of the ministry, except the administration of the sacraments (which, Robinson wrote to him, would not be lawful or expedient for one who was but a "Ruling Elder," and not regularly ordained for the ministry), but latterly having associated with him, in the nominally higher office of "pastor," a succession of persons who had been bred for that office in one or other of the English Universities. In that colony, therefore, Congregationalist arrangements prevailed from the first. In the second, or Massachusetts, colony, which did not consist so avowedly of Independents at the outset, but rather of mixed emigrants from England, among whom were a good few Puritans of Presbyterian prepossessions, the same prevalence of Independency might not have been looked for; and, in fact, Messrs. Skelton and Higginson, two silenced Church of England ministers, both of Cambridge education, who came out as first pastors of the colony, were understood to be Presbyterians when they arrived. Whether, however, from the effect of the example and contact of New Plymouth, or from the mere effect of the new conditions of self-government

in knots and townships in which the colonists found themselves, and which Congregationalism in Church-matters seemed to suit, the Church-discipline in this colony too became at once, and without outcry or opposition, substantially Congregationalist. And so, by extension, in Connecticut, New Haven, and the outlying Plantations; which were all in the main off-shoots from Massachusetts and New Plymouth. Hence over all New England the phenomenon of Church Independency, with only such variations in detail as Church Independency might occasion:—The population consisted, ecclesiastically, of an aggregate of Christian societies or congregations, larger or smaller, each perfectly distinct within itself, each bound by its own covenant of doctrinal and moral agreement among all admitted into it, each meeting on Sundays and other days for worship and the sacraments, each electing its own officers, and each managing its own affairs, including the censure or excommunication of erring members, through these officers, or, on occasion, by the votes of the whole body of the male communicants. The place of worship for the congregation of each town was the *meeting-house* of that town, which was also used for assemblies of the citizens for all kinds of public business. In fully furnished congregations the officers consisted of the *Pastor*, or general minister, the *Teacher*, or Scripture expositor, *Ruling Elders*, associated with these two in the exercise of discipline, and *Deacons*, intrusted with money-matters and the relief of the poor.[1] It was always understood that the existence of these

[1] The clearest definition I have found of the nature and reason of these offices, as conceived by the early Independents, is in the Appendix to Robinson's *Apology*, or Explanation of the Principles of Independency, first printed in 1625. There, after defining a Church to be "a company of faithful and holy "people, with their seed, called by the "Word of God into public covenant "with Christ and amongst themselves "for mutual fellowship in the use of all "the means of God's glory and their "salvation," he proceeds to show that five offices are necessary and sufficient in every such Church, arising from the conditions partly of the souls and partly of the bodies of the members:—"1. In "the soul is the faculty of under-"standing; about which the *Teacher* "is to be exercised for a confirmation "of doctrine.—2. The Will and Affec-"tions, upon which the *Pastor* is "especially to work by exhortation "and comfort.—3. For that doctrine "and exhortation without obedience "are unprofitable, the diligence of the "*Ruling Elder* is requisite for that "purpose.—4. And, as the Church con-"sisteth of men, and they of souls and "bodies, so are the *Deacons* out of the "Church's treasure and contributions "to provide for the common uses of the "Church, relief of the poor, and main-

officers did not take away from other members of the congregation the right of occasionally "prophesying," or publicly exhorting in its meetings. In the names and distribution of the officers, too, there was not strict uniformity, and the tendency on the whole was to simplification into the three orders of Minister or Teaching Elder, Ruling Elders, and Deacons. The essential peculiarity was that these officers were officers only in the congregations that had elected them, and so long as they were retained by these. Nor had contiguous congregations any authority over each other. A member of one congregation, whether minister or not, might "prophesy" in another, if invited; and naturally this privilege was exercised by ministers when away from their own churches. There might, also, be meetings of the officers or members of contiguous congregations, or the congregations of a whole district, for mutual consultation and advice; and a congregation, seeing a neighbour congregation going wrong, might remonstrate to that effect, and even publicly disown fellowship with the offending church. There was a haziness or variety of opinion as to the proper extent in the system of Independency of this practice of conferences or councils among neighbour churches, some assigning a value to it which others thought a dangerous concession towards Presbyterianism. In one point this haziness between extreme Separatism and semi-Separatism might occasion practical difficulty. When a minister was elected by a particular congregation, was his ordination to be by that congregation within itself, or was he to be ordained by some ministers of neighbouring churches? On the one hand, the rule of the ordination of the minister of one church by neighbouring ministers might savour somewhat of the notion, repudiated by Independency, that the ministry was a sacred caste among men, transmitting its own virtue by its own inherent powers. On the other, there were reasons of decorum and amity for the co-operation of

"tenance of officers.—5. As are the "*Widows* to afford unto the sick and im- "potent in body, not able otherwise to "help themselves, their cheerful and "comfortable service." (Quoted in Hanbury, I. 389 : Note.) This fifth Church office, that of *Widows* to act as nurses, seems soon to have vanished from the formal or theoretical scheme, though not from Church practice.

ministers conveniently near in the welcome and consecration of the minister whom any congregation had just elected. In practice the former consideration, retaining the act of ordination within each church, seems to have prevailed in New England, for a time at least. Thus, at the formation of the first Massachusetts church, that of Salem (July 1629), when Mr. Skelton had been duly elected "pastor" and Mr. Higginson "teacher," they were, though already ordained ministers of the Church of England, re-ordained specially for their new offices; some three or four of the gravest members of the church first laying their hands on Skelton's head and praying, and then Skelton doing the same for Higginson. But, on the other hand, why was not the venerable Brewster of New Plymouth promoted by his own congregation from the "ruling eldership," which made him practically their sole minister for some time, to the full "pastorate" which would have perfected his services? Information is deficient, and probably New England Independency was gradually clearing its own mind on such minutiæ of its system. One can imagine, however, that, as ministers multiplied in the colonies, the tendency to co-operation among them would naturally show itself, and that consequently Independency would develope more and more the tenet, always reserved for it by Robinson, that there might be a useful and even wide co-ordination of the churches on the principle of mutual advice, consultation, and criticism, though not of compulsion or synodical jurisdiction.[1]

As many as about eighty ministers, almost all of whom had been divines in the Church of England, whether as parish-ministers or lecturers, are known to have been in New England in 1640, distributed, as "pastors" or "teachers," among the churches of the several colonies.[2] This gives about one minister to every 280 souls of the population; so that, even if we suppose each congregation to have had both a "pastor" and a "teacher," many of the congregations must

[1] Palfrey's History of New England, II. 36-44, and I. 231 and 295.

[2] Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia* (Book III. Part 1), gives the names of seventy-seven of the original ministers of New England, with the towns where they severally settled and laboured.

have been very small. The following, arranged alphabetically, are a few of the ministers chiefly deserving notice, in addition to those already mentioned :—

PETER BULKLEY, B.D. of Cambridge, and formerly Fellow of St. John's in that University; then minister of a parish in his native Bedfordshire. After twenty years of incumbency in this parish, where Bishop Williams connived at his nonconformity, Laud's vigilance obliged him to emigrate in 1635, *ætat.* 53. He became minister of Concord in Massachusetts, and lived till 1658-9. A book of his, called *The Gospel Covenant*, was one of the first specimens of New England authorship.[1]

CHARLES CHAUNCEY, B.D. of Cambridge, and some time lecturer in that University in Greek and Hebrew; afterwards minister of Ware in his native county of Herts. Having suffered much for nonconformity at home, he emigrated in 1638, when he was about forty-eight years of age; became minister to the New Plymouth Church, in association with Brewster; but, after a year or two, went to Massachusetts. He lived to 1671, attaining higher distinction in that colony.[2]

JOHN COTTON, B.D. of Cambridge, formerly Fellow of Emanuel College there; afterwards, as minister of Boston, Lincolnshire, a great man among the English Nonconformists, and much persecuted by Laud. In 1633 he escaped with difficulty to New England, aged forty-eight; writing (or surely it was some parishioner who wrote it for him!) a copy of verses on the occasion, of which this is a specimen :—

"When I think of the sweet and gracious company
That at Boston once I had,
And of the long peace of a fruitful ministry
For twenty years enjoyed,
The joy that I found in all that happiness
Doth still so much refresh me
That the grief to be cast out into a wilderness
Doth not so much distress me."

He found, however, a new Boston in the wilderness, the since famous BOSTON of the United States. Becoming minister here, he lived on till 1652, so active, and (his poetry discounted) so able, a man in the affairs of the colony that he figures in old memoirs of it as the "father and glory of Boston." He did much, indeed, to shape and modify the Independency of New England generally by giving prominence to the Robinsonian proviso that

[1] Neal's Puritans, II. 264; Palfrey, I. 484; Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 2, Chap. X.

[2] Neal's Puritans, II. 315, 316; Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 2, Chap. XXIII.; Palfrey, I. 545-6, and II. 398, Note.

there might be associations of churches for consultation and the like. Some thought he pushed this proviso to a kind of practical semi-Presbyterianism, and that he was led in that direction by his personal talent for negotiation, which needed a pretty wide circle. Cotton was a Derbyshire man by birth, stoutish, and of fair ruddy complexion. His writings were rather numerous.[1]

JOHN DAVENPORT, B.D. of Oxford; formerly minister of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, London; then, between 1633 and 1637, a refugee in Amsterdam, and preacher there. While in Amsterdam, he became conspicuous as an advocate of Independency, and had a controversy on the subject, both socially and in print, with John Paget, M.A., who had been minister of the English Presbyterian church of that city from 1607, and had been a zealous champion of Presbytery, and defender of the Presbyterianism of his flock, against the previous Anglo-Dutch Separatists, including Johnson, Ainsworth, Jacob, and Robinson. Thus, when Davenport emigrated to New England in 1637, *ætat.* 40, he had been preceded by a considerable reputation. He became minister in New Haven, and lived till 1670.[2]

JOHN ELIOT, B.A. of Cambridge; afterwards assistant in a school at Chelmsford in Essex. He came out to Massachusetts in 1631, in his twenty-eighth year; preached for some time in Boston; but in 1632 became minister of Roxbury in the same neighbourhood. It was while he was in this charge that he began his study of the languages of the native Indians, and so qualified himself for that *Apostleship among the Indians* to which he dedicated himself in 1646, and by his labours in which all the rest of his life, including his translation of the Bible into Indian, he is best remembered. The conversion of the Indians was one of the avowed objects of the first emigrants to New England, and Eliot had associates in the work; but no one came up to him. "There was no man on earth whom I honoured above him," wrote Baxter. He died in 1690, at the age of eighty-six, having resigned his pastoral charge at Roxbury only two years before.[3]

THOMAS HOOKER: a Leicestershire man, once Fellow of Emanuel College, Cambridge; then Nonconformist preacher at Chelmsford, Essex (where Eliot was his assistant); next an exile in Holland; then again in England under hiding. He came to New England in 1633, *ætat.* 47, in the same ship with Cotton; was chosen pastor of Newtown (afterwards called Cambridge) in Massachusetts; but removed in 1636 to Connecticut, where he became minister of Hartford. After having exerted an influence in the Church of New

[1] Neal's Puritans, II. 253; Palfrey, I. 367—9, and II. 409 11; a memoir entitled *Cottonus Redivivus* in Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 1, Chap I.; also a Life of Cotton in Clarke's *Martyrologie* (1677), where other specimens of his poetry, or "Divine Soliloquies," as Clarke calls them, will be found.

[2] Neal, II. 253-4; Palfrey, I. 528—543; Hanbury, I. 324 *et seq.* and 526 *et seq.*

[3] Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 3; Palfrey, I. 357, and II. 189 *et seq.* But there are express Lives of Eliot, and Articles on him in our Biographical Dictionaries.

England hardly inferior to Cotton's, he died in 1647, much regretted. Cotton, who had had differences with him, wrote an elegy in which he described him as Farel, Viret, and Calvin, the three Genevan worthies, all in one,

> "A son of thunder, and a shower of rain,
> A pourer forth of lovely oracles,
> In saving souls the sum of miracles."[1]

HANSERD KNOLLYS: born in Lincolnshire 1598; educated at Cambridge; master for a time of the Free School of Gainsborough in his native county; then in 1629 parish-minister of Humberstone, Leicestershire, by presentation of Bishop Williams. He resigned his living after a year or two from scruples; preached about the country; became a decided Separatist in 1636; and was driven to New England for refuge in 1638. He went first to Boston, but, being complained of there as an Antinomian, accepted a call to be a preacher to the plantation on the northern fringe of Massachusetts. Still his extreme Separatism and his heterodoxy on Baptism and other points roused clamours against him, and indeed exposed him to danger. He returned to England in 1641, to lead a career of the most unflinching resolution and the most varied fortunes, which did not end till 1690, when he was ninety-two years of age. He is one of the heroes of the English Baptist denomination; insomuch that special memoirs of him, with portraits, appear in their Histories, and there was recently a *Hanserd Knollys Society* for the republication of scarce old Baptist tracts. We shall meet him again in England.[2]

RICHARD MATHER: a Lancashire man, born 1596; educated at Brasenose, Oxford; had been preacher at Toxteth, near Liverpool, and twice suspended for nonconformity. He arrived in New England with his family in 1635, and became minister at Dorchester, Massachusetts. He lived there till 1669, and at his death left four sons in the ministry; one of whom, Increase Mather, married a daughter of Mr. Cotton of Boston, and became the father of Cotton Mather.[3]

JOHN NORTON, B.A. of Cambridge; once curate of a parish in Herts. He came to New England in 1635, *ætat.* 29; was for a few months Brewster's associate in the church of Plymouth; removed thence to Ipswich in Massachusetts; was accounted, after Cotton, the most eminent divine in that colony; succeeded Cotton in 1656 as Teacher in the church of Boston; and died 1663. The New Englanders anagrammatized his name *Johannes Nortonus* into

[1] Neal's Puritans, II. 254; Palfrey, I. 444—455, and II. 264, with Note; Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 1, Appendix.

[2] Wilson's Dissenting Churches of London, II. 562—571; Palfrey, I. 519, 520, and 589—591.

[3] Wood's Athenæ, III. 832—836; Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 2, Chap. XX.

Nonne is honoratus? and proposed for his epitaph his mere name, with this legend underneath it:—

"Quis fuerit ultra si quæras,
Dignus es qui nescias."[1]

RALPH PARTRIDGE, probably a Cambridge man and silenced minister at home, was minister at Duxbury in the New Plymouth colony, and lived there till 1658. "He must be regarded as the clergyman who exerted the most influence over the early ecclesiastical transactions of that colony."[2]

HUGH PETERS.—This celebrated unfortunate was born in 1599 at Fowey in Cornwall, where his father was a merchant. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge; and, after taking his M.A. degree, spent some time in Essex, where he became acquainted with Thomas Hooker, preached in various places, and married a wife who afterwards became insane and caused him much anxiety and trouble. Settling for a time in London, and becoming known to Dr. Gouge, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. White of Dorchester, and others, he held a lectureship at St. Sepulchre's, to which "the resort grew so great that it contracted envy and anger." He estimates his hearers at "six or seven thousand;" which might appear incredible, but for later instances. Getting into difficulties with Laud, he migrated to Rotterdam, where he formed an English Independent congregation, and remained pastor thereof for five or six years. Annoyances by Laud, through the English Ambassador, drove him from Holland; and in 1635 he appeared in Massachusetts, landing at the same time as the younger Vane, if not from the same ship. He became pastor of the church at Salem, and, in conjunction with Vane, began immediately to take an active part in the politics of Massachusetts. He and Vane were associated with Governor Winthrop in directing the first planting of Connecticut; and, after Vane left Massachusetts, Peters is still heard of as a leading spirit in the commerce and State business, even more than in the Church, of the colony. He "went from place to place," says Winthrop, "labouring both publicly and privately to raise up men to a public frame of spirit, and so prevailed as he procured a good sum of money to be raised to set on foot the fishing business." He thought to end his life in New England in such occupations; but there was another fate in store for him.[3]

THOMAS SHEPARD, M.A. of Cambridge; once lecturer at Earl's Colme, Essex. After having been chased hither and thither in England for nonconformity, he emigrated to America in 1635, at the age of thirty; became minister at Cambridge, Massachusetts; and died there in 1649.[4]

[1] Neal's Puritans, II. 527; Palfrey, II. 463 and 528; Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 1, Chap. II.

[2] Palfrey, II. 408-9.

[3] Letters by Peters himself, written in 1660, quoted in Hanbury's Memorials, III. 570—587; Palfrey, I. 436 *et seq.*

[4] Neal's Puritans, II. 257; Palfrey, I. 453; Mather's *Magnalia*, Book III. Part 2, Chap. V.

SAMUEL STONE; educated at Emanuel College, Cambridge: had been a lecturer in Northamptonshire; came to New England in 1633 with Cotton and Hooker; became "teacher" of the church of Newtown (Cambridge), Massachusetts, of which Hooker was "pastor;" removed thence, with Hooker, to Hartford, in Connecticut; and lived, an influential man, till 1663. Cotton Mather, in his account of Hooker, tells a story of Stone's cleverness. While he and Hooker were skulking in London before their escape to New England, a warrant, at Laud's instance, was out for Hooker's arrest. The pursuivant came to the door of Stone's chamber, where he and Hooker were sitting together after a walk. "Mr. Stone was at that instant smoking of tobacco; for which Mr. Hooker had been reproving him, as being then used by few persons of sobriety." When the officer knocked, Stone, with the pipe in his mouth, went to the door. "Is Mr. Hooker here?" asked the officer. "What Hooker?" said Stone: "Do you mean the Hooker that once lived at Chelmsford?" "Yes," said the officer. "If it be he," replied Stone, "it is about an hour since I saw him at such and such a house in the City: you had better make haste." The man believed the pipe and went away.[1]

NATHANIEL WARD, M.A. of Cambridge; formerly Rector of Standon Massye, Essex. Driven from England for nonconformity, he had arrived in Massachusetts in 1634 at the age of thirty-one, and became pastor of the church of Ipswich. He remained in this charge, however, only two years; and during the rest of his stay in the colony he assisted rather in its political business. Before taking orders in England he had been a Common Law barrister; and hence, when the Massachusetts colonists resolved to have a written Code of Laws of their own, instead of the mere recollection of the Laws of England they had brought with them, he was employed to prepare it. It was enacted in 1641 under the title of *The Body of Liberties*, and consisted of one hundred fundamental laws.[2]

THOMAS WELDE, probably a Cambridge man. He had come out to Massachusetts in 1632, and had been appointed co-minister with Eliot to the church in Roxbury. He was of some influence in the colony, but was to return to England after nine years of American experience, and was to report that experience, in various ways, for the instruction of English society. He lived till after the Restoration.[3]

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT; educated at Cambridge University, where he is said to have formed an acquaintance with Cromwell. He had been a minister in England; but had emigrated in 1636, and become a member of the church at Boston. Immediately he joined a certain "Antinomian movement" (hereafter to be spoken of) then agitating the colony. Of this movement he became a leader, preaching and contending in its behalf. At length, after much excitement

[1] Palfrey, I. 445, and II. 490; and Mather, as quoted.

[2] Palfrey, II. 22—26.

[3] Palfrey, I. 357 and 582-4.

and division among the colonists, he was censured, and with other ringleaders banished beyond the bounds of the colony. He then (1638) transferred himself, with a body of companions, to the outlying parts north of Massachusetts (now New Hampshire and Maine), where they founded *Exeter*, and afterwards a town called *Wells*. But in 1644 he made his peace with the Massachusetts people; and, returning to England, he lived on till 1679, to be farther heard of on both sides of the Atlantic.[1]

ROGER WILLIAMS.—No man in our present list deserves more attention than this, or will reappear more interestingly in the subsequent course of our History. The known facts of his life, as far as 1640, are as follows:—He was a Welshman, born in Carmarthenshire in or about 1606, and possibly (though this is but vague tradition) related by some link of kin to Cromwell; for whose family name of "Cromwell" the name "Williams" was a recognised *alias*, used by Cromwell himself as such in some of his juvenile signatures. He was educated at Charterhouse School, London, and then at Jesus College, Oxford, which he entered in 1624. He was then a *protégé* of the great lawyer and judge, Sir Edward Coke; of whose speeches in the Star Chamber he sometimes took notes in shorthand, and whose kindness to him he spoke of warmly to the end of his life. He appears to have taken orders in the Church of England; but he soon became so decidedly a Separatist that he saw no safety except in emigration. "That man of honour and "wisdom and piety, your dear father," he wrote long afterwards to a daughter of Sir Edward Coke, "was often pleased to call me his "son; and truly it was as bitter as death to me, when Bishop "Laud pursued me out of the land, and my conscience was per-"suaded against the National Church, and ceremonies and bishops, "beyond the conscience of your dear father,—I say it was as bitter "as death to me, when I rode Windsor-way to take ship at Bris-"towe, and saw Stoke House, where that blessed man was, and "durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight." He arrived in Massachusetts in 1631, aged about twenty-five; and, his reputation having gone before him, he was unanimously chosen Teacher at Boston (two years before Cotton came to take that post). Somehow that arrangement did not take effect; and, Higginson dying at Salem, he was called to the "Teachership" of the church there, so made vacant. But from the first moment of his arrival in New England the country began to ring with his singularities of opinion. How strange were these singularities, and how vehement a man in the infant New England was Roger Williams altogether, may be gathered from the passage in which Cotton Mather first describes him in his Ecclesiastical History of New England, written some seventy years afterwards. "In the year 1654," says Cotton Mather, "a certain Windmill in the Low Countries, whirling round "with extraordinary violence, by reason of a violent storm then

[1] Palfrey, I. 472 *et seq.*

"blowing, the stone at length by its rapid motion became so "intensely hot as to fire the Mill, from whence the flames, being "dispersed by the high winds, did set a whole Town on fire. But "I can tell my reader that, above twenty years before this, there "was a whole Country in America like to be set on fire by the "rapid motion of a Windmill in the head of one particular man." So Cotton Mather, expressing the opinion of orthodox New England respecting Roger Williams at a time when angry recollection of his heterodoxies, and of the perturbation he had caused in the early state of the colonies, was mingled with a sort of vague liking for him after all, and a sense that his life as a whole had not been without features that would make him a picturesque figure for ever in early American history. Meanwhile, not from Cotton Mather's point of view, we have to study the man for ourselves. What were the heterodoxies that first came from the windmill in his head? That the civil magistrate had no right to impose oaths, to punish Sabbath-breakers, or to compel to church-membership; that the lands of the colonists could not be theirs by any title from home, unless they were fairly purchased from the Indians; that meetings of neighbouring ministers on never so small a scale for so-called purposes of conference and discussion perilled individual liberty, and the true principle of the Independency of Churches, and tended to Presbyterian consociation and tyranny—these, in many varieties of ways, were the novelties that broke upon the astonished people of Massachusetts from the preachings and prophesyings of the young Welshman. Personally he was most likeable —sincere to the core, and of a rich, glowing, peculiarly affectionate nature, which yearned even towards those from whom he differed publicly, and won their esteem in return. But what were they to do? Mere religious whimsies they might have borne with so far in Williams, including even his Individualism, or excess of Separatism; but here were attacks on law, property, social order! For a time it was hoped that reasonings, moderate censures, and moral pressure would bring him round. But, though he shifted from place to place—leaving Salem for a time for New Plymouth, where he tried to get on with the mild Brewster, and then returning to Salem, where the people were so attached to him that they would have him to be their "pastor" on the death of Skelton (1634)—yet, as he became more determined in his singularities, and maintained them by writings, harder measures were used. Governor Haynes and the magistrates interfered; and at a General Court of the whole Colony of Massachusetts, held at Boston in September 1635, this order was passed: "Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one "of the Elders of the Church of Salem, hath broached and divulged "divers new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magis-"trates, and also writ letters of defamation both of the magistrates "and churches here, and that before any conviction, and yet main-"taineth the same without retraction, it is therefore ordered that "the said Mr. Williams shall depart out of this jurisdiction within

"six weeks now next ensuing." The term of six weeks' grace was afterwards extended for his accommodation; but, as he was pugnacious still, and his mere removal from Salem or even beyond the bounds of Massachusetts did not promise the quietness desired, it was proposed to kidnap him in a friendly way and ship him back to England. This was a process to which the colonists had resorted as the simplest and really the kindliest in one or two previous cases of refractory obstinates. Having received a hint, however, Williams, with his wife and family, left Salem secretly in January 1635-6, and took to the woods. For fourteen weeks, with the Pokanoket Indians, south-west of New Plymouth, in frost and snow, he wandered about, on foot or by boat, "not knowing what bread or bed did mean," but kindly treated by the Indians, whose language he had learnt, and among whom he had some influence by previous experience. His notion was to find out some suitable spot for a settlement of his own, beyond the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. At last, a suggestion from Governor Winthrop, whose real regard for him was combined with political prudence, determined him still farther west, into the country of the Narraganset Indians. Here, at the head inlet of Narraganset Bay, by the mouth of the Seekonk River, he and his family, with five families who adhered to them, founded, in June 1636, the town of *Providence*, thus beginning that plantation of the Rhode Island district of which we have taken account in our summary of the state of infant New England. The lands were scrupulously bought from the Indians; and the agreement among the settlers themselves was such that their little obscure community was then probably the most absolutely democratic in theory on the whole face of the earth. Williams, the founder of the settlement, was also its pastor and teacher. Not even so, however, cut off from the world though he was, with the few most kindred souls of his own gathering to keep him company, could he be at ease with himself or with them. In 1639 the Massachusetts people heard that he had become a Baptist, having first caused himself to be rebaptized by a poor man named Holyman, all the way from Salem, and having then rebaptized his baptizer and some ten more; thus establishing what was practically the first Baptist Church in America. The Massachusetts people, though Williams was beyond their bounds, could not hear of such perversity with indifference. Mr. Cotton of Boston and other ministers made comments on it; and, as Williams was still nominally a member of the Church of Salem, of which he had been pastor, that church, with their new pastor, Hugh Peters, at their head, showed their sense of the apostasy by excommunicating Williams, his wife, and some others of the rebaptized, and intimating the fact officially by letters to the various Massachusetts churches. But Williams, even as excommunicated by Peters, was not at the end of things. He had his doubts yet. How could this baptism or re-baptism be right? It was not direct from God; it had not been administered by an Apostle! Was there any real

Church on earth; were there any visible ordinances whatever really from God? If not, what remained for one? What but solitary praying and meditating,—no definite certainty, but only a continued *seeking* after God, if perchance He might be found? And so, at the head of Narraganset Bay, in what was then the poor Providence Plantation, but is now the main city of Rhode Island State, we leave Roger Williams for the present. Let the reader fancy him in 1640, a man of thirty-four, of bold and stout jaw, but with the richest and softest eyes, gazing out upon the Bay of his dwelling, a spiritual Crusoe, the excommunicated even of Hugh Peters, and the most extreme and outcast soul in all America.[1]

Of these seventeen persons, it may be noted, fourteen had been bred at the University of Cambridge, and only three (Davenport, Mather, and Williams) at the University of Oxford. This was probably the proportion among the entire body of the seventy or eighty New England divines of 1640 whom the selected seventeen represent; for Cambridge was and had long been the Alma Mater of Puritans. But the New Englanders desired an Alma Mater of their own, to render them independent of imports from beyond the seas, and yet secure that their native candidates for the ministry should be sufficiently learned. They "dreaded to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when their present ministers should lie in the dust." Hence, in October 1636, the foundation, by the colony of Massachusetts, of a College at Newtown (whose name was consequently changed to Cambridge) close to Boston. The first endowment was by a vote of 400*l.* by the Court of the Colony, a large sum for such a purpose in a colony which had hardly yet roads, buildings, or bridges; and a citizen, named John Harvard, having, at his death in 1638, left his library and 700*l.* more to the foundation, it had a fair start in that year as *Harvard College*, now *Harvard University*, the oldest university in the United States. Its first principal was a Nathaniel Eaton, a perfect Orbilius Plagosus, who was dismissed in 1640, to make way for a superior Cantab, named Henry Dunster. Already schools were numerous in Massachusetts and the other colonies; and

[1] Palfrey, I. 405–425; Hanbury's Memorials, III. 571, Note; Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book VII. Chap. II. There are, however, express Lives of Roger Williams by Americans; among which are Knowles's (1834), Gammell's (1846), and Elton's (1852).

the first printing-press in America, a rickety attachment to Harvard College, was at work in 1639. First it printed a public document called the *Freeman's Oath*, then a Psalm-book, and then (1640) a volume of Poems by Mrs. Anne Bradstreet. This was the first original work printed in America. There had been plenty of rough composition before, but it was all in manuscript.[1]

No less among the 21,000 or 22,000 Independents, forming *en masse* the population of New England, than among the thousand or two of English Separatists, whom we have seen scattered through a few of the Dutch towns, and outnumbered there by orthodox Church of England residents and Scottish Presbyterian exiles, there had been, it will have been observed, controversies and divisions. There had been Independency outgoing Independency, Separatism beyond Separatism, "laborious orient ivory sphere in sphere." That is not to be wondered at. Men will differ under any dispensation; and the amount of mutual animosity that may accompany their differences will depend on the things differed about, and on the temperament, education, and self-control of the controversialists. Even the law of libel at any time in any community must be much a matter of convention. But, besides this, it may be said to belong to the very theory of Church Independency that it shall foster the development of theological differences and their strenuous expression. At first sight, at all events, what one would expect under this system, from its very nature, would be an increased tendency to doctrinal differentiation, accompanied (unless for some law in human nature diminishing animosity in differences as differences become multiplied) by an increased display of animosity over the differences. For it is not only the liberty of any number of like-minded atoms to form themselves into a church or society that Independency asserts, nor is it only the entire mutual distinctness of the societies thus formed. There is asserted also the right of extreme vigilance by every such

[1] Palfrey, I. 548-9, and II. 45-49; Trübner's Bibliographical Guide to American Literature, xxx-xxxix.

society over new admissions into it, and of the freest mutual criticism and censure of all once included in it, so that all shall be kept to the strict mark of their covenant, and of the code of their fellows. This agency of mutual stimulation, vigilance, and remonstrance, ending, if need be, in the formal censure of an erring brother, his suspension from church privileges, or even his utter ejection and excommunication, is that, indeed, to which Independency principally trusts for conservation of purity of faith as well as integrity of morals. Hence, along with the large liberty of difference provided by the system, one might expect an increased resentment of difference. One might expect a cultivated habit of fault-finding, and an unusual licence of invective against members of a different communion, and of verbal hue-and-cry after seceding or excommunicated brothers. This right of invective, however, of prohibition of difference under pain of being ill thought of and ill spoken of, exists, as I have said, in all communities. It depends for the style of its exercise on the education of the individual and the state of the conventional law of libel, and is quite a distinct thing from civil persecution, or prohibition of difference under direct legal penalties to life, limb, or property. There may be much personal and social intolerance, much want of charity, much mutual obloquy and excommunication, where there is perfect legal toleration of the differences concerned. How was New England situated in this last respect? That there were religious disputes and differences in the population has appeared sufficiently from our biographic notices of a few of the leading New England ministers. The question now is, how far these disputes and differences were mere incidents of the Church History of the community, exhausted in those verbal controversies and mutual censures and excommunications which the peculiar Church organization allowed, and even encouraged, and how far they transcended this sphere and encountered civil penalty. In other words, Were there any directions of theological opinion for which there was not legal liberty even in New England with all its Church Independency?

There were. Although it was for freedom of opinion and worship that the Puritans had gone to New England, and although, in recollection of this, they tried hard to be tolerant of varieties of opinion among themselves, and not to disgrace their new soil with any such apparatus of civil persecutions and tortures for religious dissent as that from which they had fled at home, they could not make up their minds to give a *carte blanche* to everything. That they extinguished at once several small attempts to import Prelacy and the Liturgy among them, laying hold of the offenders and sending them home in the first ship, may be passed over as mere acts of self-protection, mere arrests of spies in their camp, while they were entrenching themselves in their new ground, and Laud had his schemes for troubling them.[1] That they had strict laws against Sabbath-breaking, and otherwise mixed up in their police code as rules of social order what were really Puritanisms, or special interpretations of Biblical ideas, may also be passed over, as natural in their circumstances, and sanctioned by a consent among themselves as complete as that which forbade stealing, or fraud, or rioting. What cannot be passed over, however, inasmuch as it met with protests among themselves, and pointed to imperfections in their theory of Church Independency, or at least to an inadequate adjustment as yet of their notions of that theory with the full principles of Civil Liberty, was their prohibition of several developments of strictly theological or ecclesiastical opinion, which could not legitimately be described as mere sedition, or even as transgressions of the essential rule of Church Independency itself.

The theory of Independency being that the collective Church in any State ought to consist solely of the voluntary concourses of Christian believers within that State, drawn

[1] "It was once under consultation "of the Chief Physicians who were to "take especial care of the Church's "health to send a Bishop over to them "[the New Englanders] for their better "government, and to back him with "some forces, to compel, if he were "not otherwise able to persuade, "obedience: but this design was "strangled in the first conception by "the violent breaking out of the "troubles in Scotland."—So writes the Anglican Dr. Peter Heylyn, in his Life of Laud (see Hanbury's Memorials, II. 41-2), and the passage authenticates Laud's plans for the New Englanders about 1637.

together by their like-mindedness, and forming so many different particular churches, each distinct within itself, there ensue at once, if one thinks of it, certain curious questions as to the relations of the State to this Collective Church. Are there to be no relations whatever? Is the State to allow the concourses to go on within it, taking no heed whether they are few or many, active or languishing, what proportion of the population is whirled into them or remains out of them, or what the concourses do within themselves in the way of doctrine and discipline, so long as civil rights and the public peace are not violated? This is Church Independency at its purest. This is the Independency which avows the absolute separatedness of the sphere of conscience from the sphere of civil polity, of the Kingdom of Christ from the Kingdom of this World. If, however, Church Independency, still retaining the name, stops short of this extreme, what questions start up for it to answer! Is the State itself to be in a manner Christian, and, if so, in what manner, and by what methods apart from the Church? Is it the State's duty to stimulate the formation of the concourses of believers within itself? Is it to do its best to see that all the population are brought within the concourses; or, in other words, are brought to profess Christianity in some society or other; and, for that purpose, is it to have a right to look after those who would lurk in the interstices between the existing churches? As it is the rule of Independency that each church admits its own members, and ought to be vigilant as to the sufficient faith and grace of those whom it admits, the State could hardly be vested with the power of compulsion of all into membership with the existing churches. For lo! though it might drive all to the doors of these churches, the poor wretches would be met at each door with a rejection as not qualified for membership. Well then, might there be a middle course? Might the State at least compel a habit of church-going, of attendance at some place of Christian instruction and worship, so that all might be brought within Christian influences, and have a chance of becoming qualified for church-membership somewhere? But will *any kind* of

church-membership do, or is the State to have the right of determining *what kind* of church-membership shall be satisfactory? There might be concourses of Pagans, Turks, or Atheists, calling themselves churches; and undoubtedly there would be such, if membership of some church were compulsory, but there were no limit as to the sort of church that would do. Must the allowed concourses in churches then be *bonâ fide* Christian? In that case must it not be reserved for the State to settle what shall be considered *bonâ fide* Christianity? There is an orthodox Christianity, or there are a number of forms of Christianity varying so slightly, or all so respectably supported, that they may pass collectively as orthodox; but there are also heresies, errors, queer beliefs, professed by particular minds, or even by considerable numbers of persons, as truths painfully derived from the Bible, and binding on the conscience of genuine Christians. A sensible State government would not be very harsh in its judgment among such diversities, and would allow a reasonable latitude. But still, if the principle were that the State had any business whatever with Religion, it would be sure to find that some of the sets of beliefs offering themselves as strictly Christian, and demanding the right of embodying themselves in churches, were barely entitled to that recognition. In short, the State would have to exercise a constant supervision over the churches formed or forming themselves within it, calling for their creeds and articles of agreement, and deciding whether they were satisfactory or unsatisfactory. It would have to see that fundamental error did not arise within churches already formed, and that all new churches formed were sufficiently of the right sort.

All these questions as to the relations of Church and State had actually arisen in the history of English Independency, and they had been answered by such a rough practical compromise in the institutions of New England Independency as left that Independency far short of theoretical Independency at its purest.

What opinion had been held by the strange Robert Brown, the originator of English Independency, on the subject of the

relations of Church and State, or the power of the Civil Magistrate in the formation and regulation of churches, it might interest us to know. Certain it is that by his best known successors, amid all their denunciations of the Church of England and their expositions of the principle of Congregationalism, there had been an explicit admission of some such power. Thus Barrowe and Greenwood, the first martyrs on the scaffold for Separatism, had written jointly in an Epistle to Lord Burleigh, "We acknowledge that the Prince ought "to compel all subjects to the hearing of God's word in the "public exercises of the Church," adding, "Yet cannot the "Prince compel any to be a member of the Church, or the "Church to receive any without assurance by public pro-"fession of their own faith."[1] Again Barrowe separately had written, "The Prince is charged, and in duty ought, to "see the ministers of the Church do their duty and teach "the law of God diligently and sincerely;" and Greenwood, "The magistrate ought to compel the infidels to hear the "doctrine of the Church, and also, with the approbation of "the Church, to send forth meet men, with gifts and graces, "to instruct the infidels."[2] So, even more strongly, Johnson, the first pastor of the English Separatists in Amsterdam. "Princes," he had said, "may and ought, within their do-"minions, to abolish all false worship and all false ministries "whatsoever, and to establish the true worship and ministry "appointed by God in his word, commanding and compelling "their subjects to come into and practise no other but this; "yet must they leave it unto God to persuade the conscience, "and to add to his Church, from time to time, such as shall "be saved."[3] Nay even Robinson, the liberal Robinson, the founder of the Independency which had been most accepted, had written to the same effect. "That godly magistrates, he said, "are by compulsion to repress public and notable "idolatry, as also to provide that the truth of God, in his "ordinance, be taught and published in their dominions, I "make no doubt: it may be also it is not unlawful for them,

[1] Quoted in Hanbury's Mem. I. 52.
[2] Quoted in Fletcher's History of Independency, III. 44.
[3] Quoted ibid. III. 45.

" by some penalty or other, to provoke their subjects univer-
" sally unto hearing for their instruction and conversion;
" yea, to grant they may inflict the same upon them, if, after
" due teaching, they offer not themselves unto the Church."[1]
There were not wanting, as we shall see in time, protests against this view of the Civil Magistrate's power by some of the other Separatists, contemporaries of Johnson and Robinson; but that it was the view of all those who professed the moderate or Robinsonian Independency is proved beyond doubt by the fact that in a formal Confession of Faith put forth in 1616 by the first avowedly Independent congregation in London, established in that year by Robinson's friend Henry Jacob on his return from Holland, there occurs this statement: "We believe that we, and all true visible
" churches, ought to be overseen, and kept in good order
" and peace, and ought to be governed, under Christ, both
" supremely and also subordinately, by the Civil Magistrate;
" yea, in causes of religion, when need is."[2]

The Independency carried over to New England being substantially the Robinsonian Independency, this view of the power of the Civil Magistrate in matters of religion was inherent in it from the outset. The Church of New England in 1640 could regard itself as the first instance of a Church of an entire community established on the system of Independency; but still, to all intents and purposes, it was a State Church. Its difference from the State Churches of England and Scotland then existing was that it was a State Church on the principle of Congregationalism, whereas they were State Churches on the principles of Prelacy and Presbyterianism respectively. This difference was certainly not unimportant: it affected very considerably the extent and mode of the interconnexion between Church and State. Thus the churches in New England, to the year 1640 and beyond, were not upheld, nor their ministers paid, by tithes, or from the public funds in any form. Save that they had

[1] Quoted in Fletcher's History of Independency, III. 45.
[2] Quoted in Hanbury's Memorials, I. 301, 302; where indeed all the twenty-eight Articles of the Confession are given (pp. 293—304).

the use of the common meeting-houses in towns (which, I suppose, were erected at the public expense), the congregations paid all the expenses of their worship, including the stipends of their pastors and teachers, out of their own voluntary offerings in the churches on Sundays, or out of these together with rates agreed upon among themselves. This was in accordance with the doctrine of Independency on the subject of the maintenance of ministers, as it had been expressed, though with some doubt, in the Confession of the first London congregation of Independents in 1616. "We "believe," said the 26th Article of that Confession, "that tithes "for the pastor's maintenance under the Gospel are not the "just and due means thereof: howbeit yet we do not think "these tithes absolutely unlawful if they remain voluntary; "but when they are made necessary we think them not so "lawful. The same do we judge also of whatsoever other "set maintenance for ministers of the Gospel established by "temporal laws. We grant for the minister's security such "established maintenance is best; but, for preserving due "freedom in the congregation, sincerity in religion, and "sanctity in the whole flock, the congregation's voluntary "and conscionable contribution for their pastor's sustenance "and maintenance is, doubtless, the safest and most approved, "nay, it seemeth the only, way; wherewith the Apostles "caused their times to be content."[1] Clearly the acceptance by the New England Independents of the method so indicated did slacken the State's grip of the Church and the Church's dependence on the State. Nevertheless the New England Church was a State Church after a fashion. The pious Puritans who had expatriated themselves from cruel England had no other idea than that of founding in the wilderness a commonwealth pervaded and regulated by the strictest legislation of the Bible, and every man, woman, and child in which should walk, all their lives long, in the ways of Puritan Christianity. Hence, by an implied fundamental compact from the first in all the colonies, regular attendance at church was compulsory on every one. As this had been

[1] Hanbury, I. 301.

the law in England, and was an axiom of the new polity so vital that the chance of dissent from it was not dreamt of, it hardly required formal statement; but it was positively enacted by the law of Massachusetts. The State, therefore, throughout New England, was related to the Church in so far at least that it compelled church-attendance. If it refrained from also compelling church-membership, that was because such additional compulsion in any open manner would have outraged the prime maxim of Independency, which made the admission of members to any congregation the solemn right of that congregation only. But, indirectly, there was a compulsion by the State even to this church-membership which it could not itself confer. A premium was put upon church-membership by political practice; in other words, civil disabilities and inconveniences were attached to the want of it. Thus both in Massachusetts and in New Haven church-membership was a condition of the franchise. "It is ordered and agreed that, for the time "to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this "body-politic but such as are members of some of the "churches within the limits of the same:" such were the words of an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts in 1631; and New Haven followed the example. There was no such expressed rule in the constitutions of New Plymouth and Connecticut colonies; but there seems to have been tantamount custom. Actually, in each colony, the freemen in whose hands the power lay, who made the laws, imposed the taxes, and transacted public business of all kinds, were the assembled members of the churches of the colony. Church-membership, or certificated religious soundness, was the thing most in their heads when they were called upon to decide on the fitness of any one to receive or retain the franchise. What then? What but that they, the State, must keep their eye on the churches that conferred this precious prerequisite to the franchise, and must see that they were all of such a sort that their certificates might be trusted? And so, despite the principle of Congregationalism, the State, in various practical ways, was critic and lord of the churches.

It had its hands twined in their concerns. It felt itself bound, even in State polity, to prevent the formation of false or heretical churches, through which black sheep might insinuate themselves into the franchise, and also to exercise a supervision over churches right in faith at their commencement, to secure that they did not lapse.[1]

Imbued with such notions of a certain inalienable duty of the civil power in matters of belief and conscience, the New Englanders, though creditably anxious on the whole to allow freedom of opinion and speech in their commonwealth, had resorted to actual persecution, or something like it, in their treatment of at least three movements or developments of thought that had appeared among them:—(1.) *The Individualism of Roger Williams.* The opinions by which this extraordinary man perplexed New England society, from the first moment of his arrival in it, were, as we have seen, various; nor would it be easy to embrace them all in one name. One of his eccentricities was his extreme and uncompromising Separatism, condemning the mere semi-Separatism of sentiment which the New Englanders had derived from Robinson and Jacob, and protesting, with a heat beyond that of the first Brownists, against the least act implying recognition of the Church of England as a true Church in any sense. Another was his plaguy tenet about Indian rights. Both these together, however, might have been pardoned in a man of such fine genius and such excellent heart, but for what I have called his "Individualism." We shall have to take more particular account hereafter of this drift of Williams's speculations; meanwhile it is enough to say that it consisted in an assertion of the absolute right of the individual to think and act in religious matters by his own lights, and a denial *in toto* of that notion of the State's concern with religion which New England, imitating older countries, had permitted to remain at the foundation of her polity. His expositions of this doctrine were so fervid, and brought him so near to what seemed sedition or the preaching of anarchy, that the authorities of Massachusetts,

[1] Palfrey, II. 34 *et seq.*; I. 344 *et seq.*

as we have seen, first roused all Salem against him, and then banished him out of the colony altogether to the wilds of Narraganset Bay. (2.) *Anabaptism.* Even before 1640 there were a few Baptists in New England, stigmatized there, as in the old world, with the name of Anabaptists, in order to identify them with the famous German Anabaptists of the Reformation epoch, of whose excesses there were horrible traditions. Their main difference, however, from the Independents among whom they were dispersed was simply their Anti-Pædobaptism, or objection to the baptism of infants, though some conjoined with this Arminian views of free-will and the extent of redemption. Now, just as Robinson in Holland had denounced Smyth for his Baptist heresy, so the Independents of New England would not acknowledge Baptists as properly within the pale of Christian law. Probably because they were few and scattered, one does not hear as yet of direct persecution of them by the civil authorities, though that was to come in time. But individuals known to hold Baptist opinions were looked on coldly and made uncomfortable. Thus Mr. Chauncey, in spite of his merits, was kept back because he avowed such opinions; and Hanserd Knollys, partly for the same reason, seems to have found no rest for the sole of his foot in Massachusetts. It was also the climax of Roger Williams's offences that, in his Narraganset retreat, he had turned Baptist. (3.) *Antinomianism.* This is the name given to a set of opinions, first propagated in Germany by John Agricola, a contemporary of Luther, to the effect that, as men are justified by faith alone, true Christians are not to be tried or ascertained by the consistency of their conduct with the merely moral law. Now there had been a most picturesque outbreak of some such opinions in Massachusetts. A Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, "a gentlewoman of an haughty carriage, busy spirit, competent wit, and a voluble tongue," had come over in 1634 with her husband and children from their home in Lincolnshire. One of her inducements was that she might not lose the ministrations of her favourite Mr. Cotton, who had left Boston in Lincolnshire for Boston in New England in the preceding year. Even on the voyage out

she had uttered opinions which some of her fellow-passengers thought questionable; and no sooner had she and her husband settled in Boston, and become members of Mr. Cotton's church, than she began to be a power in the place. It was the custom of the men of the congregation to hold meetings for recapitulating Mr. Cotton's sermons and discussing points suggested by them. Mrs. Hutchinson got up a twice-a-week meeting of the women for the same purpose, and was the chief speaker in those gatherings. There she began to ventilate her "two dangerous errors:" viz. "that the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person," and "that no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification." Branching out from these, in the course of a year or two, by her eloquence, as well as by her generous activity among the sick and distressed, she had brought a large number of the Boston people, men as well as women, into sympathy with her. She was called fondly "THE NON-SUCH" (an anagram of her name "Hutchinson," if spelt "Hutchenson"); and, when she began to denounce the New England ministers generally as being mere preachers of a dry "Covenant of Works," Boston was not sure but she might be right. Mr. Cotton, and her own brother-in-law Wheelwright (which last had come out from England in the meantime), were the ministers who chiefly satisfied her; and they in turn stood by her. In short, Massachusetts was divided, socially and politically, into a "Covenant of Works" party and a Hutchinsonian, Antinomian, or "Covenant of Grace" party. The former, including almost all the ministers out of Boston, found themselves attacked, and could not but retaliate. It was now the year of young Vane's governorship (1636), and the Hutchinsonians were strong in his support; while ex-governor Winthrop led the other party. Hugh Peters went with Winthrop, and did not hesitate to reprove Vane to his face, bidding him "consider his youth, and short experience of the ways of God, and to beware of peremptory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto." Wilder and wilder grew the war of words, and of electioneering tactics, the Hutchinsonians appearing to have the better. But, the Anti-Hutchinsonians having managed, in May 1637, to

bring back Winthrop into the governorship, with others of his party in subordinate posts, and Vane having shortly afterwards departed for England, the tide was turned. At a synod of all the ministers of the colony, held, with the consent of the magistrates, at Newtown, in August 1637, eighty-two opinions said to be spreading in the colony were condemned as erroneous, Mrs. Hutchinson's heresies figuring most prominently. "It was proved that more than a score of Antinomian and Familistical errors had been held forth by her;" and so, after some delay, "the sentence of excommunication was passed upon her." Even Mr. Cotton gave his assent to this condemnation. The civil authorities then felt themselves entitled to press certain charges of sedition, contumacy, and the like, which they had ready against the culprits; and, before the end of the year, sentences of banishment from the colony were pronounced against Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Wheelwright, and another, while about a dozen more were disfranchised, or fined, or both, some were suffered to withdraw in a kind of stipulated self-banishment, and as many as seventy-six were otherwise punished. Thus was brought about what is known in the history of Massachusetts as the Antinomian Dispersion. Wheelwright, as we saw, withdrew for a time to the outlying Plantations north of Massachusetts (New Hampshire and Maine), where there was a rough refuge, and plenty of work, for wanderers like him and Hanserd Knollys. It was Mrs. Hutchinson's intention to follow him thither; but, on farther advice, she, her husband, and some of their adherents, resolved on a new plantation of their own, quite on the other extreme of New England as then colonized—*i.e.* south beyond New Haven, and about either Long Island or Delaware Bay, as the Dutch might permit. Their journey in this direction, however, leading them to visit Roger Williams at his plantation of Providence, then two years old, that worthy man entered heartily into their counsels, and recommended them not to persist in going so far south, but to become neighbours of his on Rhode Island, then called Aquetnet. Here, accordingly (March 1638), was founded a little community of democratic Antinomians; which, considerably increased by new

comers, was split, by dissensions within itself, into the two towns of *Portsmouth* and *Newport*, at opposite ends of Rhode Island. It was in the first of these that the Antinomian heroine, and her husband, Mr. William Hutchinson, "a man of very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife," took up their dwelling. Mr. Hutchinson was, in fact, the principal man in Portsmouth, while Newport was represented in chief by Mr. Coddington, another of the dispersed Antinomians. But in 1640, with a view to the possibility of a patent from England that should erect the settlements in Rhode Island, with the neighbouring one of Providence, into a distinct colony, Newport and Portsmouth united themselves in a common jurisdiction, choosing Coddington to be first Governor of the two-towned Island, and Hutchinson to be one of his Assistants. This is the last we hear of Mr. Hutchinson. He died probably in the following year; for in 1642 Mrs. Hutchinson is heard of as "a widow," with her family, including a married daughter, that daughter's husband, and young children of theirs, still living in Portsmouth, but getting weary of it and of Rhode Island, and having some new views about the "unlawfulness of magistracy." Alas! hers was to be a tragic end. What it was we shall see. Meanwhile it is with some satisfaction that one leaves her in Rhode Island, so near to Roger Williams These two, I should say—this man, yet in his prime, from Carmarthenshire, and this woman, from Lincolnshire, now with wrinkles round her eloquent eyes—were the two spirits in New England that had most of the incalculable in them, and had shot farthest ahead in the speculative gloom. Williams, long after Mrs. Hutchinson was dead, and had become a myth or a monster in the imagination of the orthodox religious world, defended her memory. He had been "familiarly acquainted" with her, he told people who talked of her from hearsay as doubtlessly one of the damned; and he "spake much good" of her.[1]

[1] Cotton Mather's *Magnalia*, Book VII. Chap. III.; Palfrey's History of New England, I. 472—516, and 606—609.

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—V. ITS CONTINUATION IN HOLLAND (1620—1640).

Since 1620, New England had been preferable to Holland as a refuge for English Puritans bent on emigrating. Still Holland was near to England, while America was far off; and the use of Holland as an asylum for English Separatists had not quite ceased.

What had become of the remains of Johnson's English congregation in Emden, of Jacob's in Middleburg, and even of Robinson's in Leyden, or what ministers succeeded, in these towns respectively, those three chiefs of early English Independency, the records hardly permit us to see. But in the great city of Amsterdam the tradition is more distinct. There is still in Amsterdam an alley known as "The Brownists' Gang;" and there is no doubt that the successor of Ainsworth in the ministry to the English Brownists or Independents who met in that alley was a certain John Canne, who is remembered yet by antiquaries in literature as the author of many controversial tracts, and of a learned edition of the Bible with marginal references. Besides being pastor of this congregation, he had a printer's office in Amsterdam, and, if contemporary gossip is to be believed, "a brandery, or aquavitæ shop," and also "an alchemist's laboratory," there or somewhere else. His Independency was of the ultra-Separatist order, if indeed he was not an avowed Baptist; and hence there was a split in his congregation; but, though he is found visiting England occasionally, he had his head-quarters in Amsterdam from 1622 to 1667. Two other Dutch towns, however, not heard of before as sheltering English Independents, are now found sharing that distinction with Amsterdam. These are Arnheim and Rotterdam.——Settled in Arnheim, one of the pleasantest of the Dutch towns, are found, between 1638 and 1640, Mr. Thomas Goodwin and Mr. Philip Nye, acting as co-pastors to a small number of English families associated together on the Congregationalist principle, not only with

the consent of the kindly Dutch authorities, but even with the use of one of their churches, and a certain stated public allowance. In the larger city of Rotterdam English Congregationalists were numerous, and were treated with equal indulgence. Here, in the year 1633, in the humble capacity of minister to an English Congregationalist church, but with a European fame for his learning and his writings against the Arminians, died Dr. William Ames, better known by his Latinized name of Amesius. Conspicuous as a Nonconformist at Cambridge University in the beginning of the reign of James, he had been driven abroad by Bancroft's severity as long ago as 1610, and, after living for some time at the Hague, he had accepted (1622) a professorship in the University of Franeker in Friesland. Here he had made his great reputation as a teacher and a writer, so that at the Synod of Dort his place was among the foremost. But, his health giving way at Franeker, he had resigned his professorship there in 1632, and accepted the charge among his countrymen in Rotterdam. His co-minister there was no other than Hugh Peters; who in fact had formed the congregation before Ames came, and obtained for it the use of a wooden building originally belonging to a club or society of Dutch debaters. Though Ames's principles had never been those of the Separatists or extreme Brownists, and he might be claimed as a semi-Presbyterian, his notions of Church discipline were really Congregationalist, and he and Peters got on well together during the few months of their co-ministry. "Learned Amesius," said Peters long afterwards, "breathed his last breath "into my bosom, who left his professorship in Friesland "to live with me, because of my church's independency "at Rotterdam. He was my colleague and chosen brother "to the church where I was an unworthy pastor." It had been Ames's intention to migrate at last to New England; and, though this intention was frustrated by his death, the New Englanders did have the honour of receiving among them some of his family, with his collection of books. Nay, two years after Ames's death, Peters himself had left Rotterdam

for New England (1635). But the Rotterdam church was not extinguished. It was still kept up, or indeed divided into two, by the arrival from England, in 1637–39, of Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, Mr. William Bridge, and Mr. Sidrach Simpson. These three Rotterdam ministers, with Goodwin and Nye in Arnheim (unless we add Canne in Amsterdam), were the visible representatives of English Independency in Holland in that year 1640 to which our narrative has brought down the history of the massive Independency of New England. All the five had been regularly educated for the Church of England. Four of them were of Cambridge training; only Nye was from Oxford.[1]

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—VI. ITS PERSISTENCE IN ENGLAND (1632—1640).

Thus, in 1640, besides the massive Independency of the distant Commonwealth of New England, developed there in the preceding twenty years out of the Robinsonian Independency which had been nursed in Holland, there was still to be seen in Holland itself a vigorous, though small, exhibition of Independency, partly transmitted from the Robinsonian age, partly of more recent origin. Add now, to complete our estimate of the total dimensions of English Independency in the the year 1640, the fact that even within England and Wales, despite the utmost vigilance of Laud, native Independency was far from being extinct.

All through James's reign, while old Brown himself was still alive and chuckling in his Northamptonshire living over his past handiwork, there had remained a pent-up Brownism in England and Wales, not sufficiently drawn off by the slender emigration to Holland, and breaking out sporadically in conventicles and field-preachings. And so hitherto into the reign of Charles, though there was now the larger outlet of the American emigration. From the very nature of the case,

[1] Steven's valuable Account of British Churches in the Netherlands, appended (pp. 257—344) to his History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam (1833); Wilson's Dissenting Churches in London, IV. 125—136; Hanbury's Memorials, I. 257, and II. 59, 60; Fuller's Church History, III. 461—465; Neal's Puritans, II. 317; Bayle's Dict., art. Amesius.

the records of this transmitted Brownist agitation within the bosom of English society are fragmentary and discontinuous. A mischievous nest of Separatists pounced upon here; an anonymous travelling Anabaptist preaching in some village and arrested—that is nearly all! A few names, however, and momentary visions of Brownist excitements in whole districts, do emerge into light. Kent, Norfolk, Gloucestershire, and South Wales, seem to have abounded most in the Brownist leaven. In South Wales a Mr. Wroth, rector of Llanvaches in Monmouthshire, began, about 1634, an irregular ministry or apostleship, which at length took the form of avowed Congregationalism. With his movement was combined one by a William Thomas, a Welsh Baptist; and the congregations in South Wales formed between them, and counting a Mr. Cradock, a Mr. Symonds, a Mr. Walter, and a Mr. Moston, among their ministers, are said to have consisted of mixed Baptists and Pædobaptists amicably united and leaving Baptism an open question among them. The city of Bristol became a focus of this Welsh or West of England Independency; and as one of the first and most intrepid Independents of that city there is remembered a widow, named Mrs. Kelly, who kept a shop in High Street, and afterwards married a Mr. Hazard, one of the city ministers. She did much to assert and maintain Congregationalism in Bristol; and, after she became Mrs. Hazard, she and her husband made a habit of receiving in their house poor Separatist families from all parts, coming to Bristol to embark for New England.[1]———In London itself, under Laud's very eyes, Independency had wriggled on. The small London congregation of Arminian Baptists, or extreme Separatists, formed about 1611 by Thomas Helwisse and John Murton, had indeed vanished, or died, through persecution of its members, into an obscurity now impenetrable. But Henry Jacob's subsequent institution in 1616 of the less Separatist and more Calvinistic church of Robinsonian Independents, called the first London church of Independents proper, had survived even the blow inflicted on it in 1632 in the ministry of Jacob's

[1] Fletcher's History of Independency, III. 189—198.

successor Lathorp (*antè*, p. 544). When Lathorp was at length released from prison (1634), he had to emigrate to America; but his persevering scantling of a congregation found (1635 or 1636) a new pastor in Mr. Henry Jessey, M.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, who had been a parish minister in Yorkshire, but had been ejected for nonconformity. Here and there in London, in Queenhithe, about Tower Hill, anywhere, Mr. Jessey and his little flock met, dodging the Bishop's pursuivants as well as they could; and they were still extant in 1640, engaged in the same process, but sorely fatigued by it and seemingly at their last gasp.[1]

If in this critical year, 1640, there was, besides the avowed Independent Mr. Jessey, any other man in London, of University training and in the clerical profession, to whom we may now point as also a partisan of Independency rather than of Presbyterianism, it was John Goodwin, M.A., vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street. This, at all events, is the point at which he may be best introduced to notice; and, as he is to be of some consequence henceforth in our History, the reader will please to distinguish him at once from his namesake, Mr. Thomas Goodwin, whom we have left at Arnheim. John Goodwin was by no means Thomas. He was a Norfolk man by birth, had been educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, and become a fellow of that College, and had been called to the incumbency in Coleman Street in December 1633, by the choice of the parishioners, in succession to their last vicar, the exiled Mr. Davenport. He was then exactly forty years of age. During the seven years of his incumbency that had elapsed in 1640 he had become more and more a marked man in London. He had introduced a somewhat new style of preaching, neither elaborately analytic, with intricate divisions and subdivisions, like that of many Puritans, nor hot and declamatory, like that of others, but fulfilling Aristotle's notion in his Rhetoric (the reference is Goodwin's own) that a real orator's anxiety ought not so much to be to persuade, as "to speak things pertinent and proper to persuade." In other words, he tried to make

[1] Wilson's Dissenting Churches in London, I. 41—43.

the matter of his discourses instructive, reasonable, and interesting, and he took some pains with their style. His parishioners, among whom were Alderman Pennington and other citizens of good means and superior tastes, appear greatly to have relished this intellectual style of preaching, and to have become proud of their pastor. What though there had crept about suspicions that Mr. Goodwin was not altogether sound in the faith, that there was a tendency in his discourses to Arminianism, or even to Socinianism? These were the mere whisperings of Puritan ministers round about him, envious of his parts and his popularity! Still the suspicions had increased, and it had become clear that Mr. Goodwin was not a Puritan of the common type, but a Puritan *sui generis*, a rationalistic Puritan. On the other hand, whatever promise of Arminianism there was in him had not recommended him to Laud. In 1637, and again in 1638, Laud had had him under admonition, and had reported him by name to the King as an unsatisfactory kind of person, not obedient to rule, and with "some over-niceties" which might occasion trouble; and in 1640 he made good Laud's anticipation by publicly protesting and petitioning, with others, against Laud's tyrannical new Canons passed in the Convocation of that year. He was then forty-seven years of age, and had published very little. That he had by this time conceived some notions tending to Independency in Church-government is mainly an inference from his subsequent actions; but it is a fair inference, if not inevitable. At all events, in 1640, the Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, Alderman Pennington's good friend and pastor, and a friend also of Hampden's mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Hampden, then living in Westminster, was a man likely to play an active part, should there be occasion, and to go very far. As his portraits present him in his pulpit dress, he was a man of calm general appearance, with a large round head held tightly in a skull-cap behind the temples and ears, a broad brow, a nose rather fine and ironical, and a face altogether suggesting ability and opinionativeness blended with ingenuousness and composure. One would imagine him, as

indeed he is afterwards found, a man who would fight continuously and hit hard, and yet always with fairness, some care of literary expression, and cool command of temper. Milton, I am sure, knew him well already by character and reputation, if not personally; and they were to be bracketed together most remarkably in their subsequent lives.[1]

ENGLISH INDEPENDENCY:—VII. ITS REINVIGORATION (1640—1643).

With respect, therefore, to the theory of Church-government called Independency or Congregationalism, the state of the case in 1640 may be thus summed up:—There was an unknown amount of traditional affection for the theory, even where it could not be articulately stated, in the native and popular Anti-Prelacy of England itself. This vague and diffused Independency had also a few champions in known Separatist ministers, who had managed to remain in England through all difficulties, and perhaps it had well-wishers in a private opinionist or two, like John Goodwin, regularly in orders in the Church of England; but the effective mass of English-born Independency lay wholly without the bounds of England, partly in little curdlings of Separatists or semi-Separatists among the English exiles in some of the towns of Holland, but chiefly, and in most assured completeness both of bulk and of detail, in the incipient Transatlantic Commonwealth of New England. One thing, however, was certain all the while. These two effective aggregations of English-born Independency beyond the bounds of England—the small Dutch scattering and the massive American extension—were not dissociated from England, had not learnt to be foreign to her, but were in correspondence with her, in constant survey of her concerns, and attached to her by such homeward yearnings that, on the least opportunity, the least signal given, they would leap back upon her shores.

The opportunity came, and the signal was given, in November 1640, when the Long Parliament met. It was

[1] Wilson's Dissenting Churches, II. 403 *et seq.*; Jackson's Life of John Goodwin (1822), pp. 1—55.

as if England then proclaimed to all her exiles for opinion "Ye need be exiles no more." Accordingly, between that date and the meeting of the Westminster Assembly in July 1643, we have the interesting phenomenon of a return of some of the conspicuous representatives of Independency both from Holland and from New England.

From Holland there returned, in the winter of 1640-1, five out of the six Congregationalist ministers who had there found shelter. Thomas Goodwin returned from Arnheim, to set up a congregation in St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, London; Philip Nye from Arnheim, to become minister of Kimbolton parish in Hunts; William Bridge from Rotterdam, to become minister of Yarmouth, Norfolk; and Jeremiah Burroughs and Sidrach Simpson also from Rotterdam, to be preachers or lecturers in London. The single remaining Anglo-Dutch Independent minister of any celebrity, John Canne of Amsterdam, seems also to have made a flying visit to London, bringing with him for English circulation tracts in favour of Independency and Separatism, which he had written and printed in Amsterdam.[1]———From America return was not so easy as from Holland; and the immediate effect upon America of the changed state of things in England was rather that of stopping the emigration to New England that had so long been going on. The effect in this way was extraordinary. All at once, in 1640, the tendency of English Nonconformists to America ceased, and this because the promise of a reform in the Church and State at home made "all men," as Winthrop said, "to stay in England in expectation of a new world." American historians even tell us that not till after the lapse of a century and a quarter from 1640 was the emigration from the mother-country to New England resumed to any perceptible extent, and that the growth of population in New England during all that while was but the native increase of the 21,000 or 22,000 Eng-

[1] Baillie speaks, under date "London, March 15, 1640-1" (I. 311), of "*all* the English ministers of Holland who are for the New England way" as then already returned and in conversation with himself and others; that is, four months after the meeting of the Long Parliament. I do not think he included Canne, but only the other five.]

lish originally imported between 1620 and 1640. But from 1640, we are also told, there even set in a return tide, which did not cease to flow for that same century and a quarter, so that, in that period, more persons passed back from New England to the mother-country than came out from the mother-country to New England. We are concerned here only with the earliest of these restorations to England of men who had tasted the transatlantic world. Vane, the young ex-Governor of Massachusetts, may, in courtesy, head the list, though his return had been in 1637, when he had been an American for only two years, and there was no prospect in England as yet of the break-up of *Thorough*. But next may be named Hugh Peters. *His* return was really symptomatic. He was deputed by the General Court of the colony of Massachusetts in June 1641 to proceed to England, in conjunction with Mr. Thomas Welde, minister of Roxbury, and William Hibbens, a merchant of Boston, "upon some weighty occasions," *i.e.* to make some arrangements with English creditors of the colony, but at the same time to congratulate the popular chiefs of the Long Parliament, and offer them any advice that might be required, "for the settling of the right form of Church discipline." Both he and Welde meant to return to New England, but neither of them ever did; Peters, in fact, very soon after his arrival, being lured into Parliamentary employment, and sent, first of all, as preacher and general agent into Ireland, then in the beginning of its rebellion. A somewhat later re-importation than Peters and Welde was the poor Baptist wanderer, Hanserd Knollys, who, after three years of knocking about in New England, had made up his mind that he might as well be knocked about in Old England, and came back for a long futurity of that experience. He arrived in London, in great poverty, Dec. 1641, and took up some kind of domicile in Tower Hill, nominally to teach a few boys, but with an eye to furtive preaching. Thus by the end of 1641 there were at least three New England ministers back in the British Islands. These, however, were but the harbingers of an eager flight of many more New Englanders back to the mother-land, some for permanent

stay, others merely on temporary visits. One or two more ministers were among them; but the majority were laymen, either heads or younger scions of leading families in the colonies. New England historians tell us of Winthrops, Winslows, Sedgwicks, Stoughtons, Fenwicks, Downings, Mathers, Allens, and others, who came over to England in this way, and even performed parts of some consequence in the Parliamentary service, or afterwards in the service of the Protectorate; and they dwell with natural pride on the fact that some of the best of these were strictly of New England breeding, the earliest students and graduates of Harvard College, Massachusetts.[1]

Even had there been no return, in 1641, of the five Independent English ministers from Holland, and no beginning in that year of a movement back from the New England colonies, there would doubtless, within that year, have been an *indigenous* reappearance, in England, of the theory of Independency. For the English instinct to religious Separatism was irrepressible, and after the meeting of the Long Parliament the practice of Separatism had been openly revived. As that event had been a signal to the Puritan exiles in Holland and New England that they might return, so it was construed into a proclamation that the long-suppressed Separatists at home might come out of their hiding-holes. Thus, in London and its suburbs, where in the previous year the only congregation of Separatists distinctly recorded as existing was Mr. Henry Jessey's, there sprang up in 1641, unless Bishop Hall was misinformed, "no fewer than fourscore congregations of several Sectaries, instructed by guides fit for them, cobblers, tailors, felt-makers, and such-like trash."[2] Of one of these conventicles there is a story in the Lords Journals under dates Jan. 16 and Jan. 18, 1640-1, or within eleven weeks after the opening of the Parliament. On the first of these days there were brought before the House, by his Majesty's command, six villains, named Edmund Chillendon, Nicholas Tyne, John Webb, Thomas Gunn, Joseph Ellis,

[1] Palfrey, I. 582—587.
[2] Speech of Bishop Hall in the Lords: Parl. Hist. II. 990.

and Richard Sturges, who had all been seized, on the previous Sunday, by the constables and churchwardens of St. Saviour's, Southwark, in the house of the last-named Sturges, "where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ;" and on the second of these days they were discharged by the Lords with a solemn admonition not to do the like again. There are private accounts, however, of the same incident. From these it seems that the persons arrested were really a fragment of a stubborn Independent congregation that had been meeting, no one knew for how long, in Deadman's Place, Southwark, with a Mr. Stephen More for their pastor, and also that the solemn admonition in the Lords Journals was all but a farce. For, while the admonition was being given, or was in preparation, some of the Peers, these private accounts tell us, quietly asked the culprits where they were to meet next Sunday; and actually three or four of the Peers went next Sunday to their meeting, heard two sermons, saw them receive the Lord's Supper, and, after contributing handsomely to a collection for the poor, professed themselves much pleased, and said they would come again. They never did; but what of that? Was it not clear that, whatever Parliament might find it necessary to say publicly, they were not in a mood for severe coercion?[1] Where the practice of Independency existed to such an extent, theorists for Independency were sure to be forthcoming.

In the winter of 1640-1 there were at least two persons in London ready to raise the flag of English Independency without aid from Holland or America. These were Henry Burton and John Lilburne, known to us hitherto as, with Prynne, Bastwick, and Dr. Leighton, the prime personal sufferers under Laud's rule. As soon as the Long Parliament met, had it not hastened, amid the applauses of all England, to release these five from their several prisons with special honours, and to make some atonement to them for their past tortures? Strange that, from the moment of their restoration to society, these associates in misfortune should be found parting company! Yet such is the fact. Prynne and Bastwick

[1] Lords Journals of dates cited, and Hanbury's Memorials, II. 66—68.

were to become strenuous advocates of strict Presbyterianism, while Burton and Lilburne were to be voices for Separatism and extreme Independency. In Burton's various Anti-Prelatic writings before his dreadful punishment in 1637, the Anti-Prelacy had been distinctly of the Brownist or Separatist sort; and so, when he came back among his parishioners in Friday Street, in March 1640-1, a sad, emaciated creature, of more than sixty, with the scars of his lost ears concealed by his skull-cap, it was something beyond Presbyterianism that might be expected in his sermons. Lilburne, not yet more than twenty-two years of age, but the most bull-headed young obstinate that ever came from the county of Durham, had been Prynne's law-clerk, and the offence for which he had been whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned, in 1638, was that of distributing his master's pamphlets. In prison, however, Lilburne had been thinking for himself; and here was one of the results: "*Come Out of Her, My People: or An Answer to the Questions of a Gentlewoman, a professor in the Anti-Christian Church of England, about Hearing the public Ministers; where it is largely discussed, and proved to be unlawful. Also a Just Apology for the way of Total Separation, commonly but falsely called 'Brownism'; that it is the truth of God, though lightly esteemed in the eyes of the world. With a challenge to dispute them publicly before King and Council, to prove whatsoever I have said at the pillory against them: viz. that the calling of them is* jure Diaboli, *even from the Devil himself. By me, John Lilburne, close Prisoner in the Fleet for the cause of Christ. Printed in the year of hope of England's Purgation and the Prelates' Dissolution. Anno* 1639."

Still it cannot be said that before the middle of 1641 the indigenous Independency of England made any great show. The abundant Anti-Prelatic pamphleteering and consultation of the first eight months of the Long Parliament was, mostly, of a general nature. It was directed to the abolition of Episcopacy and the accomplishment of some kind of Root-and-Branch Reform of the Church, but without any precise specification of the mechanism desirable in the Church as it should be reformed. The war against the

Church of England, one may say, was mainly after the manner of the siege of Jericho in Scripture. "Ye shall "compass the city, all ye men of war, and go round about "the city once. Thus shalt thou do six days. And seven "priests shall bear before the ark seven trumpets of rams' "horns: and the seventh day ye shall compass the city "seven times, and the priests shall blow with the trumpets. "And it shall come to pass that, when they shall make a "long blast with the ram's horn, and when ye shall hear "the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with "a great shout; and the wall of the city shall fall down flat, "and the people shall ascend up, every man straight before "him" (*Joshua* vi. 3—5). Milton's first three Anti-Episcopal pamphlets, for example, written between April and July 1641, are characteristic in this respect. They are shoutings of a layman expecting the fall of the besieged Jericho, but with no more definite preadvertisement of the policy that should follow the fall than was implied in the fact that the priests who were loudest in blowing the rams' horns for the surrender were Milton's five Presbyterian friends, the Smectymnuans. Milton had not then discussed with himself the claims of the two competing Anti-Prelatic theories of Presbyterianism and Independency. More remarkable still is a confession of Richard Baxter, who was twenty-five years of age in 1641, and then a Puritan minister at Kidderminster. He confesses that till that year he had "never "thought what Presbytery or Independency was, nor ever "spake with a man who seemed to know it."[1] Baxter and his acquaintances were, certainly, more in the dark than they ought to have been, and there were others who had the whole prior history of the dispute between Presbytery and Independency at their fingers' ends. Still, his testimony is valuable as proving that till the middle of 1641 indiscriminate Anti-Prelacy was the prevailing mood of the English mind, and the distinction between Presbyterianism and Independency was yet caviare to the general.

[1] Baxter's True Hist. of Councils Enlarged, as quoted in Hanbury, II. 69.

What rectified this? What first made the Presbyterians in England, and their advisers the Scots, aware that there might be some obstacles to that triumphant establishment of strict Presbytery in England to which they were looking forward? ——In the first place, the return from Holland of Messrs. Goodwin, Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, and Simpson! As early as March 1640-1, we find Baillie, and his colleagues of the Scottish deputation then in London, somewhat discomposed by the arrival of these five. They found them excellent men, likeable for many things, and especially for their declarations in conversation that they had as little sympathy with extreme Separatists and mere sectarian blockheads as the English Presbyterians or the Scots had; but still there was a possibility of trouble from their own Congregationalist scruples.[1]——Next, however, there came a bomb from Burton. The reader may remember the *Protestation*, or *Resolution for the Common Safety*, adopted with such enthusiasm by the two Houses of Parliament, and circulated by them among the people at large for signature, in the crisis of alarm occasioned by the Army Plot in May 1641 (*antè*, pp. 186-7). Well, seizing on the words of this Protestation by which those that signed it swore to maintain "the true "Reformed Religion expressed in the doctrine of the Church "of England," Burton sent forth, anonymously, from his study in Friday Street, a tract of twenty-one pages, entitled "*The Protestation Protested: or A Short Remonstrance, showing what is principally required of all those that have or do take the last Parliamentary Protestation.*" The tenor of this tract may be conceived. Burton wanted to know precisely what was meant in the phrase of the Protestation that has been quoted, and pointed out its perplexing ambiguity to Puritan consciences in such matters as the Liturgy, discipline, and ceremonies. So far he had a following among the Presbyterians, who indeed made the same complaint about the Protestation, and obtained from Parliament a satisfactory explanation of it. But the end of Burton's tract was a blaze of peculiar or Burtonian Independency. "A par-

[1] Baillie, I. 311.

"ticular church, or congregation, rightly collected and con-
"stituted, consists," he said, "of none but such as are visible
living members of Christ the Head, and visible saints
"under Him, the one and only King of Saints; but so is
"it not with a National Church." "Let it be the first degree
"of Reformation," he said, "to begin and call forth all those
"unto several congregations who are fitted and who desire
"to draw near to Christ in a holy communion." "If a
"State," he said, "will set up a National Church, wherein
"many things, out of reason of State, are tolerated, and
"prescribed for 'order sake,' as they call it, and if there be
"such a necessity, necessity hath no law; but let not this
"exclude and bar out the free use of such congregations
"whereof the spiritual commonwealth of Israel consisteth."
"If Christians living in a parish," he said, "shall find just
"cause of separating themselves . . . shall any ministers be
"so unchristian as to envy this?" "As for the manner of
"government of a National Church," he said, "because it hath
"no pattern in the Scripture now under the Gospel, who can
"herein prescribe or advise anything? Let it be what it will,
"so as still a due respect be had to those congregations and
"churches which desire an exemption." These sentences give the pith of Burton's views. In other words, he had such strong objections to a National Church of any kind that he did not care to inquire what kind might be best; but if, on grounds of political expediency, it should appear inevitable that a National Church should be set up, with a division of the land into parishes, and a minister of the National Church in every parish paid by the State, at least let there be a liberty of dissent, and of separate congregational organization to dissenters at their own expense![1]——There is proof that Burton's tract was much read, and made a powerful impression. Parliament itself took notice of it by imprisoning the printer for six weeks (July 10—Aug. 25)[2]; and there is reason to believe

[1] Ample extracts from Burton's Tract are given in Hanbury's Memorials of Independency, II. 69—77. This work, indeed, consists of masses of verbatim extracts from the whole series of tracts by early English Independents and their opponents, with much criticism, and a slight thread of connecting narrative.

[2] Commons Journals, July 10, 24-5, 1641.

that the Presbyterian ministers of London had it in view, as well as the milder Independency of the five returned ministers from Holland, when they wrote to the General Assembly of the Scottish Kirk at its meeting that autumn, requesting a distinct opinion from that venerable body on the lawfulness of Congregationalism in any form or degree. What the answer of the Scottish Kirk was we saw some time ago (*ante*, pp. 288—290).——Just when the talk of the returned Anglo-Dutch Congregationalists had sufficiently ventilated the question of a mild Congregationalism, and Burton's tract had sent a blaze of more startling Brownism through the air, there arrived Hugh Peters, Thomas Welde, and others, as the accredited ambassadors of the Independency of New England. This thickened the controversy; and, accordingly, through the rest of 1641, there is evidence of a growing fear, on the part of the English Presbyterians, of the chances of some success for "Congregationalism," or "Brownism," or "the New England way." Presbyterianism availed itself of all its existing resources of reply, and set new pens to work. Treatises by Paget of Amsterdam and other Anglo-Dutch Presbyterians were imported; and a good deal was done by circulating and re-editing certain treatises of a John Ball, a poor Staffordshire curate and Nonconformist, who had died in 1640 little heard of, but whose studies of the question of Separatism had been rather extensive. In particular, an answer of Ball's to two books of John Canne, the Amsterdam Brownist, was edited and published by Simeon Ashe, with a prefatory epistle by Ashe and four other Presbyterian Divines.[1] To Burton's *Protestation Protested* there were, of course, special answers. Besides a furious one in the Prelatic interest, published anonymously, but attributed, on the evidence of the style, to Bishop Hall, there was one in the Presbyterian interest by John Geree, M.A., preacher at Tewkesbury. But of all the Pro-Presbytery and Anti-Independency publications of the hour the most noteworthy, both for a certain fluent spiritedness or animosity in the writing itself, and because of the subsequent notoriety of

[1] Wood's Athenæ, II. 670—673.

the writer, was one of 56 quarto pages, entitled, "*Reasons against the Independent Government of particular Congregations: As also against the Toleration of such Churches to be erected in this Kingdom: Together with an Answer to such Reasons as are commonly alleged for such a Toleration: Presented, in all humility, to the Honourable House of Commons now assembled in Parliament, by Tho: Edwards, Minister of the Gospel.* 1641." Let the reader put his mark upon this Thomas Edwards. He had been educated at Cambridge, and had graduated M.A. there in 1609; had been incorporated in the same degree at Oxford in 1623; and had been a Nonconformist lecturer in Hertfordshire and other midland counties, and also in London. And now in 1641, when he was between fifty and sixty years of age, he flashed out in this pamphlet. "Considering," he says in his Introduction, "how many are of that [the Independent] way, some "inhabiting in this kingdom, others who are come over into "England on purpose, being sent as messengers of their "Churches to negotiate on that behalf; and observing how "diligently and close they follow it, by daily attending at "Westminster, by insinuating themselves into the company "of sundry members of the House of Commons, by preaching "often in Westminster, the more to ingratiate themselves "and their cause; printing also their desire of a Toleration "for Independent Government, and that with casting of dirt "upon the reformation and government of this National "Church, whatever it may be—as witness *The Protestation "Protested*—I, a minister of the Gospel, and a sufferer for it "these many years past . . . have thought it my duty . . . "to print these Reasons at this time, that so, when any "of those Petitions come to be propounded in the House of "Commons, under specious pretences and fair pretexts, there "may by these Reasons appear a snake under the green grass." With the same spirited verbosity he goes on to predict all kinds of horrors from Independency, or the least toleration of it in England. His pamphlet appears to have circulated widely, and to have been particularly stinging to the Independents. At all events, among the replies from that side to

the Presbyterian attacks now beginning to be numerous, Mr. Edwards was honoured with one all to himself. What Mr. Edwards, however, did not like, for it set society on the grin, was that his antagonist was a woman. "*The Justification of the Independent Churches of Christ: being an Answer to Mr. Edwards his Book, which he hath written against the Government of Christ's Church, and Toleration of Christ's public worship; briefly declaring that the Congregations of the Saints ought not to have Dependency in government upon any other, or direction in worship from any other, than Christ, their Head and Lawgiver. By Katherine Chidley.* 1641." Such was the title of the Reply, of 81 pages, that astonished Mr. Edwards. People wondered who this she-Brownist, Katherine Chidley, was, and did not quite lose their interest in her when they found that she was an oldish woman, and a member of some hole-and-corner congregation in London. Indeed she put her nails into Mr. Edwards with some effect. In the close of her pamphlet she offers to have the argument out with him, if he chooses, in a debate before a jury of listeners impartially selected. "If you overcome "me," she adds, rather unfairly, "your conquest will not be "great, for I am a poor woman, and unmeet to deal with "you." Mr. Edwards did not accept the proposal; but Mrs. Chidley's pamphlet left him fuming, and we shall see he kept her in mind.[1]

And so we are brought to the year 1642. In that year the difference between Presbyterianism and Independency was no longer a mystery in England. Ball's tracts on the one side, and Burton's *Protestation Protested* on the other, had wakened Baxter on the subject. There is proof that Milton also had read the *Protestation Protested*, and the reply to it which was suspected to be Bishop Hall's;[2] and it is observable

[1] Hanbury's Memorials, II. 77—117; where there are abridgments of the various pamphlets named, with verbatim extracts.

[2] "No more but of one [libellous "pamphlet from the Prelatic side] can "the Remonstrant [Bishop Hall] re-"member! What if I put him in mind "of one more? What if of one more "whereof the Remonstrant in many "likelihoods may be thought the "author? Did he never see a pamphlet "entitled, after his own fashion, *A Sur-"vey of that foolish, seditious, scandalous, "profane Libel, 'The Protestation Pro-"tested!'* The child doth not more ex-"pressly refigure the visage of his father "than that book resembles the style of

that the fourth of Milton's Anti-Episcopal tracts, *The Reason of Church Government*, published in January or February, 1641-2, is not, like its predesessors, a mere argument for the destruction of Prelacy, but is an express discussion of the farther question of the form of Church Government to be substituted for Prelacy. That pamphlet, as we saw, may be classed as, in the main, a Presbyterian pamphlet, as if Milton, when he wrote it, were still in sympathy with his Smectymnuan friends and the Presbyterian party generally; but a certain vague melting towards Independency may be discerned in the language throughout. It is the parochial consistory, or court of each individual parochial congregation, consisting of the pastor, lay-elders, and deacons, acting for and even in consultation with the entire body of the members, that Milton dwells on; it is this that he thinks of and describes as the essential atom of the Presbytery he contends for; and, though he does have in view the consociation or "conglobing" of the parochial or congregational Presbyteries over a whole land by a gradation of larger consistories, or at least by occasional national assemblies, he is hazy in this part of the scheme, and still seems to leave to every congregation within itself the real power of Church censure. In this, as well as in his obvious indifference in the same pamphlet to the alarms of his stricter contemporaries about Brownism, Anabaptism, and the increase of sects, one traces the effects of his recent readings of tracts from the Independent side, though these had not wholly won him over. Nor is there much difference, I think, between Milton's mood so expressed and the mood of Lord Brooke in his famous *Discourse on Episcopacy*, or of Lord Saye and Sele in his Parliamentary speeches at the same date. The Separatists found far kindlier judges and interpreters in these Lords than among the Presbyterians. In short, in 1642, though Presbyterianism in England was enormously in the ascendant, though an overwhelming majority of the Parliamentarians throughout the country, and of their exponents in Parliament, had made up their

' the Remonstrant in those idioms of ' speech wherein he seems most to de- " light."—*Milton's Apology for Smectymnuus.*

minds for the establishment of a Presbyterian Church in England as near as might be to the Scottish pattern, though the citizens of London in the mass were passionately Presbyterian, and there were but two or three out of all the 120 parish-ministers of the city suspected of Independency, yet the existence of a certain amount of opinion in favour of Independency, and consequently of a demand for some toleration for Independency in the system to be established, was no longer dubious. From this year too we may reckon the permanent acceptance of the *name* Independency as designating the *thing*. The term had been in occasional use among the Independents themselves for thirty years, and indeed was a very natural growth out of the phrases "mutual Independency of particular churches," "Independency of particular churches on any superior or synodical authority," which they had so often to employ in explaining their system. Hence, in recent pamphlets on both sides, a tendency to concurrence in this name, though Brownism, Separatism, and the like, remained convenient synonyms for those who wanted words of opprobrium. Now, however, Independency became the generic name, or name in chief, and there was some recognition of the shades and degrees of opinion which that one name might include. Perhaps the most frequent name for the middle or moderate kind of Independency—and it was with this that the Presbyterians foresaw their chief battle would be—was "the New England way." For there was now more and more a perception of the power possessed by Independency in the fact that it was the established Church polity already of an English population of 22,000 or 23,000 souls, with some seventy or eighty ministers among them, of Cambridge and Oxford training, across the Atlantic. Far off as this population was, self-organized and self-governed as it was, it was still a portion of the realm of England. Nay, was it not clear that this population had not abnegated its interest in the Church concerns of England, but was trying to act in these concerns by correspondence and through emissaries? This had been visible since the arrival of Messrs. Peters

and Welde in the preceding year; but throughout 1642 it became more and more apparent. The letter-writing and the coming and going between England and New England were brisk through all that year; and before the end of it the New England Church had spoken out her sentiments, in what might be called an authoritative manner, through the most eminent of all her ministers, Mr. John Cotton of Boston. "*The True Constitution of a Particular Visible Church proved by Scripture*" was the title of a treatise sent over by Cotton, and published with his name in London, in 1642. It was much read, and it passed into a second edition, with a changed title, within a year; and Cotton became from that moment the exponent of moderate Independency whom the Presbyterians felt themselves most bound to answer.[1]

An important change in the political system of the New England colonies was accomplished in May 1643, only a week or two before the convention of the Westminster Assembly. This event, the news of which must have reached England just as the Assembly was beginning its work, does not seem to have excited much attention. Yet not only was it the first step towards the formation of the future Republic of the United States, but even on the English Church questions which the Westminster Assembly had been called to debate it was not to be without some immediate bearing.

The sudden stoppage of the immigration from England, and the commencement even of a return-wave, had strengthened in the New Englanders the sense that they were in fact a distinct commonwealth, depending on themselves for their future, and bound to look after that future by wise provisions. They were more dispersed along the coast-line than they had originally intended; they had had troublesome wars

[1] Hanbury's Memorials, II. 117—166. Fletcher (Hist. of Independency, III. 34) finds the first distinct use of the term *Independent* in its ecclesiastical sense in a tract of Henry Jacob, published in 1612; but it seems to me likely that a search among the writings of Robinson and the other early Anglo-Dutch Independents would detect earlier, or contemporary, instances. Hanbury (II. 49) shows that the name *Independency* had certainly not become general in 1640.

with the Indians, and they were sure to have more of the same; there were French settlements to the north-east of them, and Dutch and Swedish to the south-west, with some of which, or with all together, there might be complications. England was distant and engrossed in her own civil strife: what security was there unless in some political union of all the parts of New England among themselves? Hence, after much negotiation, a formal agreement at Boston (May 19, 1643) in a body of Articles, establishing a CONFEDERACY OF THE FOUR COLONIES OF PLYMOUTH, MASSACHUSETTS, CONNECTICUT, AND NEW HAVEN, under the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND, and settling the Constitution of that Confederacy. Its executive for all the purposes of the confederacy, as distinct from the independent governments of the colonies severally, was to consist of a Court of eight Commissioners, two from each colony and duly qualified by church-membership in that colony. This Court, with one of its own body elected by itself as President, was to meet once a year, or oftener, as might be required, in some principal town of the colonies in succession, but with a preference of frequency to Boston. The first Commissioners, elected in 1643, were Edward Winslow and William Collier for *Plymouth*, John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley for *Massachusetts*, George Fenwick and Edward Hopkins for *Connecticut*, and Theophilus Eaton and Thomas Gregson for *New Haven;* and, by their election, Winthrop was called to the first Presidency.[1]

Of course, this bold union of the Colonies among themselves was liable to be questioned by the Crown and Parliament of England; and, to justify and explain it, there had to be a new despatch of accredited agents to London. Not as one of these, but on an errand of his own, connected with theirs and yet a little in conflict with it at first, there came over one more American, whose return, though it was to be but for a temporary visit, deserves particular notice.

The reader remembers our distinction between the Four Colonies and certain outlying Plantations on their borders.

[1] Palfrey, I. 623—634, and II. Appendix.

Well, of those outlying Plantations only one patch came within the new Confederacy—that patch of the present New Hampshire where there were the rising towns of *Exeter*, *Dover*, &c. The inhabitants of those settlements had recently attached themselves to Massachusetts, and came into the Confederacy as part of that colony. But there remained positively excluded from the Confederacy the Plantations farther to the north-east, in what is now the State of Maine, and also the Plantations south-west of Massachusetts and Plymouth, in the Narraganset Bay country, interposed between these colonies and Connecticut and New Haven. Their exclusion was deliberate. The confederate New Englanders looked askance upon these Plantations, as running a different course from themselves "both in their ministry and civil administration," and hoped either to tame them into conformity by refusing to traffic with them, or to bring them into submission by actual force. The complaint against the Maine people was partly that there was a Royalist and Prelatic leaven among them, and partly that they had given refuge to heretical Separatists like Wheelwright and Hanserd Knollys. The complaint against the Narraganset Bay people was even more indignant. There, in *Portsmouth* and *Newport*, the two towns of Aquetnet or Rhode Island, were the wrecks of the dispersed Antinomians or Hutchinsonians of Boston, increased by other restless recruits, and struggling hard with their own dissensions. There, at the head of the Bay, close to this two-towned chaos of Rhode Island, which he had himself induced thither, but with his own little chaos of *Providence* immediately around him, was the arch-Individualist, Roger Williams. He was the most loveable of men, certainly; he and the good and orderly Winthrop of Massachusetts could not but like each other, and kept up a friendly correspondence, despite their differences; and he had been of excellent service to the colonies, hard as had been their treatment of him, by his generous and laborious negotiations for them, more than once, with his pets, the Indians. Still what an experiment he was bent on—that of the organization of a community on the unheard-of principle of absolute religious

liberty combined with perfect civil democracy! Organize! Williams and organization were a contradiction in terms! What had he had about him in Providence but turmoil from the first—a turmoil lately quite maddening, even to Williams himself, from the vagaries of a certain Samuel Gorton? This Gorton, originally a clothier or tailor in London, then one of the Boston Antinomians, then a trouble in New Plymouth till they banished him, then a torture even to the Rhode Islanders till they publicly whipped him, had at length flung himself upon Providence and the neck of Roger Williams. It was a sore trial for that arch-libertarian. "Master Gorton, having foully abused high and low at Aquetnet," wrote Williams to Winthrop, Mar. 8, 1641-2, "is now bewitching and bemadding poor Providence." Some of the Providence people even appealed to Massachusetts, desiring to be taken into the protection of that colony, so as to be under some sort of effective government, and delivered from Williams and his principle of Liberty. Massachusetts liked the proposal, and began to stir in it. But Williams had faith in his principle; a sufficient number both of the Providence people and of the Rhode Islanders had faith in it; and in 1643 it was resolved to send over Williams himself to England, to represent their case to the King and Parliament, and endeavour to procure a charter uniting all the Narraganset Bay settlements into an independent colony. As Williams could not safely embark from a New England port, he went to wait for a ship in the Dutch possessions, south-west from New Haven. Here he found Mrs. Hutchinson and her family, who had just migrated from Rhode Island for more freedom or better living among the Dutch. Here also he was of use to the Dutch as a peacemaker between them and the Indian tribes of their neighbourhood. At length, in June 1643, he sailed from New Amsterdam, now New York, in a Dutch ship, bound for England. It is a pity he could not have taken poor Mrs. Hutchinson and her family with him! In the voyage he amused himself with writing a "*Key to the Language of America, or an Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America called New England, together with brief observations of the Customs, Manners, and Worships*

of the Natives." When he reached England, they were lamenting the death of Hampden. Vane, however, was Williams's chief personal friend in England, the man to whom he and his constituents looked for most aid in the business that had brought him over. He remained in England about a year, or till Sept. 1644, and during much of that time he was Vane's guest.[1]

PRESBYTERIANISM AND INDEPENDENCY IN JULY 1643: THEIR PROSPECTS IN THE WESTMINSTER ASSEMBLY.

I regard the arrival of Roger Williams in London about Midsummer 1643 as the importation into England of the very quintessence or last distillation of that notion of Church Independency which England had originated, but Holland and America had worked out. Our history of Independency in all its forms, on to this quintessence or last distillation of it in the mind of a fervid Welsh New-Englander, who might now be seen, alone or in young Vane's company, hanging about the lobbies of the Houses of Parliament and the Westminster Assembly, has not been without preconceived and deliberate purpose. For, in most of our existing studies and accounts of England's great Revolution in the middle of the seventeenth century, I know not a blunder more fatal, more full of causes of misapprehension and unfair judgment, than that which consists in treating Independency as a sudden new phenomenon of 1643, or thereabouts, when the Westminster Assembly met. Not so, as we have seen. For sixty years before 1643 Independency had been a traditional form of Anti-Prelacy in the English popular mind, competing with the somewhat older Anti-Prelatic theory of Presbyterianism, and, though not possessing the same respectability of numbers and of social weight, yet lodged inexpugnably in native depths, and intense with memories of pain and wrong. It did happen, in 1643, when Prelacy was removed from the

[1] Palfrey, I. 606–9, and II. 116—123; Gammell's Life of Roger Williams, pp. 105—119; and Memoir of Williams by Edward Bean Underhill, prefixed to the Hanserd Knollys Society's reprint of the *Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1848).

nation, and the question was what was to be substituted, that this native tradition of Independency found itself dashed against the other tradition of Presbyterianism, in such conditions that Independency seemed the pretender and upstart, while Presbyterianism seemed the rightful heir. This arose partly from the fact that Presbyterianism had mass and respectability in her favour, was at home on the spot, and had her titles ready, whereas Independency had been a wanderer on the Continent and in the Colonies, had contracted an uncouth and sunburnt look, had been preceded by ugly reports of her behaviour in foreign parts, had changed her name several times, and was not at once prepared with her pedigree and vouchers. Partly, however, it arose from the omnipotence at that moment of Scottish example and advice in England. Anyhow, for the moment, Independency was at a disadvantage. She seemed even to doubt her chance of obtaining a hearing. Nevertheless, she was to be heard, and fully, in the course of time. Not a form of Independency, not a variety in her development that has been described in the preceding narrative, from Brown's original English Separatism, on through Robinson's Congregationalism or Semi-Separatism antagonizing Smyth's extreme Separatism and Se-Baptism in Holland, and so to the consolidated Robinsonian Independency of the New England Church, with its outjets in Mrs. Hutchinson's Antinomianism and Roger Williams's absolute Individualism, but were to have their appearances or equivalents in the coming controversy in England, and to play into the current of English life.

The medium through which this Independency, and whatever it involved, had to assert themselves and press for a hearing was, first of all, the Westminster Assembly. An important inquiry therefore is, How did the Assembly, in respect of its constitution at the time of its first meeting, stand related beforehand to the controversy between Presbyterianism and Independency?

Inasmuch as the Assembly was a creation of the Parliament at a time when the nation was divided between Parlia-

ment and the King, it could not possibly be pan-Anglican. It could not be a representation of all the varieties of ecclesiastical opinion existing in England, but only of such as would consent for the time to obey the Parliamentary summons, and show themselves within the Parliamentary quarters. Within this limit, however, there was an effort on the part of Parliament, in its first convention of the Assembly, to make it rather composite. Of the 119 Divines originally summoned to the Assembly, about a dozen at least, with Usher and two English Bishops at their head, were "men of Episcopal persuasion," favourers of Prelacy and a Liturgy. By the refusal, however, of most of these to appear in the Assembly at all, and the dropping off at once of the two or three who did appear, the Assembly from the outset was able to stand on what was, after all, the real principle and intention of its constitution, its very *raison d'être*. It presented itself as an avowedly Anti-Prelatic Council, in which the extinction of Prelacy was a unanimous foregone conclusion, and whose discussions were to start from that point. Well then, when the few Prelatists had dropped off, and the Assembly had assumed its proper Anti-Prelatic character, how did it stand in respect of the two forms of Anti-Prelacy that were competing for the succession?—I. THE PRESBYTERIANS IN THE ASSEMBLY. These were overwhelmingly in the majority. It might be unfair to say that the Assembly was *packed* with Presbyterians; for perhaps the Parliament did not intend any such packing, but had really made the most suitable selection in its power from the most popular Puritan divines it could hear of all over England, at the rate of two from each county. The phrase, however, suggests the reality; for the most eminent Puritan divines at hand, within hail of the Parliament, were of that moderate Nonconformist stamp which had managed with more or less difficulty to subsist in England through Laud's rule; *i.e.* they were Presbyterians, as distinct from Separatists. If 105 Divines remained nominally on the lists of the Assembly after the few Prelatists had withdrawn, then 100 of these were Presbyterians. Dr. Twisse, the Prolocutor of the Assembly, was a

Presbyterian; the five Smectymnuans (Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and Spurstow) were all in the Assembly; and among the other most active Presbyterians in it were Arrowsmith, Burges, Caryl, Cheynel, Conant, Gataker, Gouge, Harris, Herle, Hill, Hodges, Palmer, Reynolds, Sedgwick, Staunton, Tuckney, Vines, White, and Whitaker.——

II. INDEPENDENTS IN THE ASSEMBLY. There had been a private effort to secure some efficient representation of Independency in the Assembly thus dense with Presbyterians. In September 1642, a letter, signed by five Peers and thirty-four other persons (among whom were Oliver Cromwell, Arthur Haselrig, and Nathaniel Fiennes), had been sent to New England, earnestly requesting that Mr. Cotton of Boston, Mr. Hooker of Hartford, and Mr. Davenport of New Haven, would come over to assist in "the settling and composing the affairs of the Church." Davenport would have gone, but could not obtain leave from his congregation; Hooker "liked not the business, nor thought it any sufficient call for them to go three thousand miles"; Cotton would not go alone. When, therefore, the Westminster Assembly was constituted, all that could be managed by those in Parliament who were interested was to procure the return to the Assembly of the five English Congregationalist ministers who had recently returned from Holland: viz. Thomas Goodwin, Philip Nye, William Bridge, Jeremiah Burroughs, and Sidrach Simpson. These five, the most mild and moderate of all to whom the name of "Independent" could be applied, the least removed from the Presbyterians, were the sole wedge of Independency among the divines of the Assembly at its outset. Their views were favoured, however, by some of the lay-members, including Viscount Saye and Sele and Sir Harry Vane.[1]

One observation more on the composition of the Assembly. A few of the members, whether Presbyterian or Independent in the main matter, came to be distinguished by a collective name, indicating that they wore their colours, whether of

[1] Fuller's Church Hist. III. 446–7, and 461–5; Lightfoot's and Gillespie's Notes of the Westminster Assembly, *passim*; Baillie, II. 110; Neal's Puritans, III. 130—135, and 258 *et seq.*; Palfrey's New England, I. 581–2.

Presbyterianism or of Independency, with a difference from the rest. They were called THE ERASTIANS, from a notion that they held views of the relations between Church and State like those which had been propounded by the Swiss-German theologian and physician Erastus (1524—1583), and maintained, after him, by some of the more eminent of the English Reformers. The essence of Erastianism, or what had come to be called Erastianism, was that all power of discipline, ecclesiastical as well as civil, belongs ultimately to the State, the Church not being independent of the State by Divine constitution as an *imperium in imperio*, but being only the ecclesiastical department of the State's service, or the State itself acting ecclesiastically. Hence the office of pastor or minister in a congregation was not to be regarded as essentially coercive or judicial, but only as instructive or persuasive, like that of a professor among his pupils, and the right of excommunication, suspension from church-membership, or other so-called spiritual penalty, did not belong to the Church in herself, but only by deputation from the State, and subject to revision by the State. One can see how any one in the Westminster Assembly holding such views, or any modification of them, would inevitably, whether a Presbyterian or an Independent in the main, be led into eccentric positions. Accordingly the little band of Erastians in the Assembly are seen zig-zagging across the line of main division and causing complications of the main controversy. Among the divines of the Assembly there seem to have been but two avowed Erastians: viz. Dr. Lightfoot and Mr. Coleman, both of them Rabbinists and Orientalists, and both belonging on the whole to the Presbyterian majority; but Erastianism had its adherents among the lay-members, and especially among the lawyers. Bulstrode Whitlocke and Oliver St. John were of the number, but Selden was the chief. The position of this great scholar and wit in the Assembly was, indeed, altogether peculiar. For a long while he took a delight in attending the meetings of the Assembly, and joining in the debates, but mainly for the purpose of seeing fair play, or rather of perplexing the divines equally all round by his subtlety and learning.

"Sometimes, when they had cited a text of Scripture to "prove their assertion," says his friend and fellow-member, Whitlocke, "he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little "pocket Bibles with gilt leaves' (which they would often "pull out and read) 'the translation may be thus, but the "Greek or the Hebrew signifies thus and thus;' and so would "totally rout them." There may be a little mischief in this memorandum of Whitlocke, for there were good Hellenists and Hebraists in the Assembly besides Selden; but it is in the main accurate. Fuller's account is to the same effect. Among the difficulties of the Assembly he specially mentions what was complained of in Selden; to wit, "that, advantaged "by his skill in antiquity, common law, and the Oriental "tongues, he employed them rather to pose than profit, "perplex than inform, the members thereof." And Fuller, as usual, shows that he understood the man. "This great "scholar," he adds, "not overloving of any clergymen, and "least of those, delighted himself in raising of scruples "for the vexing of others; and some stick not to say "that those who will not feed on the flesh of God's "Word cast most bones to others, to break their teeth "therewith." This is slyly expressed, but it depicts Selden to the life. It was not because he was fond of the soft or nutritive parts of Scripture himself that he called the attention of others chiefly to the hard parts or bones. He was at heart a kind of Latitudinarian or Free-thinker. Above all, he was a clergy-hater. "The clergy and the "laity together," he said in one of his morsels of table-talk, "are never likely to do well. It is as if a man were to "make an excellent feast, and should have his apothecary "and his physician to come to his kitchen: the cooks, if "they were let alone, would make excellent meat; but then "comes the apothecary, and he puts rhubarb into one sauce, "and agaric into another. Chain up the clergy on both "sides." Here was Selden's chief principle of Church polity, which he had held while Laud ruled, and which he held now in a changed world. It was more than Erastianism; but he was long-headed enough to pass for the nonce as

only the chief of the Erastians.——They were but a small band in the Assembly numerically, but were not to be unimportant. Not themselves believing (at least, the lawyers and laymen among them) in any absolute or *jure divino* form of Church government, settled once for all by Scripture, but thinking that the form might vary with time and political circumstances, they could see a clear duty in the Assembly reserved for them collectively. They might have their predilections individually for some one form of Church government; and the predilection of nearly all of them, I think, was for some kind of Presbyterianism, though among others there was a leaning to Independency, or even a lingering kindness for Episcopacy. Their best plan, however, was not to put forward their own views positively, but to listen to the schemes of those who believed that there was a *jure divino* form of Church rule, weigh the several schemes thus tendered, criticise them here and there, and in the end vote for those portions of the scheme of their predilection which they were convinced would do, and those modifications of other portions which had been proved to be reasonable. In the prosecution of this policy the Erastians of the Assembly were, in more than one juncture, to be brought into co-operation with the Independents.[1]

[1] Whitlocke's Memorials, I. 208–9; Fuller's Church Hist. III. 468; Neal's Puritans, III. 56 and 110; Lightfoot's and Gillespie's Notes of the Assembly; Baillie, II. 129 and 198.

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